



30-4
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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
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A. 1604^g.

Tho. Freeman

Geo. Freeman.

The leaves of Elder boyled in water untill
 be becom soft, & when they be almost boyled
 mingle a little of the sweet almonds added
 powder, or a little Linseed oyle, then take
 & lay upon a red cloth or a pair of
 & applyed to the Hemorrhoids or pile
 as can be suffered, and so remaine upon
 parts affected untill it be somewhat re-
 liefe like in a yeard, applyinge one after
 upon y^e distressed parts by the space of an
 or more & in the end some barme to the place
 patient warme abed, it shall not be
 the first dressing

I am your obedient
 your humble servant for service

Geo. Freeman

May 1604

9

John H. ...

1694
1695
1696
1697

T H E

Institution of Christian

Religion, written in Latine

by *M. John Caluine*, and tran-

slated into English according to the

Authors last edition, with sundry Tables

to finde the principall matters entreated of

in this booke, and also the declara-

tion of places of Scripture

therein expounded,

E T

THOMAS NORTON.

Whereunto there are newly added in the

margent of the booke, notes containig

in brieft the substance of the matter

handled in each Section.



Printed at London by Arnold Hatfield,
for *Bonham Norton*.

1 5 9 9

Woll-gawley 2 books

30-4
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THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST

BY JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND VOLUME

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF

THE COMMONWEALTH

AND THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF CHARLES THE SECOND

BY JOHN BURNET

1704

Printed by J. Sturges, at the
Sign of the Sun in St. Dunstons Church
Lane, near St. Dunstons Church, London.

Printed by J. Sturges, at the
Sign of the Sun in St. Dunstons Church
Lane, near St. Dunstons Church, London.



T. N. THE TRANSLATOR. TO THE READER.



Good Reader, here is now offered you the fourth time printed in English *M. Caluines* booke of the institution of Christian Religion, a booke of great labour to the author, and of great profit to the Church of God. *M. Caluine* first wrote it when he was a young man, a booke of final volume, and since that season he hath at sundry times published it with new encrease, still protesting at euery edition himselfe to be one of those *qui scribendo proficiunt, & proficiendo scribunt*, which with their writing doe growe in profiting, and with their profiting doe proceede in writing. At length hauing in many his other works trauelled about exposition of sundry bookes of the Scriptures, and in the same finding occasion to discourse of sundry common places and matters of doctrine, which being handled according to the occasions of the text that were offered him and not in any other Methode, were not so ready for the readers vse, he therefore entred into this purpose to enlarge this booke of Institutions, and therein to treat of all those titles and common places largely, with this intent, that whensoever any occasion fell in his other bookes to treat of any such cause, he would not newly amplifie his bookes of commentaries and expositions therewith, but referre his reader wholly to this storehouse & treasure of that sort of diuine learning. As age and weaknesse grew vpon him, so he hastened his labor, and according to his petition to God, he in maner ended his life with his worke, for he liued not long after. So great a iewel was meete to be made most beneficiall, that is to say, applied to most common vse. Therefore in the very beginning of the Queenes Maiesties most blessed reigne, I translated it out of Latine into English, for the commoditie of the Church of Christ, at the speciall request of my deere friends of worthy memorie, *Reginald Wolfe* and *Edward Whitchurch*, the one her Maiesties Printer for the Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin toongs, the other her Highnes Printer of the bookes of common praier. I performed my worke in the house of my said friend *Edward Whitchurch*, a man well knowen of vpright hart and dealing, an ancient zealous Gospeller, as plaine and true a friend as euer I knew liuing, and as desirous to do any thing to common good, specially by the aduancement of true religion. At my saide first edition of this booke, I considered how the author thereof had of long time purposely labored to write the same most exactly, and to pack great plenty of mat-

THE PREFACE.

ter in small roome of words, yea and those so circumspectly and precisely ordred, to auoid the cauillations of such, as for enmitie to the truth therein contained, would gladly seeke & abuse all aduantages which might be found by any ouersight in penning of it, that the sentences were thereby become so full as nothing might well be added without idle superfluitie, and againe so nicly pared that nothing could be minished without taking away some necessarie substance of matter therein expressed. This maner of writing, beside the peculiar termes of artes and figures, and the difficultie of the matters themselues, being throughout interlaced with the Schoolemens controuerfies, made a great hardnesse in the authors owne booke, in that toong wherein otherwise he is both plentifull and easie, insomuch that it sufficeth not to reade him once, vnlesse you can be content to reade in vaine. This consideration encombred me with great doubtfulnesse for the whole order and frame of my translation. If I should follow the words, I sawe that of necessitie the hardnesse in the translation must needes be greater than was in the toong wherein it was originally written. If I should leaue the course of words, and grant my selfe libertie after the naturall maner of my owne toong, to say that in English which I conceaued to be his meaning in Latine, I plainly perceiued how hardly I might escape errour, and on the other side in this matter of faith and religion, how perilous it was to erre. For I durst not presume to warrant my selfe to haue his meaning without his wordes. And they that wote what it is to translate well and faithfully, specially in matters of religion, doe know that not the onely grammaticall construction of wordes sufficeth, but the very building and order to obserue all aduantages of vehemence or grace, by placing or accent of words, maketh much to the true setting forth of a writers minde. In the end, I rested vpon this determination, to follow the wordes so neere as the phrase of the English toong would suffer me. Which purpose I so perfourmed, that if the English booke were printed in such paper and letter as the Latine is, it shoulde not exceede the Latine in quantitie. Whereby, beside all other commodities that a faithfull translation of so good a worke may bring, this one benefite is moreouer provided for such as are desirous to attaine some knowledge of the Latine toong (which is at this time to be wished in many of those men for whose profession this booke most fitly serueth) that they shall not finde any more English than shall suffice to construe the Latine withall, except in such few places, where the great difference of the phrases of the languages enforced me: so that comparing the one with the other, they shall both profit in good matter, and furnish themselves with vnderstanding of that speech, wherein the greatest treasures of knowledge are disclosed. In the doing hereof, I did not only trust mine owne wit or abilitie, but examined my whole doing from sentence to sentence throughout the whole booke with conference and overlooking

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of such learned men, as my translation being allowed by their iudgement, I did both satisfie mine owne conscience that I had done truly, and their approving of it might be a good warrant to the reader, that nothing should herein be deliuered him but sound, vnmixed, and vncorrupted doctrine, euen in such sort as the author himselfe had first framed it. All that I wrote, the graue, learned, and vertuous man *M. David Whitehead* (whome I name with honorable remembrance) did among other, compare with the Latine, examining euery sentence throughout the whole booke. Beside all this, I priuately required many & generally al men with whom I euer had any talke of this matter, that if they found any thing either not truly translated, or not plainly Englished, they would enforme me thereof, promising either to satisfie them or to amend it. Since which time I haue not beene aduertised by any man of any thing which they would require to be altered. Neither had I my selfe, by reason of my profession being otherwise occupied any leasure to peruse it. And that is the cause, why not onely at the second and third time but also at this impression, you haue no change at all in the worke, but altogether as it was before. In deede I perceiued many men well minded and studious of this booke, to require a table for their ease and furtherance. Their honest desire I haue fulfilled in the second edition, and haue added thereto a plentifull table, which is also here inserted which I haue translated out of the Latine, wherein the principal matters discoursed in this booke are named by their due titles in order of Alphabet, and vnder euery title is set forth a brieve summe of the whole doctrine taught in this booke concerning the matter belonging to that title or common place: and therewith is added the Booke, Chapter, and Section or diuision of the Chapter, where the same doctrine is more largely expressed and prooued. And for the readier finding thereof, I haue caused the number of the Chapters to be set vpon euery leafe in the booke, and quoted the Sections also by their due numbers with the vsuall figures of *Algorisme*. And now at this last publishing, my friendes by whose charge it is now newly imprinted in a Romane letter and smaller volume, with diuers other Tables, which since my second edition were gathered by *M. Marlorate*, to be translated and here added for your benefite. Moreouer, whereas in the first edition the euill maner of my scribling hand, the enterlining of my Copie, and some other causes well knownen among workemen of that facultie, made very many faultes to passe the Printer, I haue in the second impression caused the booke to be composed by the printed copie, and corrected by the written: whereby it must needs be that it was much more truly done than the other was, as I my selfe doe knowe, about three hundred faultes amended. And now at this last Printing, the composing after a printed copie bringeth some ease, and the diligence vsed about the correction, hauing beene right faithfully looked vnto, it cannot be but much more

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truly set forth. This also is performed, that the volume being smaller, with a letter faire and legible, it is of more easie price, that it may be of more common vse, and so to more large communicating of so great a treasure to those that desire Christian knowledge for instruction of their faith, and guiding of their duties. Thus on the Printers behalfe and mine, your ease and commoditie (good Readers) is provided for. Now resteth your owne diligence for your owne profit in studying it. To spend many words in commending the worke it selfe, were needelesse: yet thus much I thinke I may both not vntruly and not vainly say, that though many great learned men haue written bookes of common places of our religion, as *Melunchton*, *Sarcerius*, and other, whose works are very good and profitable to the Church of God: yet by the consenting iudgement of those that vnderstande the same, there is none to be compared to this worke of *Caluine*, both for his substantiall sufficiencie of doctrine, the sound declaration of truth in articles of our religion, the large and learned confirmation of the same, and the most deepe and strong confutation of all olde and new heresies: so that (the holy Scriptures excepted) this is one of the most profitable bookes for all students of Christian diuinitie. Wherein (good Readers) as I am glad for the glorie of God, and for your benefite, that you may haue this profite of my trauell, so I beseech you let me haue this vse of your gentlenesse, that my doings may be contrued to such good ende as I haue meant them: and that if any thing mislike you by reason of hardnesse, or any other cause that may seeme to be my default, you will not forthwith condemne the worke, but reade it offer: in which doing you will finde (as many haue confessed to me that they haue founde by experience) that those things which at the first reading shall displeas you for hardnesse, shall be found so easie as so harde matter woulde suffer, and for the most part more easie than some other phrasse which shoulde with greater loosenesse and sinother sliding away deceiue your vnderstanding. I confesse in deede it is not finely and pleasantly written, nor cariech with it such delightfull grace of speech as some great wise men haue bestowed vppon some foolisher things, yet it containeth sound truth set forth with faithfull plainnesse without wrong done to the authors meaning: and so if you accept and vse it, you shall not faile to haue great profite thereby, and I shall thinke my labour very well imployed.

Thomas Norton.

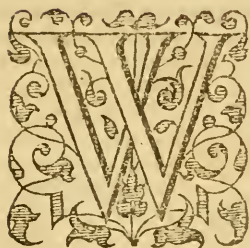


TO THE MOST MIGHTY

AND NOBLE PRINCE, FRANCISCE

THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING THE

French King his soueraigne Lord, Iohn Cal-
uine wisheth peace and sal-
uation in Christ,



Hen I did first set my hande to this worke, I thought nothing lesse (most noble King) than to write any thing that afterward should be presented to your maiesie. Onely my minde was to reach certaine introductions, whereby they that are touched with some zeale of religion might be instructed to true godlines. And this trauaile I tooke principally for my countrey men the Frenchmen, of whom I vnderstoode very many to hunger and thirst for Christ, but I saw verie few that had rightly received so much as any little knowledge of him. And that this was my meaning, the booke it selfe declareth, being framed after a simple and plaine maner of teaching. But when I perceiued, that the furious rage of some wicked men hath so farre preuailed in your Realme, that in it there is no roome for sounde doctrine: I thought I should do a thing woorth my trauaile, all in one worke both to giue an instruction for them, and to declare a confession to you: whereby yee may learne what maner of doctrine that is, against which those furious men burne in so great rage, who at this day trouble your realme with sword and fire. For I will not feare to confesse, that I haue in this worke comprehended in maner the summe of that selfe same doctrine against which they crie out, that it ought to be punished with prisonment, banishment, condemnation without iudgement, and with fire, that it ought to be chased away by land and sea. I know indeede with how hauius informations they haue filled your minde and eares, to make our cause most hatefull vnto you: but this of your clemencie ought you to weighe, that there shall be no innocencie, neither in words nor deedes, if it may be enough to accuse. Truly if any, to bring the same in hatred shall alledge that this doctrine whereof I now go about to yeeld account vnto you, hath beene long ago condemned by consent of all degrees, and attained by many iudgements already given in iudiciall courts, all that he saith shall amount to no more but that it hath partly beene violently thrown downe by the banding and power of the aduersaries thereof, and partly beene traiterously and fraudulentlie oppressed with their lies and suttile practises and slanders. Herein is violence shewed, that without hearing the cause, bloudie sentences are pronounced against it: herein is fraude, that it is without deseruing accused of sedition and euill doing. And that none may thinke that we wrongfully complaine of these things, your selfe can beare witnes, most noble King, with how lying slanders it is daily accused vnto you: as, that it tendeth to no other end but to writhe from Kings their sceptors out of their hands, to throwe downe all iudges seates and iudgements, to subuert all orders and ciuil governments, to trouble the peace and quiet of the people, to abolishe all lawes, to vnloose all proprieties and possessions, finally to turne all things upside downe. And yet you heare the smallest portion. For horrible things they spread abroad among the people: which if they were true, the whole world might worthily iudge it with the maintainers thereof, woorthie of a thousand fiers and gallowses. Who can now maruell that a common hatred is kindled against it, where such most wrongfull accusations are belieued? Lo, this is the cause that all degrees agree and conspire to the condemning of vs and our doctrine. They that sit to iudge, being raiued with

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with this affection pronounce for sentences their foreconceiued determinations which they brought from home with them: and thinke that they haue well enough discharged their duties, if they command no man to be drawen to execution, but such as are founde guiltie either by their owne confession or by sufficient witnessse. But of what fault? of that condemned doctrine, saie they, But by what law condemned? Herein should haue stand the succour of defence for them, not to denie the doctrine it selfe, but to maintaine it for true. But heere is all libertie once to muter, vnterly cut off from vs.

Wherefore I do not vnustly require, most victorious King, that it may please you to take into your owne hand the whole bearing of the cause which hitherto hath been troublesome handled or rather carelesly tossed without all order of lawe, more by outrageous heate than iudicial grauitie. Neither yet thinke, that I heere go about to make mine owne priuate defence, whereby I may procure to my selfe a safe returne into my native countrie, to which although I beare such affection of naturall loue as becometh me: yet as the case nowe is, I not miscontentedly want it. But I take vpon me the common cause of all the godly, yea and the cause of Christ himselfe, which at this day hauing beene by all meanes torne and troden downe in your kingdome, lieth as it were in dispaired case, and that indeede rather by the tyrannie of certaine Pharises than by your owne knowledge. But howe that commeth to passe, it is not heere needfull to tell: truely it lieth in great distres. For thus farre haue the vngodly preuailed, that the truth of Christ, if it be not destroyed being chased away and scattered abroad, yet it lieth hidden as buried and vnraged: as for the sillie poore Church, it is either wasted with cruell slaughters, and so driuen away with banishments, or dismaied with threatens and terrors, that it dare not once open her mouth. And yet still they continue with such rage and fiercenes as they are woont, thrusting strongly against the wall already bending and the ruine which themselves haue made. In the meane time no man steppeth soorth, to set himselfe in defence against such furies. And they, if there be any such, that will most of all seeme to fauour the truth, say no more but that it were good to pardon the error and vnskillfulnesse of ignorant men. For thus the good natured men forsooth do speake, calling that error and vnskillfulnesse which they know to be the most certaine truth of God: calling them ignorant men, whose wit they see that Christ hath not so despised but that he hath vouchsafed to communicate to them the mysteries, of his heauenly wisdome. So much are all ashamed of the Gospell. It shall be your office (most noble king) not to turne away your eares nor your minde from so iust a defence: specially when so great a matter is in question: namely how the glorie of God may be maintained safe in earth, how the truth of God may keepe her honor, how Christ may haue his kingdome preferred whole among vs. This is a matter woorthie for your eares, woorthie for your iudgement, woorthie for your royall throne. For, euen this thought maketh a true king to acknowledge himselfe in the gouernance of his kingdome to be the minister of God. Neither doth he now vse a kingdome but a robbie, which reigneth not to this end that he may serue the glory of God. And he is deceiued that looketh for a long prosperitie of that kingdome, which is not ruled by the scepter of God, that is, by his holie word: forasmuch as the heauenly Oracle cannot procure vaine, whereby it is proclaimed, that the people shall be scattered abroad where prophetic faileth. Neither ought the contempt of our baseness to withdrawe you from this purpose. We verily knowe right well, how poore and abiect sillie men we bee, namely in the sight of God miserable sinners, in the sight of men most despised persons, yea and (if you will) certaine excrements and outcastes of the world, or whatsoever viler thing may be named: so that there remaineth nothing for vs to glorie vpon before God, but his onely mercie whereby we are without any our deserving receiued into the hope of eternall saluation: and before men, nothing but our weaknesse, which among them it is taken for a most great shame to confesse so much as in countenance. But our doctrine must be aduanced hie above all glorie of the world, must stand vnuanquishable above all power: because it is not ours, but the doctrine of the liuing God and of his Christ, whome the Father hath appointed king to beare rule euen from sea to sea, and from the riuers euen to the ends of the earth: and so to beare rule, that striking the whole earth with the onely rod of his mouth, he may breake it with all the iron and brasen strength, with all the golden and siluer glistering thereof, as it

were

PROU 29. 18.

Dan. 2. 32.
Esa. 11. 4.
Psal. 2. 9.

to the French king.

were potters vessels: as the prophetes prophetic of the roialtie of his kingdome. Our aduersaries in deede doe crie out to the contrarie, and say that we falslie pretende the word of God, whereof we be most wicked corrupters. But how this is not onely a malicious sleaundler, but also a notable shamelesnesse, you your selfe by reading our confession, may according to your wisdom iudge. Yet here it is also good to say som: what, either to moue you to willingnesse and heedfulness, or at the least to prepare you a waie to the reading of it. Paul, when he willed all prophetic to be framed to the agreeableness of faith, hath set a most sure rule whereby the expounding of Scripture ought to be tried. Now if our doctrine be examined by this rule of faith, the victorie is alreadie in our hands. For what doth better or more filie agree with faith, than to acknowledge our selues naked of al vertue, that of God we may be clothed? emptie of al good, that of him we may be filled? the bondseruants of sinne, that of him we may be made free? blinde, that of him we may be enlightened? lame, that of him we may be made streight? feeble, that of him we may be upholden? to take from our selues all matter of glorying, that he alone may be glorious onelie, and in him we may glorie? When we say these and such like things, they interrupt vs and crie out, that by this meane is overthrowen I wote not what blinde light of nature, fained preparations, freewill, workes meritorious of eternall saluation, together with their supererogations: because they cannot abide that the whole praise and glorie of all goodnes, vertue, righteousness, and wisdom should remaine in God. But wee read not that they were blamed that haue drawn too much out of the fountaine of liuing water: on the contrary side they are sharpelie rebuked which haue digged to themselues pittes, broken pittes, which are not able to hold water. Againe, what is more agreeable with faith, than to promise to themselues that God will bee to them a sauourable Father, where Christ is acknowledged to bee a brother and procurer of fauour? than assuredlie to looke for all things ioyfull and prosperous at his hande, whose vspeakable loue towards vs hath proceeded so farre, that hee hath not spared his onely begotten sonne, but that he gaue him for vs? than to rest in sure looking for saluation and eternall life, where wee thinke vpon Christ giuen of the Father, in whom such treasures are hidden? Here they step in against vs, and crie out that this certaintie of affiance is not without arrogancie and presumption. But as nothing of our selues, so all things ought we to presume of God: and we are for ninc other reason spoiled of vaine glorie, but that wee shoulde learne to glorie in the Lorde. What is there more? Consider (most mightie Prince) all the partes of our cause, and thinke that we are woorse than any kinde of wicked men, vnlesse you plainly finde that we are in trouble and railed at, because wee put our trust in the liuing God: because we beleene that this is the eternall life, to knowe one true God, and him whome hee hath sent Jesus Christ. For this hope, some of vs are bound in irons, some are whipted, some are carried about in mockage, some are condemned without iudgement, some are most cruellie tormented, some escape away by flight: but all are distressed with trouble, all are most terrible cursed, some with slanders, and handled in most inuinous wise. Now looke vpon our aduersaries (I speak of the degree of priestes, at whose becke and will the other exercise enmities against vs) and consider with me a little while, with what zeale they be carried. As for the true religion, which is taught in the Scriptures, and which ought to bee holden certaine among all men, they easilie giue leaue both to themselues and other to bee ignorant of it, to neglect and despise it: and they thinke that it maketh small matter what euerie man beleue or not beleue concerning God and Christ, so that he do with an vnexpressed faith (as they call it) submit his minde to the iudgement of the Church: neither are they much moued, if it happen that the glory of God be defiled with manifest blasphemies, so that no man list vp his finger against the supremacie of the Apostolicke sea, and authoritic of our holie mother the Church. Why therefore doe they with so great crueltie and fiercenesse fight for the Masse, Purgatorie, Pilgrimages, and such trifles, so farre forth, that they saie that without most expressed faith (as I may so call it) of these things, godlinesse cannot stande, whereas yet they prouue not that any of these things come out of the word of God? Why so, but because their bellie is their God, their kitchen is their religion: which being taken away, they thinke that they shall not onely bee no Christians, but also no men? For though some of them do plentifully glut themselues, and other

Rom. 12. 6.

Ierem. 2. 13.

Rom. 3. 32.

1. Tim. 4. 16.

Ioh. 17. 3.

some:

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Some live with gnawing of poore crustes, yet they live all of one Pot, which without these war-
ming helpes should not onely waxe cold, but also thoroughly freeze. Therefore how much more eue-
rie of them is carefull for his belly, so much more earnest warrier he is for their faith. Finally they
all euidenour themselves to this, to keepe still either both kingdome safe, and their belly full : but of
pure Zeale none of them sheweth anie token, be it neuer so little. Neither yet so doe they cease
to slander our doctrine, and by all the colours that they can, to accuse and defame it, whereby
they may bring it into hatred or suspicion. They call it newe, and lately forged : they canill
that it is doubtfull, and vncertaine : they demaunde by what miracles it is confirmed : they
aske whether it be meete that it shoulde preuaile against the consent of so many holie fathers,
and the most ancient custome : they presse vpon vs to confesse it to be schismaticall, which moou-
ueth warre against the Church, or that the Church hath lien dead in manie ages in which no
such thing hath bene heard of. Last of all they say that there neede no arguments, for (saie
they) it may by the frutes be iudged of what sort it is, namelie which hath bred so hugie a heape
of sectes, so manie turmoiles of seditious, so great licentiousnesse of vices. Truly full easie
it is for them, to triumph vpon a forsaken cause before the light-beleeuing and ignorant multitu-
de. But if we might also haue our turne likewise allowed vs to speake verilie this sharpe heate
would soone be cooled wherewith they doe so with full mouth and as licentiously as vnpunishedly
some against vs.

Rom. 4.25.

First, whereas they call it new, they doe great wrong to God, whose holie word deserued not
to be accused of newnesse. To them in deede I nothing doubt that it is newe, to whome Christ is
new, and his Gospell is new. But they which knew that preaching of Paul to be olde, that Iesus
Christ died for our sinnes, and rose againe for our iustification, shall finde nothing newe among
vs. Whereas it hath long lien hidden vnknewen, and buried : that is the fault of the vngodlinesse
of men. Now sith it is by the bountifullnesse of God restored to vs, it ought at least by right of
full restitution to receive againe the title of ancientie.

Esaie. 1.13.

Out of the same fountaine of ignorance springeth this, that they take it for doubtfull and
vncertaine. This verily is it which the Lorde by his prophet complaineth, that the ox knew his
owner, and the asse his maisters stall, but his people knew not him. But howsoeuer they mocke
at the vncertaintie of it : if they were driuen to seale their owne doctrine with their owne
blood, and with losse of their life, men might see how much they set by it. But farre other is
our affiance, which dreads neither the terrours of death, nor yet the very iudgement seate
of God.

Mark. 16.20.

Aet. 14.3.
Heb. 2.4.

Whereas they require miracles of vs, they deale vnrasonable with vs. For we coine no newe
Gospell, but holde fast the selfe same Gospell, for confirming of the truth whereof all the myra-
cles do serue that ener Christ and his Apostles haue done. But this thing they haue speciall aboue
vs, that they can enen to this day confirme their faith with continuall miracles. Yea but rather
they allege miracles, which may weaken a minde otherwise well stablished : they are so either
trifling and worthe to be laughed at, or vaine and lying. And yet, although they were neuer
so monstrous, they ought not to haue bene of anie value against the worde of God : forasmuch
as the name of God ought both in euerie place and at euerie time to be hallowed, whether it be by
miracles or by naturall order of things. This false colour might peradventure haue made the
better shewe, if the Scripture did not informe vs of the lawfull ende and vse of miracles. For,
Marke teacheth that the signes which followed the preaching of the Apostles were set forth for
the confirming of it : Likewise Luke also saith that the Lord did beare witness to the worde of
his grace, when signes and wonders were shewed by the handes of the Apostles. Wherewith
wholly agreeth that saying of the Apostle, that when the Gospell was preached, saluation was
confirmed by this, that the Lorde did beare witness to it with signes, and wonders, and diuers
powers. But those things which we heare to be the sealings of the Gospell, shall enely to the
destroying of the credite of the Gospell? those things which are appointed onely to stablish the
truth, shall we applie to confirming of lies? Therefore it is meete that the doctrine, which (as the
Euangelist saith) goeth before miracles, be first examined and tried. If that be allowed, then
it may lawfully take confirmation of miracles. But of a true doctrine (as Christ teacheth) this is
the

Iohn 7.18.
and 8.50.

to the French king.

the marke, if it tend not to the seeking of the glorie of men, but of God. Such Christ affirmeth this to be the proof of doctrine, miracles are wrongfully esteemed which are drawn to any other end than to glorifie the name of God alone. And we ought to remember that sathan hath his miracles, which although they be ingling deceites rather than true powers, yet are such as may deceiue the ignorant and vnskilfull. Magicians and enchanters haue bin alwaies famous in miracles: wonderful miracles haue nourished idolatrie: which yet do not proue to vs, that the superstition of Magicians & idolaters is lawfull. And with this battering ram in old time the Donatists did shake the simplicitie of the common people, for that they excelled in miracles. Therefore we do now make the same answer to our aduersaries, which Augustine then made to the Donatistes: that the Lorde hath made vs wary against such miracle workers, when he foretold that there should come false prophets, which with lying signes and diuers woonders, should if it were possible, bring the elect into error. And Paul hath giuen warning that the kingdome of Antichrist should be with all power, & signes, & lying wonders. But these miracles (say they) are done not of idols, not of sorcerers, not of false prophets, but of the saints. As though we knew not that this is the craft of sathan, to transfigure himselfe into an angel of light. In old time the Egyptians worshipped Icreny which was buried among them, with sacrifices & other diuine honors. Did not they abuse the holy prophet of God to idolatry? And yet by such worshipping of his tomb, they obtained that they thought the healing of the stingings of the serpents to be the iust rewarde thereof. What shall we say: but that this hath bene and ever shall be the most iust vengeance of God, to sende strength of illusion to them that haue not receiued the loue of truth, that they may beleue lying? Therefore we want not miracles, and those certaine, and not subiect to cavillations. As for miracles which they bring forth for themselues, they are mere illusions of sathan, forasmuch as they lead away the people from the true worshipping of their God to vanitie.

Moreover, they do slanderously set the Fathers against vs (I meane the ancient Fathers and the writers of the age as yet more vncorrupted) as though they had them for maintainers of their vngodlinesse: by whose authoritie if the debate were to be ended, the better part of the victorie (to speake euen most modestlie) woulde bend to our side. But whereas many things haue bene excellently well and wisely written of those Fathers, and in some things, that hath happened to them which is wont to happen to men: these good naturall children forsooth, according to the rightnes that they haue, both of wit, iudgement, and minde, doe worstyppe, & censure their faultes and errors: and those things which are well spoken, they either marke not, or fame as if they knewe them not, or doe corrupt them: so as a man may say that their care was altogether to gather dung in the gold of the fathers. Then they oppresse vs with importunate crying out against vs, as despisers and enemies of the Fathers. But we doe so not despise them, that if it were the matter of my present purpose, I could verie easilie prouue by their consenting voices, the greater part of these things that we say at this day. But we so read their writings, that we alway remember, that all things are ours, to serue vs, not to haue dominion ouer vs: and that we are Christes alone, whom we must obey in all things without exception. Who so keepeth not this choise, shall haue nothing certaine in Religion: forasmuch as those holie men were ignorant of manie things, doe oftentimes striue one with another, yea and sometimes fight with themselues. Not without cause (saie they) wee are warned of Salomon, that we passe not the olde boundes which our Fathers haue set. But there is not all one rule in the bounding of fieldes, and the obedience of Faith, which ought to be so framed that it forget her people and the house of her father. If they haue so great delight to vse allegories, why do they not rather expound the Apostles, than any other to be their fathers, whose appointed bounds it is not lawfull to plucke vp for so did Hierome expound it, whose words they haue registered among their Canons. But if they will haue the boundes of the same fathers, whom they meane, to be steadfastly kept: why do they so oft as they list, so licentiously passe them? Of the number of the fathers were they, of whom the one said, that our God eateth not, nor drinketh, and that therefore he needeth neither cups nor dishes: the other said, that the holy things require not gold, and that those things please not with golde, which are not bought with golde. Therefore they passe the bounde, which are in the holy things so much delighted with golde, silver, iuorie, marble, precious stones

In Ioh. tract. 13.
Matt. 24. 24.
1. Thef. 1. 9.
2. Cor. 11. 14.

Hieronim. in praef. Ierem.

2. Thef. 1. 11.

1. Cor. 3. 21.

Prou. 22. 28.
Psal. 45. 11.

Acacius Tripart.
hist. lib. 11. c. 16.
Ambros. de of.
fic. lib. 2. c. 28.

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and silkes, and thinke that God is not rightly worshipped, vnlesse altogether they be dissolutelie set out with exquisite gorgeousnesse, or rather with outrageous excesse. A Father was he, which saide, that he therefore did freely eate flesh on the day in which other abstained, because he was a Christian. Therefore they passe the boundes, when they accurse the soule that tasteth flesh in lent. Fathers were they, of whom the one said, that a Manke which laboreth not with his hands, is iudged as euill as a violent taker, or (if you will) a robber: the other said, that it is not lawfull for monks to liue of other mens goods, although they be continually busied in contemplations, in Prayers, in studie. This bound also they haue passed, when they placed the idle and barrell bellies of monks in stewes and brothel houses to be fatted with other mens substance. A father was he, which said, that it is a horrible abomination to see any image painted, either of Christ or of anie saint 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 wals. They are farre from holding themselves within these boundes, when they leaue not one corner without images. Another Father counselled, that hauing done the dutie of naturall kindnesse toward the dead in burying them, we should let them rest. These boundes they breake, when they cast into men a continuall carefullnesse of the dead. One of the Fathers was he, which testifieth that the substance of bread and wine in the Sacrament of the Supper so remaineth and ceaseth not, as in the Lorde Christ remaineth the substance and nature of man ioined with the substance of God. Therefore they passe measure, which saie that after the words of the Lorde rehearsed, the substance of bread and wine ceaseth, that it may be transubstantiate into his bodie and blood. Fathers were they which as they deliuered to the whole Church but one sacrament of Thankesgiuing, and as they debarred from it wicked and hainous euill doers: so did greuously condemne all those which being present, did not communicate of it. How farre haue they remoued those boundes, when they fill not onely Churches, but also priuate houses with their masses, and admit all men to looke vpon them, and euery man so much more gladly as he more largely paieth, how vnleane and wicked seuer they bee: but allure no man to faith in Christ and faithfull communicating of the Sacraments: yea rather doe boastingly set out to sale their owne worke for the grace and merite of Christ? Fathers were they, of whome the one decreed, that they should be altogether debarred from the vse of the holy Supper of Christ, which holding themselves contented with partaking of the one kinde, abstained from the other. And the other Father stoutly maintaineth, that to the Christian people the blood of the Lorde ought not to be denied, for the confession whereof they are commaunded to shed their owne blood. These boundes also they haue taken away, when they haue by an inuiolable lawe commaunded the selfe same thing which the one of these Fathers punished with excommunication, and the other reproofed with a strong reason. A Father was he, which affirmed it to be rashnesse to determine any thing of a doubtful matter on the one side or the other, without cleere and euident witnessings of the Scripture. This bound they forgot, when they stablished so many constitutions, so many canons, so manie maisterly determinations, without any worde of God. A father was he, which among other heresies reproched Montanus with this, that he was the first that had charged men with lawes of fasting. This bound also they haue farre passed, when they commaunded fasting with most straight lawes. A Father was he, which denied that marriage ought to be forbidden to ministers of the Church, and pronounced a mans lying with his owne wife to be chastitie: and Fathers were they, which agreed to his autoritie. Beyond these boundes haue they gone, when they seuerely enioined vnmarried life to their sacrificers. A Father was he which iudged, that onely Christ ought to be heard, of whome it is saide, Heare him: and that we ought not to haue regarde, what other men which were before vs, haue saide or done, but what Christ (which is the first of all) hath commaunded. This bounde neither doe they appoint to themselves, nor doe suffer other to haue it appointed them, when they set both ouer themselves and other any masters whatsoeuer they be, rather than Christ. A Father was he, which affirmed that the Church ought not to set it selfe before Christ, because he alwaie iudged truly: but the iudges of the Church, as men, are commonly deceiued. They breaking through this bound also, sticke not to affirme that the whole autoritie of the Scripture hangeth vpon

Spyridion tripart. hist. lib. 1. cap. 10.
Tripart. hist. lib. 8. cap. 1.
August. de opere monach. cap. 17.

Epiphani. in epist. ab Hier. versa.
Concil. Eliberti. cap. 36.

Ambrosi. de Abra. lib. 1. cap. 9.
Gelafius Papa in Concil. Roma.

Chrysof. in 1. cap. Ephes.
Calixt. Papa de consecrat. dist. 2.

Gelafius canon. Comperimus. De consecrat. dist. 2.
Cyprian. epist. 2. lib. 1. de Lapis.

August. lib. 2. de peccat. mer. cap. vii.

Apol. ecclesiast. hist. lib. 5. cap. 12.

Paphnutius tripart. hist. lib. 2. cap. 14.

Cyprian. epist. 2. lib. 2.

Augustin. cap. 2. contra Crescon. gramm.

to the French king.

the awardment of the Church. All the Fathers haue with one hart accursed, and with one mouth pronounced it abhominable, that the holy Worde of God should bee entangled with the subtleties of Sophisters, and brawlings of Logicians. Doe they holde themselves within these bounds, when they goe about nothing else in their whole life, but with endlesse strifes, and more than sophisticall brabblings to wrap and encombe the simplicitie of the Scripture? so that if the Fathers were now raised to life againe, and should heare such an arte of brawling, which these men call Speculative Diuinitie, they woulde beleue that nothing lesse is done than any disputation had of God. But my talke should spread it selfe beyond due bounds, if I would reckon vpon how boldly these men shake off the yoke of the Fathers, whose obedient children they would seeme to be. Truly both monethes and yeeres would be too little for me. And yet they are of so extreme and desperate shamelesnesse, that they dare blame vs for that we stick not to passe the ancient boundes.

But now where as they call vs to custome, they nothing preuaile. For we should be most vniustly dealt with, if we should be driuen to yeelde to custome. Truly if the iudgements of men were right, Custome should be taken of the good. But it oftentimes happeneth that men doe otherwise. For, that which is seene to bee done of manie, by and by obtaineth the right of a Custome. But the state of men hath scarcely at any time bene in so good case, that the better things pleased the greater number. I therefore for the most part of the priuate vices of manie hath bene made a publike error, or rather a common consent of vices, which now these good men would haue to stande for a lawe. Who so haue eies doe see that not enely one sea of euils hath ouerflowed, manie poisonous pestilences haue inuaded the worlde, that all things runne headlong to ruine: so that either the matters of men must be viterly despaired, or we must lay hande vnto, or rather vse violence vpon so great euils. And remedie is by no other reason driuen away, but because we haue now long time accustomed vs to euils. But be it that publike error haue place in matters of common weale: yet in the kingdome of God his onely truth is to be heard and regarded, to which by no succeeding course of yeeres, by no custome, by no conspired agreement, may any prescription be limited. So in olde time Eliaie taught the elect of God, that they should not say Conspiring, to all things in which the people saide Conspiring: that is to saie, that they should 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 should be their feare and dread. Now therefore let them as much as they list obiect against vs both passed and present ages, if we sanctifie the Lorde of hostes, we will not be much afruide. For whether it be that manie ages haue consented to like vngodlinesse, bee it strong to take vengeance to the thirde and fourth generation: or if the whole world together conspire into one selfe samie wickednes, he hath by experience taught what is the end of them that offend with the multitude, when he did with a generall ouerflowing destroy the whole kinde of men, preseruing Noe with a small household, which should by his faith being but one man condemne the whole world. Finally an euill custome, is none other than a common pestilence, in which they do neuertheless die that die with compagne of a multitude. Moreover they ought to haue considered that which Cyprian saith in certaine places, that they which sinne by ignorance, although they cannot cleare themselves from all fault, yet may seeme after some manner excusable: but who so obstinately refuse the truth offered by the grace of God, they haue nothing to pretend for their excuse.

As for their double horned argument, they do not driue vs to so hard a streight with it, to compell vs to confesse, that either the Church hath lien dead a certaine time, or that wee haue controuerse against the church. Truly the church of Christ hath liued and shall liue, so long as Christ shall raigne at the right hand of the father: by whose hand she is vpholden, by whose succour she is defended, by whose power shee keepeth her safetie. For he will vndoubtedly performe that which he hath once promised, that he will be present with his euen vntill the ending of the world. Against it now we haue no warre at all. For we doe with one consent together with all

Decret. dist. 8.
ca. 6. Ex. de con-
fuct.

Esa. 8. 12.

Gen. 7. 1.
Heb. 11. 7.

Epist. 3. lib. 1. & in
epist. ad Iulian. ds.
hære. baj. tiz.

Math. 28. 20.

truth,

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truth, when they acknowledge no church, but which they see with present eye, & go about to compass it about with those bounds in which it is not enclosed. Upon these points hangeth our con-
 trouerſie: first that they affirme that the forme of the Church is alway appeering & to be seene: then, that they set the same forme in the see of the church of Rome, and in the order of their prelates. We on the contrarie side affirme, both that the church may consist of no appeering forme, and that the forme it selfe is not contained in that outward shining shewe, which they foolishly haue in admiration, but hath a farre other marke, namely the pure preaching of the worde of God, and the right ministracion of sacraments. They are in a rage, vnlesse the church may be alwayes pointed out with a finger. But how oft happened it in the people of the Jewes to bee so deformed, that there appeared no forme at all? What forme thinke we to haue shined, when Helias bewailed that he alone was left? How long since the coming of Christ hath it lien hidden without forme? How since that time hath it bene so oppressed with wars, seditions, and heresies, that it shined out on no side? If they had liued at that time, would they haue beleueed that there was any Church? but it was saide to Helias, that there were preserved seuen thousand men, which had not bowed their knee before Baal. Neither ought it to bee doubtfull to vs but that Christ hath alway reigned in earth since hee ascended into heauen. But if the godly had then sought any discernable forme with their eyes, should they not by and by haue been discouraged? And verily Hilarie accounted it euen already in his time for a most great fault, that being occupied with the foolish admiration of the dignitie of Bishops, they marked not a deadly pestilence lurking vnder that visor. For thus he saith: One thing I warne you, beware of Antichrist: for you are ill taken with the loue of wals: ye do ill worship the Church of God in houses and buildings: vnder them ye do ill thrust in the name of peace. It is doubtfull that in those Antichrist shall sit? Mountaines & woods and lakes, & prisons, and caues are safer for me. For in these the prophets, when they were either abiding or thrown into them, did prophetic. But what duth the world at this day honor in his horned bishops, but that it thinketh them to be holy prelates of religion, whom it seeth to be heades ouer great Cities? Away therefore with such foolish esteeming. But rather let vs leaue this to the Lord, for as much as hee alone knoweth who hee his, and sometime also taketh away from the sight of men the outward knowledge of his Church. That is (I graunt) a horrible vengeance of God vpon the earth. But if the wickednes of men deserue, why doe wee seeke to withstande the iust vengeance of GOD? In such wise the Lorde hath in times past taken vengeance of the vnthankfulnessse of men. For because they would not receiue his truth, and had quenched his light, hee suffered them being blinded in sense, both to bee mocked with lies full of absurditie, and to be drowned in deepe darkenessse, so that there was no face of the true Church to bee seene. Yet in the meane time hee saued his both being scattered abroad and lying hidden in the midst of errorrs and darkenessse, from destruction. And no marueil. For he can skill to saue both in the very confusion of Babylon, and in the flame of the burning ouen. But whereas they would haue the forme of the Church to bee iudged by I wote not what raine pompous shew: how perillous that is, I will rather point vnto than declare, least I should drawe out my tale into infinite length. The Pope (say they) which holdeth the Apostolike see, and the bishops that are annointed and consecrate by him, so that they be trimmed with fillets and miters, doe represent the church, and ought to be taken for the Church: and therefore they cannot erre. How so? because they are pastors of the Church, and consecrate to the Lord. And were not Aaron and the other rulers of Israell also Pastors? But Aaron and his sounnes after that they were made priestes, did yet erre when they made the calfe. After this reason, why should not the fower hundred Prophets which lied to Achab, haue represented the Church? But the Church was on Micheas side, being indeed but one man al me, and vnguarded, but out of whose mouth came truth. Did not the false Prophets in resemblance beare both the name and face of the church, when they did with one violent assault rise vp against Ieremy, and with threatening boasted that it was not possible that the lawe should perish from the priest, counsell from the wiseman, the worde from the Prophet? Ieremy alone was sent against the whole companie of the Prophets, to declare from the Lord, that it shoulde come to passe, that the lawe should perish
 from

1. Kings 19. 12.

Contra Auxentium.

2. Tim. 2. 19.

Exod. 32. 1.

1. King. 22. 11.
 Iere. 18. 18.

to the French king.

from the priest, counsell from the wiseman, and the word from the Prophet. Did not such a glistering shew shine in that counsell which the Bishops, Scribes, and Pharisees assembled, to take aduises together for the killing of Christ? Now let them go & stick fast in the outward view, that they may make Christ & at the prophets of God, schismatikes; on the other side make the ministers of Satan, the instruments of the holy Ghost. If they speake as they thinke, let them faithfully answer me, in what nation and place they thinke that the church remained since the time that by the decree of the counsell at Basile, Eugenius was thrust downe and deprived from the estate of Pope, and Aymee set in his place. They cannot, though they would burst for it, deny that the counsell, 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 Cardinalls and Bishops, which had with him practised the dissolution of the Counsell. Yet afterward being borne vp by the fauour of Princes, hee recovered his papacie safe againe. That election of Aymee, which had bene orderly made by the authoritie of a generall and holy Synode, vanished away in a smoke: sauing that hee himselfe was appeased with a Cardinalls hat, as it were a barking dog with a peece of bread cast vnto him. Out of the bosome of these heretikes, rebelles, and obstinates, are proceeded all the Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots and Priests, that haue bene since. Heere they are taken and can goe no further. For, to whether side will they giue the name of the church? will they denie that the counsell was generall, which wanted nothing to the outward maiestie: namely, which being solemnly summoned by two bulles, and well framed in the order of all things, continued in the same dignitie to the last end? Will they confesse Eugenius with all his company a schismatike, by whom they are all sanctified? Therefore either let them otherwise define the forme of the church, or they all as many as are of them shall be of vs accounted schismatikes, which wittingly and willingly haue bene ordered of heretikes. If it had neuer before bene knowne, that the church is not bound to outward pompes, they themselues may be to vs a large prooff, which vnder that glorious title of the church haue so long so proudly boasted themselues, whereas yet they were the deadly pestilences of the church. I speake not of their maners, and those tragick doings wherewith their whole life swarmeth full: because they say that they be the Pharisees which are to be heard, not to be followed. But if ye will spare some of your leasure to read our writings, you shall plainly know that the verie doctrine, the doctrine it selfe, for the which they say that they bee the church is a deadly butcherie of soules, the firebrand, ruine, and destruction of the church.

Finally they do not uprightly enough, when they doe spitefully rehearse how great troubles, rprores, and contentions the preaching of our doctrine hath drawen with it, and what fruites it now beareth in many. For the blame of these euils is vnworthily laid vpon it which ought rather to haue been imputed to the malice of Satan. This is as it were a certaine naturall property of the word of God, that whensoever it riseth vp, Satan is neuer quiet or sleeping. This is the most sure and most trustie marke, whereby it is discerned from lying doctrines, which do easily shew forth themselues when they are received with fauourable eares of all men, and are heard of the world reioicing at them. So in certaine ages past, when all things were drowned in deepe darkenesse, the Lorde of this worlde made a sport and a play in manner of all men, and lay idle and tooke his pleasure like a certaine Sardanapalus in sound peace. For, what should hee else do but laugh and plaie being in quiet and peaceable possession of his kingdome? But when the light shining from above somewhat scattered abroad his darkenesse, when that strong man troubled and assailed his kingdome, then he began to shake off his wonted drowsinesse, and hastily to arme himselfe. And first he stirred vp the force of men, whereby he might violently oppresse the truth beginning to shine. By which when he nothing preuailed, he turned to subtiler rappings. He stirred vp dissentions & disagreements of doctrines by his Catapartists, and other monstrous lewd men, whereby he might darken it and at length vtterly quench it. And now hee continueth to assayle it with both engines. For he trauelleth both by the force and power of men to plucke vp that seede: and with his darnell (as much as in him lieth) to choake it, that it may not growe and beare fruite. But all this hee doth in vaine, if we heare the warning of God,

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which both hath long before opened his craftes vnto vs, that he should not take vs vnaware, & hath armed vs with sufficient defences against all his engines. But howe great maliciousnes is it to laye vpon the word of God, the hatred either of the seditions, which naughty and rebellious men do stirre vp, or of the sectes which deceiuers do raise against it? Yet it is no newe example. Elias was asked whether it were not he that troubled Israel. Christ was esteemed of the Iewes a seditions man. The Apostles were accused of making a commotion among the people. What other thing do they which at this day do sather vpon vs all the troubles, vproves and contentions that boile vp against vs? But what is to be answered to such, Elias hath taught vs: namely that it is not we that scatter errors or stir vp vproves: but it is they themselues that wastile against the power of God. But as that one thing alone is sufficient to beate backe their rashnesse, so againe we ought to meete with the weaknesse of other, who oftentimes happen to be moued with such offences, and in their dismayng to wauer. But let them, to the ende that they may not faint with this dismayng and be discouraged, know that the Apostles in their time feit by experience the same things that now happen vnto vs. There were vnlearned and vnstedfast men, which wrested to their owne destruction, those things that Paul had written by the inspiration of God, as Peter saith. There were despisers of God, which when they heard that Ihu abounded, to the end that grace might more abound, by and by obiected, We will then abide in sinne, that grace may abound. When they heard that the faithfull are not vnder the law, they by and 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 euill. There entred priuily many false Apostles to destroy the Churches which he had builded. Some by enuie and contention, and not purely, yea and maliciously preached the Gospell, thinking to adde more affliction to his bandes. Somewhere the Gospell not much profited. All sought their owne, and not the things of Iesus Christ. Some went backward, dogges to their vomit, and swine to their wallowing in the mire. The most part did draw the libertie of the Spirit to the licentiousnesse of the flesh. Many bretheren crept in, by whom there came afterward great danger to the godly. Among the bretheren themselves were many strifes raised vp. What should the Apostles haue done in this case? Should they not either haue dissembled for a time, or rather altogether haue giuen ouer and forsoken the Gospell, which they saw to be the seedplot of so many contentions, the matter of so many dangers, the occasion of so many offences? No. But for helpe in such distresses this came in their minde that Christ is the stone of stumbling and rocke of offence, set vnto the ruine and rising againe of many, and for a signe that should be spoken against. With which affiance they being armed, went forward boldly through all dangers of vproves and offences. With the same thought we also ought to be vpholden, forasmuch as Paul testifieth that this is the perpetuall proprietie of the Gospell to be the sauor of death vnto death to them that perish, although it were ordained to this vse that it should be the sauor of life vnto life, and the power of God vnto the salvation of the faithfull: which verily we should also feele, if we did not with our vthankesfullnesse corrupt this so singular a benefite of God, and turne that to our owne destruction which ought to haue beene to vs the onely defence of our safetie.

But now I returne to you, my soueraigne Lord. Let those faise reportes nothing moue you, by which our aduersaries trauell to cast you in feare of vs, with saying that by this new Gospell (for so they call it) nothing is hunted for and sought but fit occasion of seditions, and unpunished libertie of vices. For our God is not the Author of diuision, but of peace: and the Souer of God is not the minister of sinne, which came to destroy all the workes of the Diuell. And we are vnworthily accused of such desires, wherof we neuer gaue any suspition were it neuer so small. It is likely that we forsooth doe practise the ouerthrowing of kingdomes, of whom there hath neuer beene heard any one seditions word, whose life hath euer been knowne quiet & simple, when we liued vnder you, and which now being chased from home, yet cease not to pray for all things prosperous to you and your Kingdome. It is likely forsooth that we hunt for licentiousnesse of vices, in whose behauiours although many things may be found faultie, yet there is nothing worthe of so great reproching: neither haue we with so ill successe (by the grace of God) profited in the Gospell, but that our life may be to these backbiters an exemplar of chastitie, liberalitie,

mercy.

2. King. 18.

2. Pet. 3. 16.
Rom 6. 1. & 15.

Philip. 1. 15.

Luke 2. 34.

2. Cor. 2. 16.

To the French king.

mercy, temperance, patience, modestie, and what soeuer other vertue. Verilie it is by the prooffe it selfe evident that we doe vnfaignedly feare and worship God, forasmuch as we desire that his name be halowed both by our life & our death, and enuie it selfe is compelled to beare of some of vs a witness of innocence and ciuill vprightnes, in whome this only thing was punished with death, which ought to haue bene accounted for a singular praise. But if any vnder pretence of the Gospell doe stirre vp tumultes (as hitherto it hath not bene found that there haue bene any such in your Realme) if any pretend the libertie of the grace of God to defend the licentiousnesse of their vices (of which sort I haue knowen many) there be lawes and penalties of lawes, by which they may according to their deseruings be sharply punished: yet so that in the meane time the Gospell of God be not euill spoken of for the wickednes of naughty men. Thus haue you (O King) the venemous vniustice of the sclaunderers largely enough declared, that you may not with an care of too easie beleefe bend to their reportes. I feare me also least it be too largely set out, for asmuch as this preface is in a maner come to the quantitie of a whole Booke of defense, whereby I intended not to make a defense in deede, but onely to mollifie your minde aforehand to giue audience to the disclosing of our cause: which your minde, though it be now turned away and estranged from vs, yea and enflamed against vs, yet we trust that we shall be able to recouer the fauor thereof, if you shall once haue without displeasure and troublous affection read ouer this our confession, which we will to be in steede of a defence for vs to your Maiestie. But if the whisperings of the malicious doe so possesse your eares, that there is no place for accused men, to speake for themselves: and if those outrageous furies doe still with your winking at them, exercise crueltie with prisoning, tormenting, cutting and burning: we shall in deede, as sheepe appointed to the slaughter, be brought to all extremities, yet so that in our patience we shall possesse our soules, and waite for the strong hand of the Lord: which shall without doubt be present in time, and stretch forth it selfe armed, both to deliuer the poore out of affliction, and to take vengeance on the despisers, which now triumph with so great assurednesse.

The Lord the King of Kings stablish your throne with righteousnesse,
and your seate with equitie, most noble King.

At Basile the first day of August, in the yeare 1536.

JOHN CALVINE TO THE READER.



T the first setting out of this worke, bicause I did not looke for that successe, which the Lorde of his vnmeasurable goodnes hath giuen, I had (as men vse to do in small works) for the more part lightly passed it ouer. But when I vnderstood that it was receiued with that fauour of all the godly, which I neuer durst haue desired, much lesse haue hoped for: as I verily felt in my hart that much more was giuen to me than I had deserued, so I thought it should be a great vnthankfulnes if I should not at the least after my slender abilitie endeour to answer so fauourable affections toward me, and which of themselues prouoked my diligence. And this I attempted not onely in the second setting forth of it: but howe oft since that time the worke hath bin imprinted, so oft hath it bin enriched with some encrease. But although I did not then repent me of the labour that I had imploied: yet I neuer held my selfe contented till it was disposed into that order which is now set before you. Nowe I trust I haue giuen you that which may be allowed by all your iudgements. Truely with how great endeour I haue applied my selfe to the doing of this seruice to the Church of God, I may bring forth for an euident witnes, that this last winter, when I thought that the feuer Quartane had summoned me to death, how much more the sicknes enforced vpon me, so much lesse I spared my selfe, till I might leaue this booke to ouerliue me, which might make some part of thankfull recompence to so gentle prouoking of the godly. I had rather indeed it had bin don sooner: but it is soone enough if well enough. And I shall then thinke that it is come abroad in good season, when I shal perceiue that it hath brought yet more plentifull fruite than it hath done heeretofore to the church of God. This is my onely desire. And truly full ill it were with me, if I did not holding my selfe contented with the allowance of God alone, despise the iudgements of men, whether they be the foolish and forward iudgements of the vnskilfull, or the wrongfull and malicious of the wicked. For although God hath throughly seled my mind to the endeuour both of enlarging his kingdome, and of helping the common profitt: and though I am cleere in mine owne conscience, & haue himselfe and the angels to witnes with me, that since I tooke vpon me the office of a teacher in the church, I haue tended to none other purpose but that I might profit the Church in maintaining the pure doctrine of godlines: yet I thinke there is no man, that hath bin snatched at, bitten and torne in sunder with more slanders than I. When my

Epistle

To the Reader.

Epistle was now in printing, I was certainly enformed that at *Augsburgh* where the assemblie of the states of the Empire was holden, there was a rumor spread abroad of my reuolting to the Papacie, and the same was more greedily receiued in the courtes of Princes than was meete. This forsooth is their thankfulness who are not ignorant of many trials had of my stedfastnes, which trials as they shake off so foule a slander, so they should with all indifferent and gentle iudges haue defended me frō it. But the duell with his whole route is deceiued if in oppressing me with filthy lies, he think that by his vniust dealing I shall be either the more discouraged or made the lesse diligent: because I trust that the Lord of his vnumeasurable goodnes will grant me that I may with euen sufferance continue in the course of his holy calling. Whereof I giue to the godly Readers a new prooffe in this setting forth of this booke. Now in this trauell this was my purpose so to prepare and furnish them that be studious of holy diuinitie to the reading of the word of God, that they may both haue an easie entrie into it, and go forward in it without stumbling: for I thinke that I haue in all points so knit vp together the summe of religion, and disposed the same in such order, that whosoever shall well haue it in minde, it shall not be harde for him to determine both what he ought chiefly to seeke in Scripture: and to what marke to applie whatsoever is contained in it. Therefore, this as it were a way being once made plain, if I shall hereafter set forth any expositions of Scripture, because I shall not need to enter into long disputations of articles of doctrine, & to wander out into cōmon places: I will alway knit them vp shortly. By this meane the godly reader shall be eased of great paine and tediousnes, so that he come furnished aforehand with the knowledge of this present worke as with a necessarie instrument. But because the intent of this purpose, doth clerely as in mirrors appeere in so many cōmentaries of mine, I had rather to declare indeed what it is, than to set it out in wordes. Farewell friendly Reader, and if thou receiue any fruite of my labors, helpe me with thy prayers to God our Father.

At Geneva the first day of August in the yeare 1559.

Augustine in his vij. Epistle.

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

WHAT CHAPTERS ARE contained in the Bookes of *this Institution.*

*In the first booke which entreateth of the knowledge of God the Creator:
are contained xxviij. Chapters.*



That the knowledge of God, & of our selues, are things conioined: and how they belincked the one with the other.

2 What it is to know God, and to what end tendeth the knowledge of him.

3 That the knowledge of God is naturally planted in the minds of men.

4 That the same knowledge is either choaked or corrupted, partly by ignorance, and partly by malice.

5 That the knowledge of God doeth shiningly appeare in the making of the world, and in the continuall government thereof.

6 That to attaine to God the creator, it is needfull to haue the scripture to be our guide and maistresse.

7 By what testimonie the Scripture ought to be established, that is by the witness of the holy Ghost, that the authoritie thereof may remaine certaine: And that it is a wicked inuention to say that the credit thereof doth hang vpon the iudgement of the Church.

8 That so far as mans reason may bear, there are sufficient proofes to stablish the credit of the Scripture.

9 That those fantastickall men, which forsaking Scripture, resort vnto reuelation, do ouerthrow all the principles of godlinesse.

10 That the Scripture, to correct al su-

perstition, doth in comparison set the true God against al the Gods of the Gentiles, reckoning him for none of them.

11 That it is vnlawfull to attribute vnto God a visible forme, & that generally, they forsake God, so many as do erect to themselues any images.

12 That God is feuerally discerned from idols, that hee may bee onely and wholly worshipped.

13 That there is taught in the Scriptures one essence of God from the verie creation, which essence containeth in it three persons.

14 That the Scripture euen in the creation of the world, and of all things, doth by certain marks put difference between the true God, and feigned Gods.

15 What a one man was created: wherein there is intreated of the powers of the soule, and of the image of God, of freewill, and of the first integritie of nature.

16 That God by his power doth nourish and maintaine the worlde, which himselfe hath created, and by his prouidence doth gouerne all the parts thereof.

17 Whereto and to what end this doctrine is to be applied, that wee may be certaine of the profit thereof.

18 That God doth so vse the seruice of wicked men, and so boweth their mindes to put his iudgement in execution, that yet still himselfe remaineth pure from all spot.

In the second booke which entreateth of the knowledge of God the Redecmer in Christ, which knowledge was first opened to the fathers in the time of the law, and then to vs in the Gospel: are contained xxviij. Chapters.

1 **T**hat by Adams sin and falling away, mankind became accursed,

and did degenerate from his first estate: wherein is entreated of originall sinne.

2 That

The Table.

- 2 That man is now spoiled of the freedom of will, and made subiect to miserable bondage.
- 3 That out of the corrupt nature of man proceedeth nothing but damnable.
- 4 How 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 being lost must seeke for redemption in Christ.
- 7 That the law was giuen, not to hold still the people in it, but to nourish the hope of saluation in Christ vntill his comming.
- 8 An exposition of the morall Law.
- 9 That Christ although he was known to the Iewes vnder the Law, yet was he deliuered onely by the Gospell.
- 10 Of the likenes of the old and new Testament.
- 11 Of the difference of the one Testament from the other.
- 12 That it behooued that Christ to perourme the office of the Mediator, should be made man.
- 13 That Christ tooke vpon him the true substance of the flesh of man.
- 14 How the natures of the Mediator doe make one person.
- 15 That we may know to what end Christ was sent of his father, and what he brought vs : three things are principally to be considered in him, his propheticall office, his kingdome, and his priesthood.
- 16 How Christ hath fulfilled the office of Redeemer, to purchase saluation for vs, wherein is entreated of his Death and Resurrection, and his Ascending into heauen.
- 17 That it is truely and properly said, that Christ hath deserued Gods fauour and saluation for vs.

*In the third Booke which intreateth of the maner how to receiue the grace of Christ, and what frutes come thereof to vs, and what effectes follow of it : are contained
x x v. Chapters.*

- 1 **T**HAT those things which are spoken of Christ doe profite vs, by secret working of the holy Ghost.
- 2 Of Faith, wherein both is the definition of it, and the properties that it hath are declared.
- 3 That wee are regenerate by Faith, wherein is intreated of repentance.
- 4 That all that the Sophisters babble in their Schooles of penance, is far from the purenesse of the Gospell : where is entreated of confession and Satisfaction.
- 5 Of the supplyings which they adde to satisfactions, as pardons & purgatory.
- 6 Of the life of a Christian Man. And first by what argumentes the Scripture exhorteth vs thereunto.
- 7 The summe of a Christian life: where is entreated of the forsaking of our selues.
- 8 Of the bearing of the Crosse, which is a parte of the forsaking of our selues.
- 9 Of the meditation of the life to come.
- 10 How we ought to vse this present life, and the helps thereof.
- 11 Of the Iustification of Faith, and first of the definition of the name and of the thing,
- 12 That to the ende we may be fully perswaded of the free iustification, we must lift vp our minds to the iudgement seate of God.
- 13 That there are two things to be marked in free Iustification.
- 14 What is the beginning of Iustification, & the continuall proceeding thereof.
- 15 That those things that are commonly boasted concerning the merites of works, do ouerthrow as well the praise of God in giuing of righteousnes, as also the assurednes of saluation.
- 16 A confutation of the slaunders, whereby the Papists goe about to bring this doctrine in hatred.
- 17 The agreement of the promises of the Law and the Gospell,

The Table.

- 18 That of the reward, the righteousnes of workes is ill gathered.
 19 Of Christian libertie.
 20 Of prayer which is the cheefe exercise of Faith, and whereby we dayly receiue the benefites of God.
 21 Of the eternall election, whereby God hath predestinate some to saluation, some other to destruction.
 22 A confirmation of this doctrine by the testimonies of Scripture.
 23 A confutation of the flanders, wherewith this doctrine hath alway bene vniuſtly charged.
 24 That election is ſtablished by the calling of GOD: and that the reprobate doe bring vpon themſelues the iust destruction, to which they are appointed.
 25 Of the last Resurrection.

*In the fourth Booke which intreateth of the outward meanes or helpes whereby God calleth vs into the fellowship of Chriſt, and holdeth vs in it: are contained
 xxx. Chapters.*

- 1 **O**F the true Church with which we ought to keepe vnitie, because it is the Mother of all the godly.
 2 A comparison of the false Church with the true Church.
 3 Of the teachers and ministers of the Church, and of their election and office.
 4 Of the state of the olde Church, and of the manner of governing that was in vse before the Papacie.
 5 That the olde forme of government is vtterly ouerthrowne by the tyranny of the Papacie.
 6 Of the supremacy of the Sea of Rome.
 7 Of the beginning and encreasing of the Papacie of Rome, vntill it aduanced it selfe to this height, whereby both the libertie of the Church hath bene oppressed, and all the right government thereof onerthrowne.
 8 Of the power of the Church as touching the articles of Faith: and with how vnbridled licentiousnesse it hath in the Papacie been wrested to corrupt all purenesse of doctrine.
 9 Of Councelles and of their authoritie.
 10 Of the power in making of lawes wherein the Pope and his haue vsed a most cruell tyrannie and butcherie vpon Soules.
 11 Of the iurisdiction of the Church and the abuse thereof, such as is seene in the Papacie.
 12 Of the discipline of the Church, whereof the cheefe vse is in the censures and excommunication.
 13 Of vowes, by rash promising whereof eche man hath miserably entangled himselfe.
 14 Of Sacraments.
 15 Of Baptisme.
 16 That the Baptisme of Infantes doth very well agree with the institution of Chriſt, and the nature of the signe.
 17 Of the holy Supper of Chriſt: and what it auaileth vs.
 18 Of the Popish Masse, by which sacriledge the Supper of Chriſt hath not onely bene prophaned, but also brought to nought.
 19 Of the fiue falselie named Sacraments: where is declared, that the other fiue which haue been hitherto commonly taken for Sacraments, are not Sacraments: and then is shewed what manner of things they be.
 20 Of Ciuill government.

F I N I S.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, which intreateth of the knowledge of God the Creator.

The first Chapter.

*That the knowledge of God, and of our selues, are things conioined :
and how they be linked the one with the other.*



HE whole summe in a maner of all our wisdom, which onely ought to be accounted true and perfect wisdom, consisteth in two partes, that is to say, the knowledge of God, and of our selues. But whereas these two knowledges be with many bondes linked together : yet whether goeth before or engendreth the other, it is hard to discern. For, first no man can looke vpon himselfe, but he must needs by and by turne all his senses to the beholding of God, in whom he liueth and is moued : because it is plaine, that those giftes wherewith we be indued, are not of our selues, yea, euen that that we haue being is nothing els but an essence in the one God. Finally, by these good things that are as by dropmeale powred into vs from heauen, we are led as it were by certaine streames to the spring head. And so by our owne needinesse, better appeereth that infinite plentie of good things that abideth in God. Specially that miserable ruine, wherinto the fall of the first man hath throwne vs, compelleth vs to lift vp our eies, not onely being foodlesse and hungrie, to craue from thence that which we lacke, but also being awakened with feare, to learne humilitie. For as there is found in man a certaine worlde of all miseries, and since we haue beene spoyled of the diuine apparell, our shamefull nakednesse discloseth an infinite heape of filthie disgracements : it must needs be that euery man be pricked with knowledge in conscience of his owne unhappinesse to make him come at the least vnto some knowledge of God. So by the vnderstanding of our ignorance, vanitie, beggerie, weakenesse, perversnesse, and corruption, we learne to reknowledge that no where else but in the Lord abideth the true light of wisdom, sound vertue, perfect abundance of all good things, and puritie of righteousnes. And so by our owne euils we are stirred to consider the good things of God : and we cannot earnestly aspire toward him, vntill we begin to mislike our selues. For of all men what one is there, that would not willingly rest in himselfe ? yea, who doth not rest, so long as he knoweth not himselfe, that is to say, so long as he is contented with his owne giftes, and ignorant or vnmindfull of his owne miserie ? Therefore euery man is by the knowledge of himselfe, not onely pricked forward to seeke God, but also led as it were by the hand to finde him.

2 Again, it is certaine, that man neuer commeth vnto the true knowledge of himselfe, vnlesse he hath first beholden the face of God, and from beholding thereof doe descend to looke into himselfe. For (such is the pride that is naturally planted in vs) we alway thinke our selues righteous, innocent, wise and holy, vntill that with manifest proues we be conuincd of our vnrighteousnesse, filthinesse, follie and vn-

Whether we consider our being, the giftes wherewith we are indued, or the euils that are found in vs, we are thereby led to the knowledge of God.

Till we haue considered the exact perfection of iustice, wisdom and all vertue, which is in God, we neuer knowe our own imperfections.

cleannes. But we are not conuincid thereof, if we looke vpon our selues onely, and not vpon God also, who is the onely rule whereby this iudgement ought to be tried. For because we are naturally inclined to hypocrisie, therefore a certaine vaine resemblance of righteousness doth abundantly content vs in stead of righteousness in deed, And because there appeereth nothing among vs, nor about vs, that is not defiled with much filthines, therefore that which is somewhat lesse filthie pleaseth vs as though it were most pure, so long as we hold our selues within the boundes of mans vncleannes. Like as the cie that is vsed to see nothing but blacke, thinketh that to be pure white, which yet is but darkish white, or browne. Yea, we may yet more plainly discern by our bodily sense how much we are blinded in considering the powers of the soule. For if at midday we either looke downe vpon the ground, or beholde those things that round about lie open before our eyes, then we thinke our selues to haue very assured and peacing force of sight: but when we looke vp to the sunne, and beholde it with fixed eyes, then that same sharpenesse that was of great force vpon the ground, is with so great brightnes by and by daseled and confounded, that we are compelled to confesse that the same sharpe sight which we had in considering earthly things, when it commeth to the sunne, is but mere dulnes. Euen so commeth it to passe in waighing our spirituall good things. For while we looke no further than the earth, so long being wel contented with our owne righteousness, wisdom & strength, we doe sweetely flatter our selues, and thinke vs in manner halfe gods. But if we once begin to raise vp our thought vnto God, and to waigh what a one he is, and how exact is the perfection of his righteousness, wisdom and power, after the rule whereof we ought to be framed: then that which before did please vs in our selues with false pretence of righteousness, shall become loathsome to vs as greatest wickednes: then that which did maruellously deceiue vs vnder colour of wisdom, shall stinke before vs as extreme follie: then that which did beare the face of strength, shall be proued to be most miserable weakenes. So slenderly doth that which in vs seemeth euen most perfect, answer in proportion to the purenes of God.

3 Heereof proceedeth that trembling and amazednes, wherewith the scripture in many places reciteth that the holy men were stricken and astonished so oft as they perceived the presence of God. For when we see that they which in his absence did stand assured and vnmoued, so soone as he discloseth his glorie, begin so to quake and are so dismaied, that they fall downe, yea are swallowed vp, and in manner are destroyed with feare of death: it is to be gathered thereby, that man is neuer sufficiently touched and inwardly moued with knowledge of his owne basenes, vntill he haue compared himselfe to the maiestie of God. But of such dismaying we haue often examples both in the Iudges and in the Prophets: so that this was a common saying among the people of God: We shall die because the Lord hath appered vnto vs. And therefore the historie of *Iob*, to throw men downe with knowledge of their owne follie, weaknes, and vncleannes, bringeth alway his principall prooffe from describing Gods wisdom, strength and cleannes. And that not without cause. For we see how *Abraham*, the neerer that he came to behold the glorie of God, the better acknowledged himselfe to be earth and dust. We see how *Elias* could not abide to tarie his comming to him with vncouered face: so terrible is the beholding of him. And what may man doe that is but corruption and a worme, when euen the Cherubins for very feare must hide their faces? Euen this is it that the Prophet *Esay* speaketh of: The Sunne shall blush, and the Moone shall be ashamed, when the Lord of hostes shall raigne, that is to say, when he displaith his brightnes, and bringeth it neerer to sight, then in comparison thereof the brightest thing of all shall be darkened. But how soeuer the knowledge of God and of our selues, are with mutuall knot linked together, yet the order of right teaching requirith that first we inreate of the knowledge of God, and after come downe to speake of the knowledge of our selues.

we content
d m & t
r m g t o m f n d

The beholding of
the maiestie of god
maketh men to see
their owne basene-
sse.

Iud. 13. 22.
Esa. 6. 5.
Ezc. 2. 1.

Gen 18. 17.
1. King 19 13.
Esa. 24. 23.
Esa. 2. 10. & 19.

The second Chapter.

What it is to know God, and to what end tendeth the knowledge of him.

I Meane by the knowledge of God, not onely that knowledge, whereby we conceiue that there is some God, but also that, whereby we learne so much as behooueth vs to know of him, and as is profitable for his glorie: finally so much as is expedient. For, to speake properly, we cannot saie that God is knowen where there is no religion nor godlines. But here I do not yet touch that speciall kinde of knowledge whereby those men that are in themselves reprobate and accursed do conceiue God the redeemer in Christ the mediator: but I speake onely of that first and simple manner of knowledge, wherunto the verie order of nature would haue led vs, if Adam had continued in state of innocencie. For although no man, sith mankinde is in this ruine, can perceiue God to be either a father, or author of saluation, or in anie wise fauourable, vnlesse Christ come as a meane to pacifie him towards vs: yet it is one thing to feele that God our maker doth by his power sustaine vs, by his providence gouerne vs, by his goodnesse nourish vs, and endue vs with all kindes of blessings: and another thing to embrace the grace of reconciliation offered vs in Christ. Whereas therefore the Lorde first simplicie appeareth as well by the making of the worlde, as by the generall doctrine of the Scripture, to be the Creator, and then in the face of Christ to be the Redeemer: heereupon arise two sorts of knowing him, of which the former is now to be intreated of, and then the other shall orderly follow in the place fit for it. For although our minde cannot conceiue the knowledge of God, but that it must giue to him some kinde of worship, yet shall it not be sufficient simplicie to know that it is he onely that ought to be honoured and worshipped of all men, vnlesse we be also perswaded that he is the fountaine of all good things, to the ende that we should seecke for nothing elsewhere but in him. I meane heereby, not onely for that as he hath once created this worlde, so by his infinite power he sustaineth it, by his wisdom he gouerneth it, by his goodnes he preferueth it, and specially mankinde heruleth by his righteousnes and iudgement, suffreth by his mercy, and sauegardeth by his defence: but also because there can no where be found any one drop either of wisdom, or of light, or of righteousnes, or of power, or of vprightnes, or of sincere truth, which floweth not from him, or whereof he is not the cause: to this end verily, that we should learne to looke for and craue all these things at his hande, and with thanksgiving account them receiued of him. For this feeling of the powers of God is to vs a meere schoolemaster of godlines, out of which springeth religion: Godlines I call a reuerence of God, ioyned with loue of him which is procured by knowledge of his benefits. For men will neuer with willing obedience submit themselves to God, vntill they perceiue that they owe all things to him, that they are nourished by his fatherly care, that he is to them the author of all good things, so that nothing is to be sought elsewhere than in him. Yea, they will neuer yeelde themselves truly and with all their hart wholly to him, vnlesse they assuredly beleue that in him is perfect felicitie reposed for them.

2 Therefore they doe but trifle with vaine speculations, which in entreating of this question, do make it their purpose to discuss what thing God is, where it rather behooueth vs to know what maner one he is, and what agreeth with his nature. For to what ende serueth it to confesse as Epicure doth, that there is a God which doth onely delight himselfe with idlenes, hauing no care of the world? Finally, what profiteth it to know such a God with whom we may haue nothing to do? But rather the knowledge of him ought to serue to this end, first to frame vs to feare and reuerence: then that by it guiding and teaching vs, we may learne to craue all good things at his hande, and to account them receiued of him. For how can any thought of God enter into thy zainde, but that thou must therewithall by and by thinke, that forasmuch

The knowledge whereby we conceiue that there is a God, that he is the creator & preseruer of all things that are, and the only giuer of good things, breedeth godlines and obedience.

*Add finis
to God by ns*

How the knowledge of diuers properties of God brought forth diuers vertues in vs.

as thou art his creature, therefore thou art of right subiect and bound to his authority, that thou owest him thy life, that whatsoever thou enterpriest, whatsoever thou doest, ought to be directed to him? If this be true, then truly it followeth that thy life is peruerfely corrupted if it be not framed to obeying of him, forasmuch as his will ought to be our lawe to liue by. Again, thou canst not cleerely see him, but that thou must needs knowe that he is the fountaine and originall of all good things, whereupon should grow both a desire to cleaue vnto him, and an assured trust in him, if mans owne corruptnes did not draw his mind from the right searching of him. For first of all, the godly minde doth nor as by a dreame imagine to herselfe anie God at aduerture, but stedfastly beholdeth the onely one and true God: and doth not false- lie forge of him whatsoever herselfe liketh, but is content to beleue him to be such a one as he discloseth himselfe, and doth alway with great diligence beware that with presumptuous rashnesse she passe not beyond his will, and so wander out of the waie. And when she so knoweth him, because she vnderstandeth that he governeth all things, the assuredly trusteth that he is her safe keeper and defender, and therefore wholly committeth herselfe to his faith, because she vnderstandeth that he is the author of all good things: therefore if any thing trouble her, or if she want any thing, by and by she flieth to him for succour, looking for helpe at his hand. Because she is perswaded that he is good and mercifull, therefore with assured confidence she resteth on him, and doubteth not in all her euils to finde readie remedie in his mercifull kindnesse. Because she knoweth him to be her Lord and father, therefore she determineth that he is woorthie that she should in all things haue regard to his authority, reuerence his maiestie, procure the aduancement of his glorie, and obey his commandements. Because she seeth that he is a righteous Iudge, and armed with his seueritie to punish sinners, therefore she alway setteth his iudgement seate before her eyes, and with feare of him withdraweth and restraineth herselfe from prouoking his wrath. Yet is she not so affraid with the feeling of his iudgement, that she woulde conuey herselfe from it, although there were a way open to escape it: but rather she doth no lesse loue him, while he extendeth vengeance vpon the wicked, then while he is beneficiall to the godly, forasmuch as she vnderstandeth that it doth no lesse belong to his glorie, that he hath in store punishment for the wicked and euill doers, than that he hath rewarde of eternall life for the righteous. Moreover she doth not for onely feare of punishment refraine herselfe from sinning: but because she loueth and reuerenceth him as her father, attendeth on him and honoreth him as her Lord, therefore although there were no hell at all, yet she dreadeth him openly displeasure. Now behold what is the pure and true religion, euen faith ioyned with an earnest feare of God, so that feare may containe in it a willing reuerence, and draw with it a right forme of worshipping such as is appointed in the lawe. And this is the more heedfully to be noted, because all men generally do worship God, but fewe do reuerence him, while each where is great pompous shewe in ceremonies, but the purenes of hart is rare to be found.

3 Truly, they that iudge rightly, will alway holde this for certaine, that there is grauen in the mindes of men a certaine feeling of the Godhead, which neuer can be blotted out. Yea that this perswasion, that there is a God, is euen from their generation naturally planted in them, and deeply rooted within their bones, the verie obstinacie of the wicked is a substantiall witnes, which with their furious struing yet can neuer winde themselues out of the feare of God. Although *Diagoras* and such other do iest and laugh at all that hath in all ages beene beleued concerning religion: although *Dionysius* doe scoffe at the heavenly iudgement: yet that is but a laughter from the teeth forward, because inwardly the woorme of conscience gnaweth them much more sharply than all hot searing irons. I alleage not this that *Cicero* saith, that errors by continuance of time grow out of vse, and religion dayly

more

and
religion is.

It is in vaine to
know God of
whom the most
godles haue a kind
of feeling, vnlesse
we know him so
that we also
worship him.

more and more encrease and waxeth better. For the world (as a little hereafter we shall haue occasion to shew) trauelleth as much as in it lyeth to shake off all knowledge of God, and by all meanes to corrupt the worshipping of him. But this onely I say, that when the dull hardnesse, which the wicked doe desirously labour to get to despise God withall, doth lye pinningly in their hearts, yet the same feeling of God, which they would most of all desire to haue vtterly destroyed, liueth still, and sometime doth vtter it selfe: whereby we gather that it is no such doctrine as is first to be learned in schooles, but such a one whereof euerie man is a teacher to himselfe euen from his mothers wombe, and such a one as nature suffereth none to forget, although many bende all their endeavour to shake it out of their minde. Now, if all men be borne and do liue to this ende, to know God, and the knowledge of God is but fickle and lightly vanisheth away, vnlesse it proceede thus farre: it is euident, that they all swarue out of kind from the law of their creation, that do not direct to this marke all the whole thoughts and doings of their life. Of which the Philosophers themselues were not ignorant. For *Plato* ment nothing else, when he oftentimes taught, that the soueraigne good of the soule is the likenesse of God, when the soule hauing throughly conceiued the knowledge of him is wholly transformed into him. Therefore *uene* aptly doth *Grillus* reason in *Plutarch*, where he affirmeth, that men, if religion be once taken from their life, are not onely nothing better than brute beasts, but also many waies much more miserable, for that being subiect to so many sorts of euils, they continually draw forth a troublesome vnquiet life: and therefore the worshipping of God is the onely thing that maketh them better than brute beastes, by which alone they aspire to immortalitie.

In Phedrone & theetcro.

The third Chapter.

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

WE hold it out of controuersie, that there is in the minde of man, euen by naturall instinction, a certaine feeling of the Godhead. For to the ende that no man should flee to the pretence of ignorance, God himselfe hath planted in all men a certaine vnderstanding of his diuine maicstie, the remembrance whereof, with powring in now and then as it were newe drops, he continually reneweth: that when all, not one excepted, do know that there is a God, and that he is their maker, they may all be condemned by their owne testimonie, for that they haue not both worshipped him, and dedicated their life to his will. But truly if the not knowing of God be any where to be found, it is likely that there can no where else be any example of it more than among the grossest sorts of peoples and fardest from ciuill order of humanitie. But (as the heathen man saith) there is no nation so barbarous, no kinde of people so sauage, in whom resteth not this perswasion that there is a God. And euen they that in other parts of their life seeme verie little to differ from brute beasts, yet do continually keepe a certaine seede of religion. So thoroughly hath this common principle possessed all mens minds, and so fast it sticketh within all mens bowels. Sith then from the beginning of the world there hath bene no countrey, no citie, yea no house, that could be without religion, in this is emplied a certaine secret confession, that a feeling of the Godhead is written in the harts of all men. Yea, and idolatrie it selfe is a substantiall prooffe of this perswasion. For we know how vnwillingly man abaseth himselfe to honour other creatures aboue himselfe. Therefore when he had rather worship a blocke and a stone, than he would be thought to haue no God, it appeareth that this imprinted perswasion of God is of most great force, which is impossible to be raced out of the minde of man, that it is much more easie to haue the affection of nature broken, as indeede it is broken when man from his owne naturall swelling pride of his owne will stoupe downe euen to the basest creatures to honour God.

Why God hath imprinted some knowledge of him selfe in all mens minds, as that all nations, euen idolaters themselues do proue.

Cicero de nat. Deorum.

Yea, they which do most denie it, shew most that it cannot reasonably be denied.

2 Wherefore it is most vaine which some do say, that religion was deuised by the suttlerie and craft of a fewe, by this policie, to keepe the simple people in awe, whereas they themselues that procured other to worship God, beleued nothing lesse than that there was any God at all. I graunt indeed that suttle men haue inuented many things 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 could neuer haue brought to passe, vnlesse the mindes of men had beene alreadie before hand perswaded that there was a God, out of which perswasion as out of seede sprungeth that readie inclination to religion. Neither is it likely that euen they which suttelly deceived the simple sort with colour of religion, were themselues altogether without knowledge of God. For though in times past there haue beene some, and at this day there arise vp many that denie that there is any God: yet whether they will or no, they oftentimes feele that which they are desirous not to know. We read 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 wrath appeared. And so against his will he quaked for feare of him whom of wilfull purpose he endeoured to despise. And the same may a man commonly 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 verie noise of the falling of a leafe. And whence cometh that, but from the reuengement of Gods maiestie, which doth so much the more vehemently strike their consciences as they more labour to sic away from it? They do indeede looke about for all the starting holes that may be, to hide themselues from the presence of the Lord: but whether they will or no, they are still holden fast tyed. For howsoeuer sometime it seemeth to vanish away for a moment, yet it out returneth againe, and with new assault doth run vpon them: so that the rest which they haue, if they haue any at all, from torment of conscience, is much like to the sleepe of drunkards or frantike men, which euen while they sleepe do not quietly rest, because they are at euerie moment vexed with horrible and dredfull dreames. Therefore the verie vngodly themselues serue for an example to prouue that there alway liueth in all mens minds some knowledge of God.

The iij. Chapter.

That the same knowledge is either choaked, or corrupted, partly by ignorance, and partly by malice.

The erroneous imagination which superstitious persons haue of God, cannot be excused, for that they are the cause of their owne blindnesse.

BVt as experience teacheth that God hath sowen the seede of religion in all men, so scarcely may be founde the hundreth man, that hauing it conceiued in his hart doth cherishe it, but no man in whom it ripeneth, so far is it of that any fruit appeareth in due time. Therefore whether it be that some become vaine in their owne superstitions, or that some do offset purpose maliciously reuolt from God; yet all doe runne out of kinde from the true knowledge of him. So cometh it to passe that there remaineth no true godlinesse in the world. But whereas I said that some by error fall into superstition, I meane not thereby as though their simplicitie might excuse them from blame, because the blindnesse that they haue, is commonly alway mingled both with proude vanitie, and with stubbornesse. Vanitie and the same ioynd with pride appeareth in this, that they miserable men both in the seeking of God do not climb about themselues as they ought to haue done, but measure him according to the proportion of their owne fleshly dulnesse, and also neglecting the sounde maner of searching for him, do curiously sic to vaine speculations. And so they conceiue him not such a one as he offereth himselfe; but do imagine him such a one as of their owne rash presumption they haue forged him. Which gulf being once opened, what way soeuer they sture their feete, they must needs alway runne headlong into destruction.

defection. For whatsoever afterward they goe about towards the worshipping or service of God, they cannot account it done to him, because they worship not him, but rather the deuise of their owne heart, and their owne dreame in stead of him. This pernerfenes doth *Paule* expressly touch, where he saith, that they were made foolcs when they ducted to be wise. He had before said, that they were made vaine in their imaginations: but least any man should thereby excuse them from blame, he addeth further, that they are worthily blinded because not contented with sobriety, but presumptuously taking vpon themselves more than they ought, they wilfully bring darkenesse vpon them, yea with vaine and froward pride doe make themselves foolcs. Whereupon followeth, that their foolishnesse is not excusable, whereof the cause is not onely vaine curiositie, but also a greedines to know more than is meete for them, ioyned with a false confidence.

Roman. 1. 22.

2 As for this that *Dauid* saith, that the wicked and mad men thinke in their hearts, that there is no God: First that is meant onely of those that choking the light of nature, do of purpose make themselves senselesse, as we shall see againe a little hereafter. Euen as we see that manie after that they haue bene hardened with boldnes and custome of sinning, do purposely put from them all the remembrance of God, which yet is by verie feeling of nature inwardly ministred vnto their minds. Now *Dauid*, to make their madnesse the more detestable, bringeth them in as though they precisely denyed, that there is any God: although they take not from him his being, but because in taking from him his iudgement and prouidence, they shut him vp idle in heauen. For whereas nothing lesse agreeth with the nature of God, than to throw away the government of the world, and leaue it to fortune, to winke at the finnes of men, so as they may liue in licentious outrage vnpunished: whoeuer he be that quenching the feare of the heavenly iudgement, doth carelesly follow his owne affections, he denieth that there is a God. And this is the iust vengeance of God, to draw a faines ouer their hearts, so that the wicked when they haue once closed their eyes, euen in seeing may not see. And *Dauid* in another place is the best expounder of his owne meaning, where he saith: That the feare of God is not before the eyes of the wicked. Againe, that in their euill doings they proudly reioice at themselves, because they perswade themselves that God doth not looke vpon them: Therefore although they be compelled to acknowledge some God, yet they do rob him of his glorie in withdrawing from him his power. For as God (as *Paul* witnesseth) cannot denie himselfe, because he continually abideth like himselfe: so is it truely saide, that these men in faining God to be a dead and vaine image, do denie God. Moreover it is to be noted that although they wrastle against their owne naturall feeling, and do desire not onely to shake out God from thence, but also to destroy him in heauen: yet their dull hardnesse can neuer so far preuaile, but that God sometime draweth them backe to his iudgement seat. But for as much as they are not withholden with any feare from running violently against God: therefore it is certaine that there reigneth in them a brutish forgetfulness of God, so long as that blind pang of rage doth so forcibly carrie them.

Psal. 13. 1.

Malicious sinners are said to thinke there is no God, not as if they did precisely deny him to be, but because they labour to put off from themselves all feeling of his power, which notwithstanding they cannot do.

Psal. 30. 6, 2.

Psal. 10. 11.

2. Tim. 3. 13.

3 So is that vaine defence ouerthrown, which many are wont to pretende for excuse of their superstition. For they thinke, that any deuotion to religion sufficeth, whatsoeuer it be, though it be neuer so much contrary to order and truth. But they consider not, that true religion ought to be framed according to the will of God, as by a perpetuall rule: and that God himselfe abideth alway like himselfe, and is no imagined Ghost or fantasie, that may be diuersly fashioned after euery mans liking. And truely we may plainly see with how lying deccits superstition mocketh God, while she goeth about to do him pleasure. For catching holde of those things in a manner onely, which God hath testified that he careth not for, the either contemptuously vseth, or openly refuseth those things that he appointeth and saith to be

God alloweth no deuotion but that which springeth from the true knowledge of his name.

Cap. 4. Of the knowledge of

pleasant vnto him. Therefore whosoever do set vp newe inuented formes of worshiping God, they worship and honour their owne doting deuises: because they durst not so trifle with God, vnlesse they had first fained a God, agreeing with the follies of their trailing toyes. Wherefore the Apostle pronounceth, that that vntaied and wandring opinion of the maiestie of God, is a verie not knowing of God. When (saith he) yee knewe not God, yee serued them that in nature were no gods. And in another place he saith that the Ephesians were without a God at such time as they strayed from the right knowledge of the one God. And at least in this case, it differeth not much, whether thou beleue one God or many, because in both cases thou departest from and forsakest the true God: whom when thou hast once forsaken, there is nothing left with thee but a detestable Idol. It followeth therefore, that we must determine with Lactantius, that there is no lawfully allowable religion, but that which is ioyned with truth.

Gal. 4. 8.
Ephes. 2. 12.

*God receiveth not
their seruice, but
seeketh honestly by
fearre in cases of
extremities which
were left: which
knowe that there
was a seede of the
knowledge of God
which lay before
suppressed in them*

4 There is also a second fault, that they neither haue at any time any consideration of God, but against their wils, nor do approach toward him, till for all their holding backe they be forcible drawn to him: and euen then also they haue not a willing feare that proceedeth from reuerence of Gods maiestie, but onely a seruile and constrained feare, which the iudgement of God wringeth out of them: which iudgement because they cannot escape, therefore they dread it, but yet so as therewithall they abhorre it. And so that saying of Statius, that feare first made gods in the world, may be fitly spoken of vngodlinesse, and of this kinde of vngodlinesse onely. They that haue a minde abhorring from the iustice of God, do hartily wish to haue his throne of iudgement ouerthrowne, which they knowe to stande for punishment of offences against his iustice by which affection they warre against God, who cannot be without his iudgement. But when they vnderstand that his power impossible to be avoided, hangeth ouer them: because they can neither by force remouue it, nor by flight escape it, therefore they feare it. So least they shoulde in all things seeme to despise him, whose maiestie still presseth vpon them, they vse a certaine outward forme of religion, such as it is: but in the meane time they cease not to defile themselues with all kinde of vices, to ioyne outrageous mischiefes to mischiefes, vnll they haue in all points violate the holie law of the Lord, and destroyed his whole righteousness, or at least they are not so holden backe with that fained feare of God, but that they sweetely rest in their finnes, and flatter themselues, and had rather to followe the intemperance of their flesh than restrain it with the bridle of the holy Ghost. But forasmuch as the same is but a void and lying shadow of religion, yea scarcely woorthy to be called a shadow: heereby againe is easily gathered, how much the true godlinesse, which is powred onely into the hearts of the faithfull, I meane that out of which religion springeth, doth differ from this confuse knowledge of God. And yet the hypocrites would obtaine by crooked compasses, to seeme nigh vnto God, whom they flee from. For whereas there ought to haue bene one continuall vnbroken course of obedience in their whole life, they in a manner in all their dooings carelessly rebelling against him, labour with a few sacrifices to appease him. Whereas they ought to haue serued him with holinesse of life and syncerenes of hart, they inuent triflings & obseruances of no value, to procure his fauour withal. yea they do the more licentiously lie dull in their owne dregges, because they trust that they may be discharged against him with their owne mockeries of propitiatorie satisfactions. Finally whereas their assiance ought to haue bene fastened in him, they neglecting him do rest in themselues, or in creatures. At length they entangle themselues with such a heape of errors, that the daike mist of malice doth choke, and at last vtterly quench those sparkes, that glimmeringly shined to make them see the glorie of God. Yet that seede still remaineth which can by no meane be plucked vp by the roote, to beleue that there is a certaine godhead: but the same seede is so corrupted, that it bringeth

fourth of it none other but verie euill fruites. Yea thereby is that which I trauaile to prooue more certainly gathered, that there is a feeling of godhead naturally grauen in the hearts of men, forasmuch as the verie reprobate themselves are of necessity enforced to confesse it. In quiet prosperitie they pleasantly mocke at God, yea they are full of talke and prating to diminish the greatnes of his power: but if on ce any desperation touch them, it stirreth them vp to seeke the same God, and ministrerth them foudaine short praiers: by which it may appeere, that they were not vtterly ignorant of God, but that the same which ought sooner to haue bene vttered, was by obstinacie suppressed.

The fifth Chapter.

That the knowledge of God doth shinningly appeere in the making of the world and in the continuall gouernment thereof.

Moreouer because the furthest end of blessed life standeth in the knowledge of God: that the way to felicitie should be stopped to none, therefore God hath not onely planted in the mindes of men that seede of religion which we haue spoken of, but also hath so disclosed himselfe in the whole workmanship of the worlde, and daily so manifestly presenteth himselfe, that men cannot open their eyes but they must needs behold him. His substance indeede is incomprehensible, so that his diuine maieestic farre surmounteth all mens senses: but he hath in all his workes grauen certaine markes of his glorie, 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. Therefore the prophet rightfully crieth out, that he is clothed with light as with a garment: as if he should haue laide, that then he first began to come fourth to be seene in visible apparell, since the time that he first displayed his ensignes in the creation of the worlde, by which euen now what way soeuer we turne our eyes, he appeereth glorious vnto vs. In the same place also the same Prophet aptly compareth the heauens as they be displayed abroad, to his royall paultion: he saith that he hath framed his paltours in the waters, that the cloudes are his chariots, that he rideth vpon the wings of the windes, that the windes and lightenings are his swift messengers. And because the glorie of his power and wisdom doth more fully shine aboue, therefore commonly the heauen is called his pallace. And first of all, what waie soeuer thou turne thy eyes, there is no peece of the worlde be it neuer so small, wherein are not seene at least some sparkles of his glorie to shine. But as for this most large and beautifull frame, thou canst not with one viewe peruse the wide compasse of it, but that thou must needs be on euery side ouerwhelmed with the infinite force of the brightnes thereof. Wherefore the author of the Epistle to the *Hebrues* doth verie well call the ages of the world the spectacle of inuisible things, for that the so orderly framing of the world serueth vs for a mirrour wherein we may beholde God, which otherwise is inuisible. For which cause the Prophet assigneth to the heavenly creatures a language that all nations vnderstand, for that in them there is a more euident testification of the godhead, than that it ought to escape the consideration of any nation be they neuer so dull. Which thing the Apostle declaring more plainly saith, that there is disclosed vnto men so much as was behoouefull to be known concerning God: because all men without exception, do throughly see his inuisible things euen to his verie power and Godhead, which they vnderstand by the creation of the world.

2 As for his wonderful wisdom, there are innumerable prooues both in heauen and in earth that witnesse it: I meane not onely that secreter sort of things, for the neerer marking whereof *Astrologie*, *Physicke*, and all naturall Philosophie serueth, but euen those things that thrust themselves in sight of euery one, euen of the rudest vnlearned man, so that men cannot open their eyes but they must needs be witness

Gods power and Godhead shines so cleerly in the world, that it may be seene of all be they neuer so dull.

Psal. 104. 2.

Heb. 11. 3.

Psal. 19. 1.

Rom. 1. 19.

His wisdom, though the learned more nerely, yet the rudest may plainly enough perceiue.

of them. But truly they that haue digested, yea or but tasted the liberal Arts, being holpen by the aide thereof, doe proceede much farther to looke into the secrets of Gods wisdom. Yet is there no man so hindred by lacke of knowledge of those Arts, but that he throughly seeth abundantly enough of cunning workmanship in Gods works, to bring him in admiration of the workman thereof. As for example to the searching out of the moouings of the starres, appointing of their places, measuring of their distances, and noting of their properties, there needeth Art and an exacter diligence: by which being throughly perceived, as the prouidence of God is the more manifestly disclosed, so it is conuenient, that the minde rise somewhat the higher thereby to behold his glorie. But forasmuch as the vnlearned people, yea, and the rudest sort of them, such as are furnished with the onely helpe of their eyes, cannot be ignorant of the excellencie of Gods cunning workmanship, which in this innumerable and yet so generally well ordered and disposed varietie doth of it selfe shew fourth it selfe: it is euident that there is no man to whom God doth not largely open his wisdom. Likewise it requireth a singular sharpnes of wit, to wey with such cunning as *Galen* doth, the knitting together, the proportionall agreement, the beautie, and vse in the frame of mans bodie: but by all mens confession, the body of man doth vtter in verie shewe of it selfe so cunning a compacting together, that for it the maker of it may worthily be iudged woonderfull.

In lib. de visu
part.

We neede not
seeke farre for the
knowledge of God
when in our owne
faces we may see
hu.

Act. 17. 27.

Psal. 8. 5.

Act. 17. 28.

3 And therefore certaine of the Philosophers in old time did not without cause call man a litle worlde, because he is a rare representation of the power, goodnesse and wisdom of God, and containeth in himselfe myracles enough to occupie our mindes, if we will be content to marke them. And for this reason *Paul*, after that he had said that the verie blinde men may finde out God by groping for him, by and by faith further, that he is not to be sought farre of, because all men do feele vndoubtedly within themselves the heauenly grace wherewith they bee quickened. But if we need to go no further then our selues, to finde and take holde of God: what pardon shall his slothfulnesse deserue that will not vouchsafe to descend into himselfe to finde God? And the same is the reason why *David*, when he had shortly spoken in the aduancement of the woonderfull name and honour of God that do euery where gloriously shine, by and by crieth out: What is man that thou art mindfull of him? Again, Out of the mouth of infants and sucking babes thou hast stablished strength. For so he pronounceth that not onely in the whole kinde of man is a mirrour of the workes of God, but also that the very infants while they yet hang on their mothers breasts, haue tooongs eloquent enough to preach his glorie, so that there needeth no other Orators. And therefore he doubteth not to set their mouthes in the vaward, as being strongly armed to subdue their madnesse that would according to their diuclish pride couet to extinguish the name of God. And heereupon riseth that which *Paul* alledgeth out of *Aratus*, that we are the offspring of God: because he garnishing vs with such excellencie, hath testified that he is our father. Like as euen by common reason, and as it were by information of experience, the prophane Poets called him the father of men. And truly no man will assentingly and willingly yeeld himselfe to serue God, but he that hauing tasted his fatherly loue, is mutually allured to loue and worship him.

* Their vnwhisfulnes is worthe of detestation who ascribe the operations of their bodies and soules in such wise to nature that they hide the power of God which worketh in them.

4 * And here is disclosed the soule vnthankfulnes of men, which while they haue within themselves a workehouse gloriously furnished with innumerable workes of God, and also a shop stuffed with inestimable plentie of riches, and when they ought to burst forth into praising of him, are contrariwise puffed vp and doe swell with so much the greater pride. They feele how diuersly in maruclous wise God worketh in them: they are taught by experience it selfe, how great varietie of giftes they possesse by his liberalitie: whether they will or no, they are enforced to knowe that these are the tokens of his godhead: and yet they suppress it close within them. Truly they

neede

neede not to goe out of themselves, so that they would not in presumptuously taking vpon themselves that which is giuen from heauen, burie within the ground that which brightly giueth light to their mindes to see God. But euen at this day the earth beareth many monstrous spirits, which sticke not to abuse the whole head of god-head that is sowne in mans nature, and to imploy it to oppresse the name of God. How detestable, I pray you, is this madnes, that man finding God a hundred times in his body & his soule, should by the very same pretence of excellencie denie that there is a God? They will not say, that they are by chaunce made different from brute beasts. But they pretend a cloke of nature, whom they account the maker of all things, and so doe conuicy God away. They see that exquisite workmanship in all their members, from their mouth and their eies euen to the nailes of their toes, and yet here also they put nature in place of God. But specially the so swift motions, the so excellent powers, the so rare giftes of the soule, doe represent a diuine nature that doth not easily suffer it selfe to be hid: vnlesse the Epicureans like the Giants Cyclopes woulde (bearing themselves bold vpon this hie degree) outrageously make war against God. Do the whole treasures of the heauenly wisdomes so meete together, to rule a worme of fisee feete long: and shall the whole vniuersalitie of the world be without this prerogatiue? First to agree that there is a certaine instrumentall thing that answereth to all the partes of man, doth so serue nothing at all to obscure the honour of God, that it rather doth more gloriously set it out. Let Epicure answer me, what meeting of vriduisible bodies, boyling the meate and drinke in man, doth dispose part into excrements and part into bloud, and bringeth to passe that there is in all the members of man such an endeavouring to doe their office, euen as if so many severall soules did by common aduise rule one bodie.

5 But I haue not now to doe with that stie of swine. I rather speake vnto them, that being giuen to subtleties, would by crooked conceiuaunce with that cold saying of Aristotle, both to destroy the immortalitie of the soule, and also to take from God his right. For because there are instrumentall powers of the soule, by pretence thereof they binde the soule to the body, that it can not continue without the body, and with praises of nature they doe as much as in them is, suppress the name of God. But the powers of the soule are far from being inclosed in those exercises that serue the body. For what pertained it to the body, for a man to measure the skie, to gather the number of the stars, to learne the greatnes of one, to know what space they be distant one from another, with what swiftnesse or slownesse they goe their courses, how many degrees they decline this way or that way? I graunt in deede that there is some vse of Astrologie: but my meaning is onely to shew that in this so deepe searching out of heauenly things, it is not an instrumentall measuring, but that the soule hath her offices by it selfe severall from the bodie. I haue shewed one example, by which it shall be easie for the readers to gather the rest. Truly the manifold numbrenesse of the soule, by which it surueieth both heauen and earth, ioyne things past with things to come, keepeth in memorie things heard long before, and expresseth each thing to it selfe by imagination, also the ingeniousnesse by which it inuenteth things incredible, and which is the mother of so many marvellous artes, are sure tokens of diuine nature in man. Beside that, euen in sleeping it doth not onely roll and turne it selfe, but also conceiueth many things profitable, reasoneth of many things, and also prophecieth of things to come. What shall we in this case say, but that the signes of immortalitie that are imprinted in man, cannot be blotted out? Now what reason may beare that man shall be of diuine nature, and not acknowledge his Creator? Shall we forsooth by iudgement that is put into vs discern betweene right and wrong, and shall there be no iudge in heauen? Shall we euen in our sleepe haue abiding with vs some remnant of vnderstanding, and shall no God be waking in governing the world? Shall we be so counted the inuenters of so many artes and profitable things, that God shall

*They obscure the
glorie of God, who
binde the soule in
such sort vnto the
body that they
take from it those
operations which
depending not at
all vpon corporall
instruments, doe
both shew the di-
uine nature of
the soule, and the
powerfull providence
of him that
created it.*

shall be defrauded of his praise, whereas yet experience sufficiently teacheth, that from another and not from our selues, all that we haue, is in diuers wise distributed among vs? As for that, which some doe babble of the secret inspiration that giueth liuelinesse to the world, it is not onely weake, but also vngodly. They like wel that famous saying of Vergil:

Aen. 6.

*First heauen and earth, and flowing fieldes of seas,
The shining globe of Moone, and Titans stars,
Spirite feedes within, and throughout all the lims,
Infused minde the whole huge masse doth moue,
And with the large big bodie mixe it selfe.
Thence come the kindes of men and eke of beastes,
And liues of flying foules, and monsters strange,
That water beares within the marble Sea.
A ferie liuelinesse and beauly race there is
Within those seedes, &c.*

Forfooth, that the worlde which was created for a spectacle of the glorie of God, should be the Creator of it selfe. So in another place the same author following the common opinion of the Greckes and Latins, saith:

Geo. 4.

*Some say that bees haue part of minde diuine,
And beauly draughtes. For eke they say that God
Gothe through the coastes of land, and creekes of sea,
And through deepe skie. And hence the flockes and herdes,
And men, and all the kindes of sauage beastes
Each at their birth receiue their subtle liues.
And thereto are they rendered all at last,
And all resolved are returnde againe.
No place there is for death: but liuely they,
Flie into number of the stars aboue,
And take their place within the lustie skie.*

Loe, what that hungrie speculation of the vniuerfall minde that giueth soule and liuelinesse to the world, auaieth to engender and nourish godlinesse in the hearts of men. Which doth also better appeare by the blasphemous sayings of the filthy dog Lucretius, which are deriued from the same principle. Euen this is it, to make a shadowish God, to driue farre away the true God whom we ought to feare and worship. I graunt indeed that this may be godlily said, so that it proceede from a godly minde, that Nature is God: but because it is a hard and an vnproper manner of speech, for as much as Nature is rather an order prescribed by God: therefore in things of so great weight and to which is due a singular religiounesse, it is hurtfull to wrap vp God confusedly with the inferiour courie of his workes. Let vs therefore remember, so oft as any man considereth his owne nature, that there is one God which so gouerneth all natures, that his will is to haue vs looke vnto him, our faith to be directed to him, and him to be worshipped and called vpon of vs: because there is nothing more against conueniencie of reason, than for vs to enioy those excellent giftes that fauour of diuine nature in vs, and to despise the author that freely doth giue them vnto vs. Now as concerning his power, with how notable examples doth it for ceably draw vs to consider it, vnlesse perhaps we may be ignorant, of how great a strength it is with his onely word to vphold this infinite masse of heauen and earth, with his onely becke, sometime to shake the heauen with noise of thunders, to burne vp each thing with lightnings, to set the aire on fire with lightning flames, sometime to trouble it with diuers sortes of tempests, and by and by the same God when he list in one moment to make faire weather: to holde in the Sea as if it hanged in the aire, which with his height seemeth to threaten continuall destruction to the earth, sometime in
horrible

horrible wise to raise it vp with outrageous violence of windes, and sometime to appease the waues and make it calme againe. For prooffe hereof doe serue all the praises of God gathered of the testimonies of nature, specially in the booke of Iob and in Esay, which now of purpose I ouerpasse, because they shall else where haue another place fitter for them, where I shall entreate of the creation of the world according to the Scriptures. Only my meaning was now to touch, that both strangers and they of the household of God haue this way of seeking God common to them both, that is, to follow these first draughts which both aboue and beneath do as in a shadowe set forth a liuely image of him. And now the same power leadeth vs to consider his eternitie. For it must needes be that he from whom all things haue their beginning, is of eternall continuance, and hath his beginning of himselfe. But now if any man enquire the cause whereby he both was once lead to creat all these things; and is now moued to preferre them: we shall finde that his onely goodnes was it that caused him. Yea and although this onely be the cause, yet ought the same abundantly to suffice to allure vs to the loue of him, for asmuch as there is no creature (as the Prophet saith) vpon which his mercie is not powred out.

6 Also in the second sort of his workes, I meane those that come to passe beside the ordinarie course of nature, there doth appeare no lesse euident prooffe of his powers. For in gouerning the fellowship of men he so ordereth his prouidence, that where as he is by innumerable meanes good and bountifull to all men, yet by manifest and daily tokens he declareth his fauourable kindnes to the godly, and his seueritie to the wicked and euill doers. For not doubtfull are the punishments that he layeth vpon haynous offences: like as he doth openly shew himselfe a defender and reuenger of innocencie, while he prospereth the life of good men with his blessing, helpeth their necessitie, asswageth and comforteth their sorowes, relieueth their calamities, and by all meanes prouideth for their safetie. Neither ought it any thing to deface the perpetuall rule of his iustice, that he oftentimes permitteth wicked men and euill doers for a time to reioice vnpunished: and on the other side suffereth good and innocet to be tossed with many aduersities, yea and to be oppressed with the malice and vniust dealing of the vngodly. But rather a much contrarie consideration ought to enter into our mindes: that when by manifest shew of his wrath he punisheth one sinne, we should therefore thinke that he hateth all sinnes: and when he suffereth many sinnes to passe vnpunished, we should thereupon thinke that there shall be another iudgement to which they are differred to be then punished. Likewise how great matter doth it minister vs to consider his mercie, while he oftentimes ceaseth not to shew his vnwearied bountifullnesse vpon miserable sinners in calling them home to him with more than fatherly tendernesse, vntill he haue subdued their fro wardnes with doing them good?

7 To this end, where the Prophet particularly rehearseth, how God in cases past hope, doth suddenly and wonderfully and beside all hope succour men that are in miserie and in a manner lost, whether he defend them wandering in wildernesse from the wilde beasts, and at length leadeth them into the way againe, or ministrerth foode to the needie and hungrie, or deliuereth prisoners out of horrible dungeons and yron bands, or bringeth men in perill of shipwracke safe into the haue, or healeth the halfe dead of diseases, or scorcherh the earth with heat and drinesse, or maketh it fruitfull with secret watering of his grace, or aduanceth the basest of the rascall people, or throweth downe the noble Peeres from the high degree of dignitie: by such examples shewed forth, he gathereth that those things which are iudged chances happening by fortune, are so many testimonies of the heauenly prouidence and specialy of his fatherly kindnesse, and that thereby is giuen matter of reioicing to the godly, and the wicked and reprobate haue their mouths stopped. But because the greater part infected with their errors are blinde in so cleere a place of beholding,

The workes of God in cherishing the good, punishing the wicked, and calling sinners home vnto himselfe, are proofes of his exceeding power and veritie

The goodnes of god is shewed by deliuering men that are in miserie, his strength by overthrowing them that are mightie, his wisdom by disposing all things in fittest oportunitie.

ding, therefore he crieth out, that it is a gift of rare and singular wisdom, wisely to wey these workes of God: by sight whereof they nothing profit that otherwise seeme most cleere sighted. And truly how much soeuer the glorie of God doth apparantlie shine before them, yet scarcely the hundreth man is a true beholder of it. Likewise his power and wisdom are no more hid in darknes: whereof the one, his power, doth notably appeere, when the fierce outrageousness of the wicked being in all mens opinion vnconquerable, is beaten flat in one moment, their arrogancie tamed, their strongest holdes rased, their weapons and armour broken in peeces, their strengthes subdued, their deuises ouerthrowne, and themselues fall with their owne weight, the presumptuous boldnes, that auanced it selfe aboute the heauens is throwen downe euen to the bottome point of the earth againe, the lowly are lifted vp out of the dust, and the needie raised from the dunghill, the oppressed and afflicted are drawn out of extreme distresse, men in despaired state are restored to good hope, the vnarmed beare away the victorie from the armed, fewe from many, the feeble from the strong. As for his wisdom, it selfe sheweth it selfe manifestly excellent, while it disposeth euery thing in fittest opportunitie, confoundeth the wisdom of the worlde be it neuer so pearcing, findeth out the subtile in their subtiltie, finally gouerneth all things by most conuenient order.

Psal. 113. 7.

1. Cor. 3. 19.

The true knowledge of God consisteth not in the curious searching of his nature, but in the inward feeling of his power.

8 We see that it needeth no long, or laboursome demonstration, to fetch out testimonies, to serue for the glorious declaration and prooffe of Gods maiestie: for by these fewe that we haue touched; it appeereth, that which way soeuer a man chance to looke, they are so common and readie that they may be easily marked with eie, and pointed out with the finger. And heere againe is to be noted, that we are called to the knowledge of God, not such as contented with vaine speculation, doth but flie about in the braine, but such as shall be found and fruitfull, if it be rightly conceiued and take roote in our harts. For the Lord is declared by his powers, the force whereof because we feele within vs, and do enjoy the benefits of them, it must needes be that we be inwardly moued much more liuely with such a knowledge, than if we should imagine God to be such an one, of whom we shoulde haue no feeling. Whereby we vnderstand that this is the rightest way and fittest order to seeke God, not to attempt to enter deeply with presumptuous curiositie throughly to discusse his substance, which is rather to be reuerently worshipped than scrupulously searched: but rather to behold him in his workes, by which he maketh himselfe neere and familiar, and doth in a manner communicate himselfe vnto vs. And thus the Apostle ment, when he saide, that God is not to be sought a fare of, forasmuch as he with his most present power dwelleth within euerie one of vs. Wherefore *Dauid* hauing before confessed his vspeakable greatnes, when he descendeth to the particular rehearfall of his workes, protesteth that the same will thew forth it selfe. Therefore we also ought to giue our selues into such a searching out of God, as may so holde our wit suspended with admiration, that it may therewithall throughly moue vs with effectual feeling. And, as *Augustine* teacheth in another place, because we are not able to conceiue him, it behooueth vs as it were fainting vnder the burden of his greatnesse, to looke vnto his workes, that we may be refreshed with his goodnesse.

Aca. 17. 27.

Psal. 145.

In Psal. 144.

The knowledge of those things which here God worketh upon man, doth giue us a taste of that which shall be more fully accomplished in the life to come, especially if we consider his effectual working in our selues.

9 Then such a knowledge ought not onely to stirre vs vpto the worshipping of God, but also to awake vs, and raise vs to hope of the life to come. For when wee consider that such examples as God sheweth both of his mercifulnesse, and of his seueritie, are but begun and not halfe full: without doubt we must thinke, that heerein he doth but make a shew afore hande of those things, whereof the open disclosing and full deliuerance is differred vnto another life. On the other side, when we see that the godly are by the vngodly greued with afflictions, troubled with iniuries, oppressed with slaunders, and vexed with despitefull dealings and reproches: contra-

riwise that wicked doers doe flourish, prosper and obtaine quiet with honour, yea, and that unpunished: we must by and by gather that there shall be another life, wherein is laid vp in store both due reuenge for wickednes, and reward for righteousnes. Moreouer when we note that the faithfull are often chastised with the rods of the Lord, we may most certainly determine that much lesse the vngodly shall escape his scourges. For verie well is that spoken of *Augustine*. If euery sinne should now be punished with open paine, it woulde be thought that nothing were referred to the last iudgement. Againe, if God should now openly punish no sinne, it would be beleued, that there were no prouidence of God. Therefore we must confesse, that in euerie particular worke of God, but principally in the vniuersall generalitie of them, the powers of God are set forth as it were in painted tables, by which all mankind is prouoked and allured to the knowledge of him, and from knowledge to full and perfect felicitie. But whereas these his powers doe in his workes most brightly appeere, yet what they principally tende vnto, of what valour they bee, and to what end we ought to wey them: this we then onely attaine to vnderstand when we dissend into our selues, and do consider by what meanes God doth shewe forth in vs his life, wisdom, and power, and doth vse towards vs his righteousnesse, goodnesse, and mercifull kindnesse. For though *Dauid* iustly complaineth, that the vnbelleuing do dote in folly, bicause they wey not the deepe counsailes of God in his gouernance of mankind: yet, that is also most true, which he saith in another place, that the wonderfull wisdom of God in that behalfe exceedeth the haire of our head. But because this point shall heereafter in place conuenient be more largely entreated, therefore I do at this time passe it ouer.

De ciui. dei, c. 8.

Psal. 92. 7.

Psal. 40. 13.

10 But with how great brightnesse foeuer God doth in the mirror of his workes shewe by representation both himselfe and his immortall kingdome: yet such is our grosse blockishnesse, that we stande dully amased at so plaine testimonies, so that they passe away from vs without profite. For, as touching the frame and most beautiful placing of the world, how many a one is there of vs, that when he either listeth vp his eies to heauen, or casteth them about on the diuers countreies of the earth, doth direct his minde to remembrance of the creator, and doth not rather rest in beholding the workes without hauing regard of the workman? But as touching those things that daily happen beside the order of natural course, how many a one is there that doth not more thinke that men are rather whirled about and rowled by blinde vnduisednesse of fortune, then gouerned by prouidence of God? But if at any time we be by the guiding and direction of these things driuen to the consideration of God, (as all men must needs be) yet so soone as we haue without aduise ment conceived a feeling of some godhead, we by and by slide away to the dotages or erroneous inuentions of our flesh, and with our vanitie we corrupt the pure veritie of God. So herein in deede we differ one from another, that euery man priuately by himselfe procureth to himselfe some peculiar error: but in this point we all are most like together, that we all, not one excepted, doe depart from the one true God to monstrous trifles. To which disease not onely common and grosse wits are subiect, but also the most excellent and those that otherwise are indued with singular sharpnesse of vnderstanding, are entangled with it. How largely hath the whole sect of Philosophers bewraied their owne dulnesse and beastly ignorance in this behalfe? For, to passe ouer all the rest, which are much more vnreasonably foolish, *Plato* himselfe, the most religious and most sober of all the rest, vainly erreth in his rounde globe. Now what might not chauce to the other, when the chiefe of them, whose part was to giue light to the rest, do themselves so erre and stumble? Likewise where Gods gouernance of mens matters doth so plainly prouoe his prouidence, that it can not be denied, yet this doth no more preuaile with men, then if they beleued that all things are tossed vp and downe with the rash wil of Fortune: so great is our inclina-

God manifesting himselfe, men profit not by it, because they behold things done without regarding the doer, or they ascribe that to fortune which hee doth, or if they haue some feeling of God, they depraue it with dotting fancies, which fault is common vnto all, euen the sharpest witted.

Cap. 5. Of the knowledge of

nation to vanitie and error. I speake now altogether of the most excellent, and nor of the common sort, whose madnesse hath infinitely wandered in prophaning the truth of God.

*Men when they
erise to their own
wits, become in
their opinions con-
cerning God; ei-
ther vaine, as the
Stoikes, and the
Ægyptians, or
irreligious as the
Epicures, or irreso-
lute as Symonides.*

II Hereof proceedeth that vneasurable sinke of errors, wherewith the whole world hath bene filled and ouerflowen. For each mans wit is to himselfe as a maze, so that it is no maruell that euery seuerall nation was diuersly drawn into seuerall deuises, & not that only, but also that each seuerall man had his seuerall gods by himselfe. For since that rash presumption and wantonnesse was ioyned to ignorance and darknesse, there hath bene scarcely at any time any one man founde, that did not forge to himselfe an idoll or fantsie in freedde of God. Truly, euen as out of a wide and large spring do issue waters, so the infinite number of gods hath flowed out of the wit of man, while euery man ouer licentiously straying, erroneously deuiseeth this or that concerning God himselfe. And yet I neede not heere to make a register of the superstitions, wherewith the world hath bene entangled: because both in so dooing I should neuer haue end, and also though I speake not one worde of them, yet by so many corruptions it sufficiently appeereth howe horrible is the blindnesse of mans minde. I passe ouer the rude and vnlearned people. But among the Philosophers, which enterprised with reason and learning to pearce into heauen, how shamefull is the disagreement? With the higher wit that any of them was endued, and filled with art and science, with so much the more glorious colours he seemed to paint out his opinion. All which notwithstanding, if one do narrowly looke vpon, he shall finde them to be but vanishing false colours. The Stoickes seemed in their own conceit to speake very wisely, that out of all the parts of nature may be gathered diuerse names of God, and yet that God being but one is not thereby torne in sunder. As though we were not alreadie more than enough enclined to vanitie, vnlesse a manifold plentie of gods set before vs, should further and more violently draw vs into error. Also the Ægyptians mysticall science of diuinitie sheweth, that they all diligently endeouored to this end, not to seeme to erre without a reason. And it is possible, that at the first sight some thing seeming probable, might deceiue the simple & ignorant: but no mortall man euer inuented any thing, whereby religion hath not bene foully corrupted. And this so confuse diuersitie emboldened the Epicures and other grosse despisers of godlines, by litle and litle to cast off all feeling of God. For when they saw the wisest of al to strue in contrary opinions, they sticke not out of their disagreements, & out of the foolish or apparently erroneous doctrine of each of them, to gather, that men do in yaine and fondly procure torments to themselves while they search for God, which is none at all. And this they thought that they might freely do without punishment, because it was better briefly to denie vterly, that there is any God, than to faigne vncertaine gods, and so to raise vp contentions that neuer shoulde haue ende. And too much fondly do they reason, or rather cast a miste, to hide their vngodlines by ignorance of men, whereby it is no reason that any thing shoulde be taken awaie from God. But forasmuch as all do confesse, that there is nothing, about which both the learned and vnlearned do so much disagree, thereupon is gathered that the wits of men are more than dull & blinde in heauenly mysteries, that do so erre in seeking out of God. Some other do praise that answer of *Symonides*, which being demaunded of king *Hieron*, what God was, desired to haue a daies respite granted him to study vpon it. And when the next day following, the king demaunded the same question he required two daies respite, and so oftentimes doubling the number of daies at length he answered: How much the more I consider it, so much the harder the matter seemeth vnto me. But granting that he did wisely to suspend his sentence of so darke a matter, yet heereby appeareth, that if men be onely taught by nature, they can know nothing certainly, soundly, and plainly concerning God, but onely are tyed to confused principles to worship an vnknown God.

12 Now we must also hold, that all they that corrupt the pure religion (as al they must needs do that are giuen to their owne opinion) do depart from the one God. They will boast that their meaning is otherwise: but what they meane; or what they perswade themselves maketh not much to the matter, sith the holy ghost pronounceth, that all they are Apostatacs, that according to the darknes of their owne minde do thrust diuels in the place of God. For this reason, Paul pronounceth that the Ephesians were without a God, till they had learned by the Gospell, what it was to worship the true God. And we must not thinke this to be spoken of one nation onely, forasmuch as he generally affirmeth in another place, that all men were become vaine in their imaginations, since that in the creation of the worlde, the Maiestic of the Creator was disclosed vnto them. And therefore the Scripture, to make place for the true and one onely God, condemneth of falschood and lying, whatsoever godhead in old time was celebrate among the Gentiles, and leauech no God at all, but in the mount Sion, where flourished the peculiar knowledge of God. Truly, among the Gentiles the Samaritanes in Christes time seemed to approach nigher to true godlines: and yet we heare it spoken by Christes owne mouth, that they knewe not what they worshipped. Whereupon followeth, that they were deceiued with vaine error. Finallie, although they were not all infected with grosse faults, or fell into open idolatries, yet was there no true and approoued religion that was grounded onely vpon common reason. For albeit, that there were a fewe that were not so mad as the common people were, yet this doctrine of *Paul* remaineth certainly true, that the princes of this worlde conceiue not the wisdom of God. Now if the most excellent haue wandered in darknes, what is to be said of the very dregs? Wherefore it is no maruel, if the holy Ghost do refuse as bastard worshippings all formes of worshipping, deuised by the will of men. Because in heavenly mysteries opinion conceiued by wit of men, although it do not alway breed a heape of errorrs, yet is alway the mother of error. And though there come no worse of it, yet is this no smal fault, at aduenture, to worship an vnkowne God: of which fault, all they by Christes owne mouth are pronounced guiltie, that are not taught by the law what God they ought to worship. And truly the best lawmakers that euer were, proceeded no further, than to say that religion was grounded vpon common consent. Yea, and in *Xenophon*, *Socrates* praised the answer of *Apollo*, wherein he willed that every man should worship gods after the manner of the country, 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 world? or who can so rest in the decrees of the elders, or common ordinances of peoples, as to receiue without doubting a God deliuered by mans deuise? Every man rather will stand to his owne iudgement, than yeelde himselfe to the will of another. Sith therefore it is too weake and feeble a bonde of godlines, in worshipping of God to follow either a custome of a citie or the consent of antiquitie, it remaineth that God himselfe must testifie of himselfe from heauen.

13 In vaine therefore so many lampes lightned doe shine in the edifice of the world, to shew foorth the glory of the creator, which do so euery way displaie their beames vpon vs, that yet of themselves they can not bring vs into the right waie. Indeed they raise vp certaine sparkles, but such as be choked vp before that they can spread abroad any full brightnes. Therefore the Apostle in the same place where he calleth the ages of the worlde images of things inuisible, saith further, that by faith is perceiued, that they were framed by the word of God, meaning thereby that the inuisible godhead is indeed represented by such shewes, but that we haue no eyes to see the same throughly, vnlesse they be enlightned by the reuelation of God through faith. And *Paul*, where he teacheth that by the creation of the world was disclosed that which was to be knownen concerning God, doth not meane such a disclosing as may be cōprehended by the wit of men: but rather sheweth that the same proceedeth

It cannot be true worshipping of God which is grounded onely vpon common reason, custome, or consent of men, being not taught by the law: n̄ has God they ought to worship.
Ephc. 2. 12.
Rom. 1. 21.

Abac. 2. 18. 20.
Iohn 4. 22.

1. Cor. 2. 8.

Iohn 4. 22.

By the creatures of the world we cannot aspire to the true knowledge of God, except our hearts be also enlightned by him through faith.
Heb. 11. 3.

Cap. 6. Of the knowledge of

Act. 17. & 27.
Act. 13. & 16.

no further but to make them vnexcusable. The same *Paul* also, although in one place he saith, that God is not to be sought a far of as one that dwelleth within vs : yet in another place teacheth to what end that needenes anaileth. In the ages past (saith he) God suffered the nations to walke in their owne waies : yet he left not himselfe without testimonie, doing good from heauen, giuing showers and fruitfull seasons, filling the harts of men with food and gladnes. Howsoeuer therefore the Lord be not without testimonie, while with his great and manifold bountifullnesse he sweetely allureth men to the knowledge of him : yet for all that, they cease not to follow their owne waies, that is to say, their damnable errors.

Our ignorance is mortheles because it commeth by our owne fault is without excuse.

14 But although we want naturall power, whereby we cannot climbe vp into the pure and cleere knowledge of God, yet because the fault of our dulnesse is in our selues, therefore all colour of excuse is cut away from vs. For we cannot so pretende ignorance, but that euen our conscience doth still condemne vs of slouthfulness and vnthankfulness. It is a defence forsooth right worthie to be receiued, if man will alleage that he wanted eares to heare the truth, for the publishing where of the verie dumbe creatures haue loude voices : if man shall say that hee cannot see those things with his eies, which the creatures without eies do shew him : if man shall laie for his excuse the feeblenes of his wit, where all creatures without reason do instruct him : Wherefore sith all things do shew vs the right way, we are worthily put from all excuse of our wandring and straying out of the way. But whosoeuer it is to be imputed to the fault of men, that they do by and by corrupt the seede of the knowledge of God, sowne in their mindes by maruellous workmanship of nature, so that it groweth not to good and cleane fruite : yet it is most true, that we are not sufficiently instructed by that bare and simple testimonie, that the creatures do honorablie declare of Gods glorie. For so soone as we haue taken by the beholding of the world a small taste of the godhead, we leauing the true God do in stead of him raise vp dreams and fancies of our owne braine, and do conuey hither and thither from the true fountaine the praise of righteousness, wisdom, goodnes and power. Moreouer we do so either obscure, or by ill esteeming them, depraue his daily doings, that we take awaie both from them their glorie, and from the author his due praise.

Thevj. Chapter.

This, to attaine to God the Creator, it is needfull to haue the Scripture to be our guide and mistresse.

The true creator or governor of the world cannot perfectly be knowne without the words, which meane, God hath used euer sithens the beginning, to instruct his people by.

Therefore, although that same brightnes, which both in heauen & earth shineth in the eies of all men, doth sufficiently take away all defence from the wickednes of men, euen so as God, to wrap all mankind in one guiltinesse, doth shew his diuine maiestie to all without exception as it were portraied out in his creatures : yet is it necessarie that we haue also another and a better helpe that may rightly direct vs to the very Creator of the world. Therefore not in vaine he hath added the light of his worde, that thereby he might be knowne to saluation. And this prerogatiue he hath vouchsafed to giue vs, whom it pleased him more neerely and more familiarlie to draw together to himselfe. For because he saw the mindes of all men to be caried about with wandering and vnstedfast motion, after he had chosin the Iewes to his peculiar flocke, he compassed them in as it were with baeres, that they shoulde not wander out in vanitie as other did. And not without cause he holdeth vs with the same mean in the true knowledge of himselfe. For otherwise euen they shoulde quickly swaue away that seeme to stand stedfast in comparison of other. For as olde men, or purlinde, or they whose eies are dimme sighted, if you laie a faire booke before them, though they perceiue that there is somewhat written therein, yet can they not reade two wordes together : but being holpen with spectacles ser-
betweene

betweene them and it, they begin to read distinctly: so the Scripture gathering vp rogether in our mindes the knowledge of God, which otherwise is but confused, doth remooue the mist, and plainly shew vs the true God. This therefore is a singular gift, that to the instruction of his church God vseth not onely dumme teachers, but also openeth his owne holy mouth: not onely publisheth that there is some God to be worshipped, but also therewithall pronounceth that he himselfe is the same God whom we ought to worship: and doth not onely teach the elect to looke vpon God, but also presenteth himselfe vnto them to be looked vpon. This order hath he kept from the beginning toward his church, beside these common instructions to giue them also his word. Which is the righter and certainer marke to know him by. And it is not to be doubted, that *Adam, Noe, Abraham*, and the rest of the fathers by this help attained to that familiar knowledge, which made them as it were generally different from the vnbeleeuers. I speake not yet of the proper doctrine of faith, where-with they were enlightened into the hope of eternall life. For, that they might passe from death to life, it was needfull for them to know God not only to be the creator, but also the redeemer: as doubtles they obtained both by the word. For that kind of knowledge whereby was giuen to vnderstand who is the God by whom the world was made and is gouerned, in order came before the other: and then was that other inward knowledge edioyned, which onely quickneth dead soules, whereby God is known not only to be the maker of the world & the only autor & iudge of all things that are done, but also to be the redeemer in the person of the mediator. But because I am not yet come to the fall of the world & corruption of nature, I will omit also to entreat of the remedy thereof. Therefore let the readers remember that I do not yet speake of the couenant whcreby God hath adopted to himselfe the children of *Abraham*, & of that speciall part of doctrine whereby the faithfull haue alway bin peculiarly seuered from 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 world, is by certaine markes seuerally discerned from the counterfeit multitude of false gods. And then the order it selfe shall conueniently bring vs to the redeemer. But although we shall allcage many testimonies out of the newe Testament, and some also out of the law and the Prophets, wherem is expresse mention made of Christ: yet they shall all tend to this end, to prooue that in the scripture is disclosed vnto vs God the creator of the world, and in the scripture is set forth what we ought to thinke of him, to the end that we should not seeke about the bush for an vncertaine godhead.

2 But whether God were known to the fathers by oracles and visions, or whether by the mean & ministracion of men he informed them of that which they should know from hand to hand deliuer to their posteritie: yet it is vndoubtedly true, that in their hearts was engrauen a stedfast certaintie of doctrine, so as they might be persuaded & vnderstand, that it which they had leained came from God. For God alwayes made vndoubted assurance for credit of his word, which far exceeded all vncertaine opinion. At length that by continuall proceeding of doctrine, the truth suruiuing in all ages might still remaine in the worlde, the same oracles which he had left with the fathers, his pleasure was to haue as it were enrolled in publicke tables. For this intent was the law published, whereunto after were added the Prophets for expositors. For though there were diuers vses of the law, as hereafter shall better appear in place conuenient: and specially the principall purpose of Moses, and all the Prophets was to teach the maner of reconciliation between God and men, for which cause also *Paul* calleth Christ the end of the law: yet, as I say once againe, beside the proper doctrine of faith and repentance which sheweth forth Christ the mediator, the Scripture doth by certaine marks and tokens paint out the only & true God, in that that he hath created and doth gouerne the world, to the ende he should be seuerally known and

The fathers which knew God by the word, knew also the word, to be of god, who hath published the same in writing, that all ages might be taught by it.

Rom. 10. 4.

not reckned in the false number of fained gods. Therefore although it behooueth man earnestly to bend his eyes to consider the workes of God, forasmuch as he is set as it were in this gorgeous stage to be a beholder of them: yet principally ought he to bend his eares to the word, that he may better profit thereby. And therefore it is no maruell that they which are borne in darknes do more and more waxe hard in their amazed dulnes, because very few of them do giue themselues pliable to learne of the word of God, whereby to keepe them within their bounds, but they rather reioyce in their owne vanitie. Thus then ought we to holde, that to the ende true religion may shine among vs, we must take our beginning at the heavenly doctrine. And that no man can haue any tast be it neuer so little of true and sound doctrine, vnlesse he haue bene scholar to the Scripture. And from hence groweth the originall of true vnderstanding, that we reuerently embrace whatsoever it pleaseth God therein to testifie of himselfe. For not onely the perfect and in all points absolute faith, but also all right knowledge of God springeth from obedience. And truly in this behalfe God of his singular prouidence hath provided for men in and for all ages.

3 For if we consider how slipperie an inclination mans minde hath to slide into forgetfulness of God, how great a readines to fall into all kinde of errors, howe great a lust to forge oftentimes new and counterfeit religions, we may thereby perceiue how necessarie it was to haue the heavenly doctrine to put in writing, that it should not either perish by forgetfulness, or grow vaine by error, or be corrupted by boldnesse of men. Sith therefore it is manifest that God hath alway vsed the helpe of his worde, toward all those whom it pleased him at any time fruitfully to instruct, because hee foresaw that his image imprinted in the most beautifull forme of the worlde was not sufficiently effectuell: Therefore it behooueth vs to trauell this straight way, if we earnestly couet to attaine to the true beholding of God. We must, I say, come to his word, wherein God is well & liuely set out by his workes, when his workes be weyed not after the perversenes of our own iudgement, but according to the rule of the eternal truth. If we swaue from that word, as I said euen now, although we run 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 brightnes 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 vnwrap our selues, vnlesse we be by the line of the word guided into it: so that it is much better for vs to halt in this way, than to run neuer so fast in another. And therefore *Dauid* oftentimes when he teacheth that superstitions are to be taken away out of the worlde, that pure religion may flourish, bringeth in God reigning: meaning by this word reigning, not the power that he hath, but the doctrine whereby he challengeth to himselfe a lawfull government: because errors can neuer be rooted out of the harts of men, till the true knowledge of God be planted.

4 Therefore the same Prophet, after that he hath recited that the heauens declare the glorie of God, that the firmament sheweth forth the workes of his handes, that the orderly succeeding course of daies and nights preacheth his maiestie, then descendeth to make mention of his word. The law of the Lord (saith he) is vndefiled conuerting soules: the witnes of the Lord is faithfull, giuing wisdom to little ones: the righteousnesse of the Lord are vpriight, making harts cheerefull, the commandement of the Lord is bright, giuing light to the eyes. For although he comprehendeth also the other vses of the lawe, yet in generalitie he meaneth, that forasmuch as God doth in vaine call vnto him all nations by the beholding of the heauen & earth, therefore this is the peculiar schoole of the children of God. The same meaning hath the 29. Psalm, where the Prophet hauing preached of the terrible voice of God, which in thunder, windes, showers, whirlwindes, & stormes, shaketh the earth, maketh the mountaines to tremble, and breaketh the Cedar trees: in the end at last he goeth further & saith, that his praises are sung in the sanctuarie, because the vnbe-

*For many causes
it was needfull
the word should
be written, and
that we should
tie our selues
thereunto.*

1. Tim. 6. 16.

Psal. 9. & 96. 97.
99. &c.

Psal. 19. 21.

*It is in vaine to
seeke God by con-
templation of his
creatures with-
out the studie of
his word.*

Ieueers are deafe and heare not all the voices of God that rebound in the aire. And in like maner in another Psalm, after that he had described the terrible waues of the Sea, he thus concludeth: thy testimonies are verified, the beautie of thy temple is holines for euer. And out of this meaning also proceeded that which Christ saide to the woman of Samaria, that her nation & the rest did honor that which they knew not, & that only the Iewes did worship the true God. For whereas the wit of man by reason of the feeblenes thereof can by no mean attain vnto God, but being holpen & lifted vp by his holy word, it followed of necessitie, that all men, except the Iewes, did wander in vanitie and error, bicause they sought God without his word.

Psal. 93. 5.

Iohn. 4. 22.

The vij. Chapter.

By what testimonie the Scripture ought to be established, that is by the witnessse of the holy Ghost, that the authoritie thereof may remaine certaine. And that it is a wicked inuention to say that the credit thereof doth hang vpon the iudgement of the Church.

BVt before I goe any further, it is needfull to say somewhat of the authoritie of the Scripture, not onely to prepare mens minds to reuerence it, but also to take away all doubt thereof. Now, when it is a matter confessed that it is the word of God that is there set forth, there is no man of so desperate boldnesse, vnlesse he be voide of all common sense and naturall wit of man, that dare derogate the credit of him that speaketh it. But bicause there are not daily oracles giuen from heauen, and the onely Scriptures remaine wherein it hath pleased him to preferue his truth to perpetuall memorie, the same Scripture by none other meanes is of full credite among the faithfull, but in that they do beleue that it is as verily come from heauen, as if they heard the luely voice of God to speake therein. This matter indeed is right worthe both to be largely entreated of and diligently weyed. But the readers shall pardon me if herein I rather regard what the proportion of the worke which I haue begun may beare, then what the largenesse of the matter requireth. There is growne vp among the most part of men a most hurtfull error, that the Scripture hath onely so much authoritie as by common consent of the Church is giuen vnto it: as if the eternall and inuolable truth of God did rest vpon the pleasure of men. For so, to the great scorne of the holy Ghost, they aske of vs who can assure vs that these scriptures came from God: or who can ascertaine vs that they haue continued vnto our age safe and vncorrupted: who can perswade vs, that this one booke ought to be reuerently receiued, and that other to be striken out of the number of scripture, vnlesse the church did appoint a certaine rule of all these things? It hangeth therefore (say they) vpon the determination of the church, both what reuerence is due to the Scripture, and what bookes are to be reckened in the canon thereof. So these robbers of Gods honour, while they seeke vnder colour of the Church to bring in an vbridled tyrannie, care nothing with what absurdities they snare both themselues and other, so that they may enforce this one thing to be beleued among the simple, that the Church can do all things. But if it be so: what shall become of the poore consciences that seeke stedfast assurance of eternall life, if all the promises that remaine thereof stande and be staied onely vpon the iudgement of men? When they receiue such answers, shall they cease to wauer and tremble? Again, to what scornes of the vngodly is our faith made subiect? into how great suspicion with all men is it brought, if this be beleued, that it hath but as it were a borrowed credit by the fauour of men?

The credit of the Scripture doth not depend vpon the churches receiving and authorising of it.

2 But such bablers are well confuted euen with oneworde of the Apostle. He testified that the church is builded vpon the foundation of the Prophets & Apostles.

Eph. 2. 20. The Church depending vpon the scripture, doth not

Cap. 7. Of the knowledge of

by her testimonie
give it credit, but
because it hath an
evidence of cer-
tainie with it
selfe, doth there-
fore of diuine ac-
knowledge it to be
the truth of God.

If the doctrine of the Prophets, and Apostles be the foundation of the Church: then must it needes be, that the same doctrine stooke in stedfast certaintie, before that the Church began to be. Neither can they well cauill, that although the Church take her first beginning thereof, yet it remaineth doubtfull what is to be saide of the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, vnlesse the iudgement of the Church did declare it. For if the Christian Church were at the beginning builded vpon the writings of the Prophets and preaching of the Apostles: wherofeuer that doctrine shall be found, the allowed credit therof was surely before the Church, without which the Church it selfe had neuer been. 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 hang vpon the will of the Church. Wherefore, when the Church doth receiue the scripture and sealeth it with her consenting testimonie, she doth not of a thing doubtfull, and that otherwise should be in controuersie, make it autentike and of credit: but because she acknowledgeth it to be the truth of her God, according to her duetie of Godlinesse without delay she doth honor it. Whereas they demand, how shall we be perswaded that it came from God, vnlesse we refer to the decrees of the Church? This is all one as if a man should aske, how shall we learne to knowe light from darkenes, white from blacke, or sweete from sower. For the Scripture sheweth in it selfe no lesse apparrant sense of her truth, than white and blacke things do of their colour, or sweet and sower things of taste.

Contra epist. fun-
damentalem ca. 5
The authoritie of
the Church, as S.
Augustin confes-
seth, is of force so
win unbeleuers
to their first liking
of the Scripture,
whereof, when
once they do be-
leue they see them
a sounder foundati-
on wherupon they
rest their faith.

3 I know that they commonly alleage the saying of *Augustine*, where he saith that he would not beleue the Gospell, saue that the authoritie of the Church moued him thereto. But how vntuly and cauillously it is alleaged for such a meaning, by the whole tenor of his writing it is easie to perceiue. He had to do with the *Manichees*, which required to be beleued without gainsaying, when they vaunted that they had the truth on their side, but prouoed it not. And to make their *Manichees* to be beleued, they pretended the Gospell. Now *Augustine* asketh them what they would do, if they did light vpon a man that would not beleue the Gospell it selfe, with what maner of perswasion they would draw him to their opinion. Afterward he saith: I my selfe would not beleue the Gospell, &c. saue that the authoritie of the Church moued me thereto. Meaning that he him selfe, when he was a stranger from the faith, could not otherwise be brought to embrace the Gospell for the assured truth of God, but by this, that he was ouercome with the authoritie of the church. And what maruell is it, if a man not yet knowing Christ, haue regard to men? *Augustine* therefore doth not there teach that the faith of the godly is grounded vpon the authority of the church, nor meaneth that the certaintie of the gospel doth hang thereupon: but simply and only, that there should be no assurednes of the gospel to the infidels, whereby they might be won to Christ, vnlesse the consent of the Church did driue them vnto it. And the same meaning a little before he doth plainly confirme in this saying. When I shall praise that which I beleue, and scorne that which thou beleuest, what thinkest thou meere for vs to iudge or do? but that we forsake such men as first call vs to come and know certaine truthe, and after commaund vs to beleue things vncertaine: and that we follow them that require vs first to beleue that which we are not yet able to see, that being made strong by beleuing, we may attaine to vnderstand the thing that we beleue: not men now, but God himself inwardly strengthening & giuing light to our mind. These are the verie words of *Augustine*: wherby euery man may easily gather, that the holy man had not this meaning, to hang the credit that we haue to the Scriptures vpon the will and awardment of the Church, but onely to shew this, (which we our selues also do confesse to be true) that they which are not yet lightned with the spirite of God, are brought by the reuerence of the Church vnto a willingnes to be taught, so as they can finde in their hearts to learne the faith of Christ by the Gospell: and that thus by this meane the authoritie of the Church

Contra epist. fun-
damentalem c. 4.

Church is an introduction, whereby we are prepared to beleue the Gospell. For, as we see, his minde is that the assurance of the godly be staid vpon a far other foundation. Otherwise I doe not denie but that he often presseth the Manichies with the consent of the whole Church, when he seeketh to prouoe the same Scripture which they refused. And from hence it came, that he so reproched *Fauslus* for that he did not yeeld himselfe to the truth of the Gospell so grounded, so stablished, so gloriously renoumed and from the very time of the Apostles by certaine successions perpetually comended. But he neuer trauelleth to this end, to teach that the authority which we acknowledge to be in the Scripture, hangeth vpon the determination or decree of men. But onely this, which made much for him in the matter that he disputed of, he bringeth fourth the vniuersall iudgement of the Church, wherem he had the aduantage of his aduersaries. If any desire a fuller prooffe hercof, let him reade his booke concerning the profite of beleueing. Where he shall finde that there is no other readinesse of beleefe commended vnto vs by him, but that which onely giueth vs an entrie, and is vnto vs a conuenient beginning to inquire, as he termeth it: and yet not that we ought to rest vpon bare opinion, but to leane to the certaine and found truth.

Contra Fauslual
lib. 32.

Aug. de vilitate
te cred.

4 We ought to hold, as I before said, that the credite of this doctrine, is not established in vs, vntill such time as we be vndoubtedly perswaded that God is the author thereof. Therefore the principall prooffe of the Scripture is commonly taken of the person of God the speaker of it. The Prophets and Apostles boast not of their owne sharpe wit or any such things as procure credite to men that speake: neither stande they vpon prooves by reason, but they bring fourth the holy name of God, thereby to compell the whole world to obedience. Now we haue to see how not onely by probable opinion, but by apparant truth it is euidēt, that in this behalfe the name of God is not without cause nor deceitfully pretended. If then we wil provide wel for consciences, that they be not continually carried about with vntedfast doubting, nor may wauer, nor stay at euery small stop, this maner of perswasion must be fetched deeper than from either the reasons, iudgements or the coniectures of men, euen from the secret testimony of the holy Ghost. True in deed it is, that if we list to worke by way of arguments, many things might be alledged that may easily prouoe, if there be any God in heauen, that the lawe, the prophecies and the Gospell came from him. Yea, although men learned and of deepe iudgement would stand vp to the contrarie, and would employ and shew fourth the whole force of their wits in this disputation: yet if they be not so hardened as to become desperately thamelesse, they would be compelled to confesse, that there are seene in the Scripture manifest tokens that it is God that speaketh therein: whereby it may appeere that the doctrine thereof is from heauen. And shortly hereafter we shall see, that all the bookes of the holy scripture do far excell all other writings whatsoeuer they be. Yea, if we bring thither pure eies & vncorrupted senses, we shall forthwith finde there the maicstie of God, which shall subdue all hardnes of gainsaying, and enforce vs to obey him. But yet they doe disorderly, that by disputation trauell to establish the perfect credit of the Scripture. And truly although I am not furnished with great dexterity, nor eloquence: yet if I were to contend with the most subtile despisers of God, that haue a desire to shew themselves wittie and pleasant in feebling the authoritie of Scripture, I trust it should not be hard for me to put to silence their bablings. And if it were profitable to spend labour in confuting their caullations, I would with no great businesse shake in sinder the brags that they mutter in corners. But though a man doe deliuer the sound worde of God from the reproches of men, yet that sufficeth not fourthly with to fasten in their harts that assurednesse that godlinesse requireth. Profane men because they thinke religion standeth onely in opinion, to the ende they would beleue nothing fondly or lightly, doe couet and require to haue it prooued to them by reason, that *Moses*

Although there
be reason enough
to prouoe the di-
uine authoritie of
the scripture a-
gainst the caullations
of profane
men: yet cannot it
hereby finde that
cred: in the harts
of men which the
assurance of god-
lines doth require,
except it be in-
wardly sealed by
the testimonie of
the holy Ghost, the
same being the
witness which
was the author
of it.

Cap. 7. Of the knowledge of

and the Prophet spake from God. But I answer, that the testimonie of the holy Ghost is better than all reason. For as onely God is a conuenient witness of himselfe in his owne word, so shall the same word neuer finde credit in the harts of men, vntill it be sealed vp with the inward witness of the holy Ghost. It behooueth therefore of necessitie that the same holy Ghost which spake by the mouth of the Prophets, do enter into our harts to perswade vs, that they faithfully vttered that which was by God commanded them. And this order is very aptly set forth by *Esai* in these words: My spirit which is in thee, and the wordes that I haue put in thy mouth, and in the mouth of thy seede, shall not faile for euer. It greueth some good men, that they haue not ready at hand some cleere prooffe to alleage, when the wicked doe 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 mindes, they do alway wauer among many doubtings.

Esai. 51. 16.

The scripture for it selfe sake is worthe of credite, which notwithstanding it doth not obtaine in vs, till our harts be so enlightened that we therein perceiue as it were the very breathing of the diuine maiestie.

Let this therefore stand for a certainly perswaded truth, that they whom the holy Ghost hath inwardly taught, do wholly rest vpon the Scripture, and that the same Scripture is to be credited for it selfe sake, and ought not to be made subiect to demonstration and reasons: but yet the certentie which it getteth among vs, it attaineth by the witness of the holy Ghost. For though by the onely maiestie of it selfe it procureth reuerence to be giuen to it: yet then onely it thoroughly pearceth our affections, when it is sealed in our harts by the holy Ghost. So being lightened by his vertue, we do then beleue, not by our owne iudgement, or other mens, that the scripture is from God: but about all mans iudgement we hold it most certainly determined, euen as if we beheld the maiestie of God himselfe there present, that by the ministerie of men it came to vs from the very mouth of God. Wee seeke not for arguments and likelihoods to rest our iudgement vpon: but as to a thing without all 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 hold of a thing vnknown, which after being thoroughly perceiued displeaseth them: but because we are in our consciences well assured that we hold an inuincible truth. Neither in such sort, as silly men are wont to yeeld their minde in thraldome to superstitions, but because we vndoubtedly perceiue therein the strength and breathing of the diuine maiestie, wherewith we are drawen and stirred to obey, both wittingly and willingly, and yet more liuely and effectually than mans will or wit can attaine. And therefore for good cause doth God cry out by *Esay*, that the Prophets with the whole people do beare his witness, because being taught by prophecies they did vndoubtedly beleue without guile or vncertainty that God himselfe had spoken. Such therefore is our perswasion, as requireth no reasons: such is our knowledge, as hath a right good reason to maintaine it, euen such a one, wherein the minde more assuredly and stedfastly resteth, than vpon any reasons: such is our feeling, as cannot proceed but by reuelation from heauen. I speake now of none other thing but that which euery one of the faithfull doeth by experience finde in himselfe, sauing that my words do much want of a full declaration of it. I leaue heere many things vnspoken, because there will be elsewhere againe a conuenient place to entreat of this matter. Onely now let vs know, that onely that is the true faith which the spirit of God doth seale in our harts. Yea with this onely reason will the sober reader, and willing to learne, be contented. *Esay* promisseth, that all the children of the renued church shall be the schollers of God. A singular priuiledge therein doth God vouchsafe to grant to his elect onely, whom he seuereth from all the rest of mankinde. For what is the beginning of true doctrine, but a ready cheerefulness to heare the voice of God? But God requireth to be heard by the mouth of *Moses*, as it is written: Say not in thy hart, who shall ascend into heauen, or who shall descend into the deepe? the worde is enen in thine owne mouth. If it be the pleasure of God that this treasure of vnderstanding be laide vp in store for his children, it is no maruel

Esai. 43. 10.

Ri. 54. 13.

Deut. 30. 12.

nor vnlikely, that in the common multitude of men is seene such ignorance and dull-
ness. The common multitude I cal euen the most excellent of them, vntill such time
as they be grafted into the bodie of the church. Moreouer *Esay* giuing warning that
the Prophets doctrine should seeme incredible, not onely to strangers but also to the
Iewes that would be accounted of the household of God, addeth this reason: because
the arme of God shall not be reueiled to all men. So oft therefore as the smalnes of
number of the beleeuers doth troublevs, on the other side let vs call to minde, that
none can comprehend the mysteries of God but they to whom it is giuen.

Rom. 10. 6.

Esa. 53. 1.

tribul.
The viij. Chapter.

*That so farre as mans reason may beare, there are sufficient proofes to
establish the credit of Scripture.*

VNlesse we haue this assurance, which is both more excellent and of more force
than any iudgement of man, in vaine shall the authoritie of Scripture either be
strengthened with arguments, or stablished with consent of the church, or confirmed
with any other means of defence. For vnlesse this foundation be laide, it still remay-
neth hanging in doubt. As on the other side when exempting it from the common
state of things, we haue embraced it deuoutly, and according to the worthinesse of
it: then these things become very fit helpes, which before were but of small force to
graffe and fasten the assurance thereof in our mindes. For it is maruellous, howe
great establishment groweth heereof, when with earnest studie we consider howe
orderly and well framed a disposition of the diuine wisdom appeereth therein, how
heauenly a doctrine in euery place of it, and nothing sauoring of earthlinesse, howe
beautiful an agreement of all the partes among themselues, and such other things as
aualle to procure a maiesitie to writings. But more perfectly are our harts confirmed
when we consider, how we are euen violently carried to an admiration of it, rather
with dignitie of matter, than with grace of wordes. For this also was not done with-
out the singular prouidence of God, that the hie mysteries of the heauenly kingdome
should for the most part be vttered vnder a contemptible basenesse of wordes, least
if it had bene beautified with more glorious speech, the wicked should cauill that
the onely force of eloquence doth raigne therein. But when that rough and in a
manner rude simplicitie doth raise vp a greater reuerence of it selfe then any Rhetor-
icians eloquence, what may we iudge, but that there is a more mightie strength
of truth in the holy Scripture, than that it needeth any Art of wordes? Not without
cause therefore the Apostle maketh his argument, to prouee that the faith of the Cor-
inthians was grounded vpon the power of God, and not vpon mans wisdom, be-
cause his preaching among them was set foorth not with enticing speech of mans
wisdom, but in plaine euidence of the spirit and of power. For the truth is then
set free from all doubting, when not vpholden by foraine aides it selfe alone suf-
ficeth to sustaine it selfe. But howe this power is properly alone belonging to the
Scripture, heereby appeereth, that of all the writings of men, bee they neuer so
cunningly garnished, no one is so farre able to pearce our affections. Reade *De-
mosthenes* or *Cicero*, reade *Plato*, *Aristotle*, or any other of all that sort: I grant they
shall maruellously allure, delite, moue, and rauish thee. But if from them thou
come to this holy reading of Scriptures, wilt thou or not, it shall so liuely moue
thy affections, it shall so pearce thy hart, it shall so settle within thy bones, that in
comparison of the efficacie of this feeling, all that force of Rhetoricians and Philo-
sophers shall in maner vanish away: so that it is easie to perceiue that the Scriptures,
which do farre excell all gifts and graces of mans industrie: do in deede breath out a
certaine diuinitie.

*The scripture be-
ing once deuoutly
embraced, wee are
afterwarde the
more established
by considering the
diuine disposition,
maiesitie & agree-
ment which is in
it, and the force
which it hath in
our minds through
dignitie of mat-
ter, not grace of
wordes.*

1. Cor. 2. 4.

2 I grant indeede, that some of the Prophets haue an elegant, cleere, yea, and

*All diuine writers
are not rude, nei-*

ther bee all which
are rude diuine:
but scripture, whe-
ther it speake
roughly or smooth-
ly, still it haib som-
thing about the
excellencie of
humane speech.

Schoole men and
Canonistes.

The Scripture an-
cienser than all
other writings.

Moses in that he
publisheth things
tending to the dis-
shonor of his owne
stocke, sheweth
himselfe to haue
followed no such
humor as common
writers amongst
men.

a beautifull phrase of speech, so as their eloquence giueth not place to the prophane writers: and by such examples it pleased the holy Ghost to shew that he wanted not eloquence, though in the rest he vsed a rude and grosse style. But whether a man read *Dauid, Esay*, and such like, who haue a sweete and pleasant flowing speech, or *Amos*, the *Heardman*, *Hieremie* and *Zacharie*, whose rougher talke sauoureth of countrey rudenes: in cuerie one of them shall appeere that maiestie of the holy Ghost that I speake of. Yet am I not ignorant, that as Satan is in many things a counterfiter of God, that with deceitfull resemblance he might the better creepe into simple mens mindes: so hath he craftily spred abroad with rude and in manner barbarous speech those wicked errours wherewith he deceiued silly men, and hath oftentimes vsed discontinued phrases, that vnder such visor he might hide his deceits. But howe vaine and vncleayn is that curious counterfiting, all men that haue but meane vnderstanding do plainly see. As for the holy Scripture, although frowarde men labour to bite at many things, yet is it full of such sentences as could not be conceiued by man. Let all the Prophets be looked vpon, there shall not one be founde among them, but hee hath farre excelled all mans capacitie, in such sort that those are to be thought, to haue no iudgement of taste to whom their doctrine is vsuauorie.

3 Other men haue largely entreated of this argument, wherfore at this time it sufficeth to touch but a fewe things, that chiefly make for the principall summe of the whole matter. Beside these points that I haue already touched, the very antiquitie of the Scripture is of great weight. For howsoeuer the Greeke writers tell manie fables of the Ægyptian diuinitie: yet there remaineth no monument of any religion, but that is farre inferior to the age of *Moses*. And *Moses* deuileth not a new God, but sceteth forth the same thing which the Israelites had received in long processe of time, conuoced to them by their fathers as it were from hande to hande concerning the euerlasting God. For what doth he else but labour to call them backe to the couenant made with *Abraham*? If he had brought a thing neuer heard of before, he had had no entrie to begin. But it must needs be that the deliurance from bondage, wherein they were detained, was a thing well and commonly knowne among them, so that the hearing of the mention thereof did forthwith raise vp all their mindes. It is also likely that they were informed of the number of the CCCC yeeres. Nowe it is to be considered, if *Moses* which himselfe by so long distance of time was before all other writers, do from a beginning so long before himselfe fetch the originall deliurance of his doctrine: howe much the holie Scripture then is beyonde all other writings in antiquitie?

4 Vnlesse perhaps some list to beleuee the Ægyptians, that stretch their aunciencie to sixe thousand yeeres before the creation of the worlde. But sith their vaine babbling hath bene alway scorned cuen of all the prophane writers themselves, there is no cause why I should spend labour in confuting of it. But *Iosephus* against *Appion*, alleageth testimonies woorthlie to be remembered out of auncient writers, whereby may be gathered, that by consent of all nations the doctrine that is in the lawe hath been famous cuen from the first ages, although it were neither read nor truly known. Now, that neither there should remaine to the malicious any cause of suspition, nor to the wicked any occasion to cauil, God hath for both these dangers prouided good remedies. When *Moses* rehearseth what *Iacob* almost three hundred yeeres before had by heaucnly inspiration pronounced vpon his owne posteritic, how doth he set forth his owne tribe? yea, in the person of *Leui* he spotteth it with eternall infamie. *Symeon* (saith he) and *Leui* the vessels of wickednesse. My soule come not into their counsell, nor my toong into their secret. Truelie, hee might haue passed ouer that blot with silence, in so doing not onelie to please his Father, but also not to staine himselfe and his whole familie with part of the same shame. How can that writer bee suspected, which vnconstrainedlie publishing by the oracle of the holy Ghost,

Ghost, that the principall auncestor of the familie whereof himselfe descended was an abominable doer, neither priuately prouided for his owne honor, nor refused to enter in displeasure of all his owne kinsmen, whom vndoubtedly this matter greeued? When also he rehearteth the wicked murmuring of *Aaron* his own brother, and *Maria* his sister: shall we saie that he spake after the meaning of the flesh, or rather that he wrote it obeying the commandement of the holie Ghost? Morcouer, sith himselfe was hiest in authoritie, why did he not leaue at least the office of the hie priefthoode to his owne sonnes, but appointeth them to the basest place? I touch heere onely a fewe things of many. Put in the lawe it selfe a man shal each where meete with many arguments that are able to bring full prooffe to make men belecue that *Moses* without all question commeth from heauen as an Angell of God.

5 Now these so many and so notable myracles that hee recounteth, are euen as many establishments of the law that he deliuered, and the doctrine that he published. For, this that he was carried in a cloude vp into the mountaine: that there euen to the fortieth day he continued without companie of men: that in the verie publishing of the lawe his face did shine as it were beset with sunne beames: that lightnings flashed round about: that thunders and noises were heard each where in the aire: that a trumpet sounded being not blown with any mouth of man: that the entrie of the tabernacle by a cloud set betweene, was kept from the sight of the people: that his authoritie was so myraculously reuenged with the horrible destruction of *Chore*, *Dathan*, and *Abiron*, and all that wicked faction: that the rocke stricken with a rod did by and by powre foorth a riuer: that at his praier it rained Manna from heauen: did not God herein commend him from heauen as an vndoubted Prophet? If any man object against me, that I take these things as confessed, which are not out of controuersie, it is easie to answer this cauillation. For seeing that *Moses* in open assemblie published all these things, what place was there to faime before those witnessers that had themselues seene the things done? It is likely forsooth that he woulde come among them, and rebuking the people of infidelitie, stubbornes, vnthankfulnesse, and other finnes, woulde haue boasted that his doctrine was established in their owne sight with such myracles, which indeed they neuer sawe.

6 For this is also woorthie to be noted, so oft as he telleth of any myracles, hee therewithall odiously ioyneth such things as might stirre the whole people to cry out against him, if there had beene neuer so little occasion. Whereby appeereth, that they were by no other meane brought to agree vnto him, but bicause they were euer more than sufficiently conuincd by their owne experience. But because the matter was plainlier knowen, than that the prophane coulde denie that myracles were done by *Moses*: the father of lying hath ministred them another cauillation, saying, that they were done by Magicall arts and forcerie. But what like prooffe haue they to accuse him for a forcerer, which so far abhorred from such superstition, that he commandeth to stone him to death, that doth but aske counsell of forcerers and soothsaiers? Truly no such deceiuer vseth his iuggling casts, but that he studieth to amaze the minds of the people to get himselfe a fame. But what doth *Moses*? by this that he crieth out, that himselfe and his brother *Aaron* are nothing, but doth onely execute those things that God hath appointed, hee doth sufficiently wipe away all blots of thinking euill of him. Nowe if the things themselues be considered, what enchantment coulde bring to passe, that Manna daily raining from heauen, shoulde suffice to feede the people? And if anie man kept in store more than his iust measure, by the verie rotting thereof he shoulde be taught, that God did punish his want of beleefe? Beside that, with many great prooues God suffred his seruant so to be tried, that nowe the wicked can nothing preuaile with prating against him. For how oft did sometime the people proude and impudently make inirections, sometime ducts of them conspiring among themselues went about to ouerthrowe the holie seruant of God:

how.

Num. 12. 1.

The authoritie of
Moses confirmed
by myracles.
Exod. 24. 18.

Exod. 34. 29.
Exod. 19. 16.
Exod. 40. 34.

Num. 16. 24.
Num. 20. 10.
Num. 11. 9.

His myracles not
done by Magicall
arts and forceries.

Exod. 7. 11.

Leu. 20.
Exod. 16.

Cap. 9. Of the knowledge of

how could he haue beguiled their furor with illusions? And the ende that followed plainly sheweth, that by this meanes his doctrine was stablished to continue to the ende of all ages.

Gen. 49.
Moses by fore-
shewing things
which came to
passe long after his
decease, declareth
that he spake by
the inspirations
of God.
Sam. 11. 15.

Sam. 16.

Deut. 32.

The like prooues
appeere in the
writings of *Esaie*,
Ieremie, *Ezechiel*,
Daniel, and other
Prophets, to shew
that they spake by
a diuine instinct.
Esaie. 45. 1.

I. C. 25. 11.

Esaie. 42.

7 Moreouer where he assigneth the chiefe gouernement to the tribe of *Iuda* in the person of the Patriarch *Iacob*, who can denie that this was done by spirite of prophetic, specially if we wey in consideration the thing it selfe, how in comming to passe it prooued true? Imagine *Moses* to haue been the first author of this prophetic: yet from the time that he did first put it in writing, there passed fower hundred yeeres wherein there was no mention of the scepter in the tribe of *Iuda*. After *Saul* was consecrate king, it seemed that the kingdome should rest in the tribe of *Beniamin*. When *Dauid* was annointed by *Samuel*, what reason appeared there why the course of inheritance of the kingdome should be changed? who would haue looked that there should haue come a king out of the base house of a heardman? And when there were in the same house seuen brethren, who would haue said that that honour should light vpon the youngest? By what meane came he to hope to be a king? who can say that this annointment was gouerned by any arte, trauell or policie of man, and not rather that it was a fulfilling of the heauenly prophetic? Likewise those things that *Moses* afore speaketh, albeit darkly, concerning the Gentiles to be adopted into the couenant of God, seeing they came to passe almost two thousand yeeres after, doe they not make it plaine, that he spake by the inspiration of God? I ouerskip his other tellings aforhand of things, which doe so euidently fauour of the reuelation of God, that all men that haue their sound wit may plainly perceiue that it is God that speaketh. To be short, that same one song of his, is a cleere looking glasse, wherein God euidently appeereth.

8 But in the other Prophets the same is yet also much more plainly seene. I will choose out onely a few examples, because to gather them all together were too great a labour. When in the time of *Esaie* the kingdome of *Iuda* was in peace, yea, when they thought that the Chaldees were to them some stay and defence, then did *Esaie* prophetic of the destruction of the citie and exile of the people. But admit that yet this was no token plaine ynough of the instinct of God, to tell long before of such things as at that time seemed false, and afterward prooued true: yet those prophetic that he vttereth concerning their deliuerance, whence shall we say that they proceeded but from God? He nameth *Cyrus* by whome the Chaldees should be subdued, and the people restored to libertie. There passed more then an hundred yeeres from the time that *Esaie* so propheticed before that *Cyrus* was borne: for *Cyrus* was borne in the hundreth yeere or thereabouts after the death of *Esaie*. No man could then gesse that there should be any such *Cyrus*, that should haue warr with the Babylonians, that should bring subiect so mightie a monarchie vnder his dominion, and make an ende of the exile of the people of *Israel*. Doeth not this bare telling without any garnishment of wordes euidently shewe, that the things that *Esaie* speaketh, are the vndoubted oracles of God, and not the coniectures of men? Againe, when *Ieremie* a little before that the people were caried away, did determine the ende of the captiuitie within three score and ten yeeres, and promised returne and libertie, must it not needs be that his toong was gouerned by the spirit of God? What shamelesnesse shall it be to denie, that the credite of the Prophets was stablished by such prooues, and that the same thing was fulfilled in deede, which they themselues doe report to make their sayings to be beleueed? Beholde, the former things are come to passe, and new things doe I declare: before they come foorth, I tell you of them. I leaue to speake howe *Ieremie* and *Ezechiel* being so farre asunder, yet propheticyng both at one time, they so agreed in all their sayings, as if either one of them had endyted the wordes for the other to write. What did *Daniel*? Doth he not write continuing prophetic of things to come for the space of six hundred yeeres after,

in such sort as if he had compiled an historie of things already done and commonly known? These things if godly men haue well considered, they shall be sufficiently well furnished, to appease the barkings of the wicked. For the plaine prooffe hereof is too cleere to be subiect to any caullations at all.

9 I know what some learned men doe prate in corners, to shew the quicknes of their wit in assaulting the truth of God. For they demand, who hath assured vs that these things which are read vnder title of their names, were euer written by *Moses* & the Prophets? Yea, they are so hardie to moue this question, whether euer there were any such *Moses* or no. But if a man should call in doubt whether euer there were any *Plato*, or *Aristotle*, or *Cicero*: who would not say, that such madnesse were worthie to be corrected with strokes and stripes? The lawe of *Moses* hath bene maruellously preserved, rather by heavenly prouidence then by diligence of men. And though by the negligence of the Priestes it lay buried a little while: yet since the time that the godly king *Iosias* found it, it hath stil by continual succession from age to age bin vfed in the hands of men. Neither did *Iosias* bring it forth as an vnknown or new thing, but such a thing as had bene euer commonly published, and wherof the remembrance was at that time famous. The originall booke it selfe was appointed to be sacredly kept in the temple, and a copie written out thereof, to remaine with the keepers of the Kings Records. Only this had happened, that the Priestes had ceased to publish the law according to the old accustomed manner, and the people themselues had neglected their wonted reading of it. Yea, there in maner passed no age wherein the establishment thereof was not confirmed and renewed. They that had *Dauid* in their hands, knew they no: of *Moses*? But to speake of them all at once, it is most certaine that their writings came to posteritie none otherwise but from hand to hand (as I may terme it) by continuall orderly course of yeres deliuered from their fathers, which had partly heard them speake, and partly while the remembrance was fresh of it, did learne of them which heard them that they had so spoken.

They are absurd men which aske how we know that any booke was written by Moses, and make it a question, whether euer there were any such man.

10 As for that which they object out of the historie of the Machabees, to minish the credit of scripture, it is such a thing as nothing can be deuised more fit to stablish the same. But first let vs wipe away the colour that they lay vpon it, and then let vs turne vpon themselues the engine that they raise vp against vs. When *Antiochus* (say they) commaunded all the bookes to be burned, whence are come these copies that we now haue? On the other side I aske them, in what shop they could so soone be made? It is euident, that after the crueltie appeased they were immediatly abroad againe, and were without controuersie known to be the same of all godly men, that hauing been brought vp in the doctrine of them, did familiarly know them. Yea, when all the wicked men being as it were conspired together, did insolently triumph with reproches vpon the Iewes, yet neuer was there any that durst lay to their charge false changing of their bookes. For whatsoeuer they thinke the Iewes religion to be, yet still they thinke *Moses* to be the author of it. What then doe these praters else, but bewray their owne more then doggish frowardnesse, while they falsely say, that these bookes are changed, and new put in their places, whose sacred antiquitie is approoued by consent of all histories? But to spende no more labour vainely in confuting such foolish caullations: let vs rather hereby consider howe great a care God had for the preservation of his word, when beyond the hope of all men he saved it from the outrage of the most cruell tyrant, as out of a present fire: that he endured the godly priestes and other with so great constancie, that they sticke not to redeeme this booke euen with losse of their life if neede were, and so to conuey it ouer to posteritie: that he disappointed the narrow search of so many gouernours and souldiours. Who can but acknowledge the notable and miraculous worke of God, that these sacred monuments which the wicked verily thought to haue been vtterly destroyed, by and by came abroad againe as fully restored, and

1. Mac. 1.
The miraculous preservation of the law, a token of the diuine excellencie thereof.
2. Mac. 1. 59.

that with a great deale more honour? For by and by followed the translating of them into Greeke, to publish them throughout the world. And not in this onely appeared the miraculous working, that God preserved the tables of his covenant from the bloudie proclamations of *Antiochus*: but also that amongst so manifold miserable afflictions of the Iewes, wherewith the whole nation was sometime worne to a few and wasted, and last of all, brought in manner to utter destruction, yet they remained still safe & extant. The Hebrue toong lay not only vnesteemed, but almost vnknown. And surely had not bene Gods pleasure to haue his religion provided for, it had perished altogether. For how much the Iewes that were since their returne from exile, were swayed from the naturall vse of their mother toong, appeereth by the Prophets that liued in that age, which is therefore wortheie to be noted, because by this comparison the antiquitie of the law and the Prophets is the more plainly perceued. And by whom hath God preserved for vs the doctrine of saluation contained in the lawe and the Prophets, to the end that Christ might in his appointed time be openly shewed? euen by the most cruelly bent enimies of Christ, the Iewes whome Saint *Augustine* doeth therefore worthily call the keepers of the Librarie of Christian church, because they haue ministred vnto vs that thing, to reade whereof, themselves haue no vse.

The mysteries which the three Euangelists deliuer in simple speech, the thundering maiestie of *Iohn*, the rude education of the Apostles before they became teachers, *S. Pauls* crueltie against Christians before he taught Christianitie, deliuereth the doctrine of the new Testament from the contempt of prophane men.

Now if we come to the newe Testament, with how sound pillars is the truth thereof vpholden? The three Euangelists write the historie in base and simple speech. Many proude men doe loath that simplicitie, because they take no heede to the chiefe pointes of doctrine therein, whereby it were easie to gather, that they intreate of heavenly mysteries aboue mans capacitie. Surely whosoeuer hath but one drop of honest shame will be ashamed if they reade the first Chapter of *Luke*. Now, the sermons of Christ, the summe whereof is shortly comprised by these three Euangelists, doe easly deliuer their writing from all contempt. But *Iohn* thundering from an high, those whome he compelleth not to obedience of faith, he throweth downe their stubbornesse more mightily then any thunderbolt. Nowe let come foorth all these sharpened faultfinders, that haue a great pleasure to shake the reuerence of scripture out of their owne and other mens hearts, let them reade *Iohns* Gospell: Will they or no, they shall there finde a thousande sentences that may at least awaken their sluggishnesse, yea, that may print a horrible brand in their owne consciences to restraints their laughing. The same is to be thought of *Peter* and *Paul*, in whose writings although the more part be blinde, yet the very heavenly maiestie in them holdeth all men bound, and as it were fast tied vnto it. But this one thing doth sufficiently aduance their doctrine aboue the world, that *Matthew* being before all giuen to the gaine of his money boorde, *Peter* and *Iohn* brought vp in their fisher boates, all grosse vnlearned men, had learned nothing in mens schoole that they might deliuer to other. *Paul*, not onely from a professed, but also from a cruell and bloudie enimie converted to a new man, with sudden and vnhoped change doth shew, that being compelled by heauenly authoritie, he now maintaineth that doctrine, which before he had fought against. Now let these dogs denie, that the holy Ghost came downe vpon the Apostles, or let them discredit the historie: yet still the truth it selfe openly crieth out, that they were taught by the holy Ghost, which being before time despised men among the rascall people, suddenly began so gloriously to intreate of heavenly mysteries.

No small estimation groweth to the scripture if the generall and conuentionall agreement of men in yielding consent and credit therunto be considered.

12 There be yet also furthermore many verie good reasons, why the consent of the Church should not be esteemed without weight. For it is to be accounted no small matter, that since the Scripture was first published, the wils of so many ages haue constantly agreed to obey it. And that howsoeuer Satian with all the worlde hath trauelled by maruellous meanes, either to oppress it, or ouerthrowe it, or vtterly to blot and deface it out: of mens remembrance, yet euer still like a palme tree, it hath

risen vp above, and remained inuincible. For there hath not lightly beene in olde time any sophister, or Rhetorici that had any more excellent wit than other, but he hath bent his force against this Scripture: yet they all haue nothing preuailed. The whole power of the earth hath armed it selfe to destroy it, and yet all their enterprises are vanished away, as in smoke. How coulde it haue resisted being so mightily on each side assailed, if it had had none other defence but mans? Yea, rather it is hereby prooued, that it came from God himselfe, that all the trauels of men striuing against it, yet it hath of her owne power still risen vp. Beside that, not one citie alone, nor one onely nation hath agreed to receiue and imbrace it: but so faire as the world extendeth in length and breadth, the Scripture hath attained her credite, by one holy conspiracie of diuers nations, which otherwise were in nothing agreeable one with another. And forasmuch as such agreement of mindes so diuers and disageeing in manner in all things else, ought much to moue vs, because it appeereth, that the same is brought about none other way, but by working of the heavenly maiestie: no small estimation groweth vnto it, when we behold their godlines, that do so agree, I meane not of them all, but onely of those, with whom as with lightes it pleased God to haue his Church to shine.

13 Now with what assurednesse of minde ought we to submit vs to that doctrine which we see established and witnessed with the blood of so many holy men? They when they had but once received it, stucked not boldly without feare, yea and with great cheerefulness to die for it: how should it then come to passe, that we hauing it conueied to vs with such an assured pledge, should not with certaine and vnmouueable perswasion take hold of it? It is therefore no small confirmation of the Scripture, that it hath beene sealed with the blood of so many witnesses, specially when we consider that they suffred death to beare witness of their faith: and not of a frankie distemperance of braine, as sometime the erroneous spirits are wooit to doe, but with a firme & constant, and yet sober zeale of God. There be other reasons and those not few nor weake, whereby the Scripture hath her dignitie and maistie, not onely ascertained vnto godly hearts, but also honourably defended against the subtilties of caullers, yet be they such as be not of themselves sufficiently available to bring stedfast credite vnto it, vntill the heavenly father disclosing therein his maiestie, doeth bring the reuerence thereof out of all controuersie. Wherefore then onely the scripture shall suffice to that knowledge of God that bringeth saluation, when the certaintie thereof shall be grounded vpon the inward perswasion of the holy Ghost. So those testimonies of men that serue to confirme it shall not be vaine, if as second helpes of our weaknesse they follow that chiefe and highest testimonie. But they do fondly that will haue it periwaded by prooffe to the vnfaithfull, that the scripture is the word of God, which cannot be knowen but by faith. For good reason therefore doeth *Augustine* giue warning, that godlines and peace of minde ought to go before, to make a man vnderstand somewhat of so great matters.

The dignitie of scripture not a little ascertained by the constant suffringes of so many that haue sealed it with their blood.

De uilitate credendi.

The ix. Chapter.

That those fanaticall men, which forsaking Scripture, resort vnto reuelation, do ouerthrow all the principles of godlinesse.

Now they that forsaking the Scripture doe imagine I wote not what way to attaine vnto God, are to be thought not so much to be holden with erreur, as to be carried with rage. For there haue arisen of late certaine giddie brained men, which most presumptuously pretending a schoole of the spirite, both themselves doe forsake all reading, and also doe scorne their simplicitie which still follow the dead and slaying letter, as they call it. But I woulde faine knowe of these men, what write that is, by whose inspiration they are carried vp so high, that they dare despise

The spirite of Christ is giuen not to guide men without the scripture, but according to the scripture.

the doctrine of the scriptures as childish and base. For if they answer that it is the spirite of Christ, then such carelesnesse is woorthie to be laughed at. For I thinke they will grant, that the Apostles of Christ and other faithfull in the primitiue Church were lightened with none other spirite. But none of them did learne of that spirite to despise the word of God: but rather euery one was moued more to reuerence it, as their writings doe most plainly witness. And surely so was it foretolde by the mouth of *Esaie*. For where he saith: My spirite that is vpon thee, and my wordes which I haue put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seede for euer: he doth not binde the olde people to the outward doctrine, as though they were set to learne to spell, but rather he teacheth, that this shall be the true and perfect felicitie of the new Church vnder the reigne of Christ, that it shall no lesse be led by the voice of God, then by the spirit of God. Whereby we gather, that these lewde men with wicked sacriledge doe seuer afunder those things that the Prophet hath ioyned with an inuioable knot. Moreouer, *Paul* being rauished vpon into the third heauen, yet ceased not to goe forward in the doctrine of the lawe and the Prophets, euen so as he exhortheth *Timothie*, a doctour of singular excellencie to applie reading. And woorthie is that commendation to be remembered, wherewith he setteth forth the scripture, saying, that it is profitable to teach, to admonish and to reprooue, that the seruants of God may be made perfect. How diuelligh a madnesse is it to faine, that the vse of Scripture is but transitorie, and lasteth but for a while: which in deede guideth the children of God euen to the last ende? Againe, I would haue them answer me this: whether they haue tasted of another spirite then that which the Lord promised to his disciples. Although they be vexed with extreme madnesse, yet I thinke they are not carried with such giddinesse, that they daue so boast. But what maner of spirite did he speake of in his promise? euen that spirite which should not speake of it selfe, but should minister and inspire into their mindes those things, which he the Lord himselfe had taught by his word. It is not therefore the office of the spirite, which is promised vs, to faine newe and vheard-of reuelations, or to coyne a new kinde of doctrine, whereby we should be led from the receiued doctrine of the Gospell, but to scale in our mindes the selfe same doctrine that is commended vnto vs by the Gospell.

Esaie. 59. 21.

1. *Tim.* 4. 13.

2. *Tim.* 3. 16.

John. 16. 13.

By the scripture
the spirite is tried
whether it be of
God or no. Nei-
ther is it disho-
norable for the spirite
so to be tried.

2. *Pet.* 1. 10.

2. Whereby we plainly vnderstand, that we ought right studiously to applie the reading and hearing 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 heedfull to the doctrine of the Prophets, which yet might seeme to haue giuen place after the rising of the light of the Gospell. On the other side, if any spirite leauing the wisdome of the worde of God doeth thrust vnto vs another doctrine, that the same spirite ought rightfully to be suspected of vanitie and lying. For what? when Sathan transformeth himselfe into an angell of light, what credite shall the holy Ghost haue among vs, if it be not generally knowen by some assured marke? And truely it hath bene plainly pointed out vnto vs by the worde of the Lorde, but that these miserable men doe willingly couet to erre to their owne destruction, while they seeke a spirite rather from themselves than from him. But (say they) it is dishonorable, that the spirite of God, whom all things ought to obey, should be subiect to the Scripture. As if this were a dishonour to the holie Ghost to be euery where egall and like to it selfe, to agree with it selfe in all things, and no where to varie. In deede, if it were to be tried by the rule either of men, or of Angels, or any others rule whatsoeuer, then it might well be thought, that it were brought into obedience, or if ye list so to terme it, into bondage. But when it is compared with it selfe, when it is considered in it selfe, who can therefore say, that there is any wrong done vnto it? But thus it is brought to triall. I graunt, but such a triall wherewith it was his owne pleasure to haue his maiestie established. It ought to content vs so soone as he entrencheth into vs. But least vnder his

his name the spirit of Satan should creepe in, he will haue vs to knowe him by that image of himselfe, which he hath printed in the Scriptures. He is the author of the Scriptures : he cannot be diuers and vnlike himselfe. Therefore it must needs be, that he continually remaine such as he hath shewed himselfe therein. This is no dishonor vnto him, vnlesse perhaps wee count it honorable to swarue and goe out of kinde from himselfe.

3 Whereas they cauil that we rest vpon the letter that slaieth, heerein they suffer punishment for despising of the Scripture. For it is plaine enough that *Paul* there contendeth against the false Apostles, which commending the law without Christ did call away the people from the benefite of the new Testament, wherein the Lord doth couenant that he will graue his law within the bowels of the faithfull, and write it in their harts. The letter therefore 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 the hart, onely foundeth in the eares. But if it be effectually printed in our harts by the holy ghost, if it present Christ vnto vs : then is it the worde of life, conuerting soules, giuing wisdom to little ones, &c. Also in the same place the Apostle calleth his preaching the ministerie of the holy Ghost : meaning that the holy Ghost doth so sticke fast in his truth which he hath expressed in the Scriptures, that then onely he putteth forth and displaith his force, when the Scripture hath her due reuerence and dignitie. And it disagreeeth not heerewith which I before saide, that the worde it selfe is not much assured vnto vs, vnlesse it be confirmed by the witness of the holy Ghost. For with a certaine mutuall knot the Lorde hath coupled together the assurance of his worde and of his spirit, so that perfect reuerence to the worde doth then settle in our mindes when the holy Ghost shineth vpon vs to make vs therein behold the face of God : and on the other side without all feare of being deceiued we doe embrace the holic Ghost, when we reknowledge him in his owne image, that is, in his word. Thus it is vndoubtedly: God brought not abroad his word among men for a sodaine shew, meaning at the coming of his spirit by and by to take it away againe, but he after sent the same spirit with whose power he had distributed his worde, to make an end of his worke with effectuell confirmation of his worde. In this sort Christ opened the mindes of the two disciples, not that they should cast awaie the Scriptures and waxe wise of themselues, but that they should vnderstand the Scriptures. Likewise *Paul* when he exhortheth the Thessalonians not to extinguish the spirit, doth not carrie them vp on high to vaine speculations without the worde, but by and by faith further, that prophesies are not to be despised : whereby without doubt is ment, that the light of the spirit is choked vp so soone as prophecies come to be despised. What say these proudly swelling men; raiusht with the spirit, to these things, which reckon this onely to be an excellent illumination, when carelessly forsaking and saying farewell to the word of God, they both boldly and rashly do take holde of all that they haue conceiued in their sleepe? Truly, a fare other sobrietie becommeth the children of God : which as they see that without the spirit of God they are void of all light of truth, so do they know that the word is the instrument wherewith the Lorde distributeth to the faithfull the light of his spirit. For they knowe none other spirit but that which dwelt and spake in the Apostles, by whose oracles they are continually called to the hearing of the worde.

2. Cor. 3. 6.
As the scripture is a dead letter when we read it, having not the life of the spirit, so the spirit is a dangerous guide if we follow it, leaving the conduct of the scripture: they must go hand in hand, each assuring and warranting other.
2. Cor. 3. 8.

Luke. 24. 27.

1. Thef. 5. 19.

The x. Chapter.

That the Scripture, to correct all superstition, doth in comparison set the true God against all the gods of the Gentiles, reckoning him for none of them.

BVt because we haue shewed, that the knowledge of God which in the frame of the worlde and all the creatures is somewhat plainelie set forth, is yet more familiarly

The same power, providence, mercy, and iustice of God

which shineth in
the creatures of
the world, is also
taught in holy
scripture.

familiarly and plainly declared in the worde: now is it good to consider, whether the Lord shew himselfe such in the Scripture as it pleased him first to be represented in his workes. But I shall at this time be contented onely to point vnto it, whereby the godly mindes being admonished, may knowe what is chiefly to be searched in the Scriptures concerning God, and be directed to one certaine marke in their seeking. I do not yet touch the peculiar couenant, whereby God seuered the stocke of *Abraham* from other nations. For euen then he appeared the redeemer in receiuing to his children by free adoption those that before were enimies. But we are yet about that knowledge that resteth in the creation of the world, and ascendeth not to Christ the mediatour. And although by and by it shall be good to alleage certaine places out of the newe Testament, forasmuch as euen out of it both the power of God the Creator and his prouidence in preserving of the first nature is approoued, yet I warne the Readers before, what is now my purpose to do, to the end that they passe not the appointed bounds. So for this present, let it suffice vs to learne, howe God the maker of heauen and earth doth gouerne the worlde by him created. Euerie where is renoumed both his fatherly bountie and enclined will to doe good, and there are also examples rehearsed of his seueritie, which shewe him to bee a righteous punisher of wicked dooings, specially where his sufferance nothing preuaileth with the obstinate.

2 In certaine places are set forth more plaine descriptions, wherein his naturall face is as in an image represented to be seene. For in the place where *Moses* describeth it, it seemeth that his meaning was shortly to comprehend all that was lawfull for men to vnderstand of God. The Lorde (saith he) the Lorde, a mercifull God, and gracious, patient and of much mercy, and true, which keepeth mercy vnto thousands, which takeft away iniquitie and wicked dooings, before whom the innocent shal not be innocent, which rendrest the wickednesse of the fathers to the children and childrens children. Where let vs marke, that his eternitie and being of himselfe is expressed in the twice repeating of that honourable name: and that then his vertues are rehearsed, in which is described vnto vs, not what he is in respect to himselfe, but what a one he is toward vs: that this knowledge of him may rather stande in a liuelie feeling, than in an emptie and supernaturall speculation. And here we do heare recited those vertues of his which we noted to shine in the heauen & earth, that is to say, clemencie, bountie, mercie, iustice, iudgement and truth. For might and power are contained vnder this name *Elohim* God. With the same names of addition doe the Prophets set him forth when they meane fully to paint out his holy name. But, because I woulde not heape vpp too many examples together, at this present let one Psalm suffice vs, wherein the summe of all his vertues is so exactly reckened vs, that nothing can seeme to be omitted. And yet is nothing there rehearsed, but that which we may behold in his creatures. So plainly doe we perceiue God by information of experience, to be such as he declarth himselfe in his worde. In *Jeremie* where he pronounceth, what a one he would haue vs knowe him to be, he setteth forth a description not altogether so full, but yet comming all to one effect. Hee that glorieth, saith he, let him glorie in this that he knoweth me to be the Lorde that doth mercie, iustice, and iudgement on the earth. Surely, these three things are very necessaie for vs to know: Mercy, in which alone consisteth all our saluation: Iudgement, which is daily executed vpon euill dooers, and more greuous is prepared for them to eternal destruction: Iustice, whereby the faithfull are preserved and most tenderly cherished. Which things when thou hast conceiued, the prophesy saith, thou hast sufficiently enough whereof thou maist glory in God. And yet heere are not omitted either his truth or his power, or his holinesse or goodnesse. For how shoulde the knowledge stande sure which is heere required of his iustice, mercy and iudgement, vnlesse it did rest vpon his vnmoouable truth? And howe shoulde we beleue that he doth

gouerne

Exod. 34.6.
Moses, David, and
Jeremie teach the
same which hea-
uen and earth doe
teach concerning
God, namely his
power, goodnesse,
mercie, holinesse,
iustice, iudgement,
and truth, and
they teach to the
same end, that we
might yeeld him
obedience, and put
confidence in him.

Psal. 145.3.

Jer. 5.2.

gouerne the earth with iustice and iudgement, but vnderstanding his power? And whence commeth his mercy but of his goodnesse? If then all his waies be mercie, iudgement and iustice, in them must holinesse also needes be seene. And to none other end is directed that knowledge of God that is set foorth vnto vs in the Scriptures, than is that knowledge also which appeereth imprinted in his creatures, that is to say: it first moueeth vs to the feare of God, and then to put confidence in him, to the ende we may learne first to honour him with perfect innocencie of life and vnfained obedience, and then to hang altogether vpon his goodnesse.

3 But here I meane to gather a summe of generall doctrine. And first let the readers note, that the Scripture to the end to direct vs to the true God, doth expresse lie exclude, and cast away all the gods of the Gentules, because commonly in a manner in all ages religion hath bene corrupted. True it is indeede that the name of one God was euery where knowne and renoumed. For euen they that worshipped a great number of gods, so oft as they did speak according to the proper sense of nature, they simply vsed the singular name of God, as if they were contented with one God alone. And this was wisely marked by *Iustine* the martyr, which for this purpose made a booke of the monarchie of God, where by many testimonies he sheweth that this, that there is but one God, was engrauen in the hearts of all men. The same thing also doth *Tertullian* prouue by the common phrase of speech. But forasmuch as all without exception are by their owne vanitie either drawen or fallen to false forged deuises, and so their senses are become vaine, therefore all that euer they naturally vnderstood of the being but one God, auailed no further, but to make them inexcusable. For euen the wisest of them do plainly shewe the wandring error of their minde, when they wish some god to assist them, and so in their praies do cal vpon vncertaine gods. Moreouer in this that they imagined God to haue manie natures, although they thought somewhat lesse absurdly than the rude people did of *Iupiter*, *Mercurie*, *Venus*, *Mimerua* and other: yet were they not free from the deceits of Satan, & as we haue already saide elsewhere, whatsoeuer waies of escape the Philosophers haue suttie inuented, they cannot purge themselves of rebellion, but that they all haue corrupted the truth of God. For this reason *Habacuc* after he had condemned al idols, biddeth to seeke God in his owne temple, that the faithfull should not admit him to be any other than such as he had disclosed himselfe by his worde.

How soeuer the name of one God was knowne amongst the Gentiles, their knowledge of him hath bene aduaies so corrupted, that the scripture directing to the true God, giveth speciall warning of theirs as false.

Abd. 2.

The xj. Chapter.

That it is vnlawfull to attribute vnto God a visible forme, and that generally they forsake God, so manie as doe erect to themselves any images.

BVt as the Scripture prouiding for the rude and grosse wit of man, vseth to speake after the common manner: so when it meaneth to make seuerally knowne the true God from the false Gods, it cheefely compareth him with idols: not that it doth allowe these inuentions that are more suttly and finely taught by the Philosophers, but the plainlier to disclose the foolishnesse of the worlde, yea rather their madnesse in seeking God so long as they cleaue cuerie one to their owne imaginati- ons. Therefore that exclusiue definition which we commonly heare, beinge to nougth all that maner of godhead, that men frame to themselves by their owne opinion, because God himselfe is the onely conuenient witnes of himselfe. In the mean time, sith this brutish grossenes hath possessed the whole world, to couet visible shaps of God, and so to forge themselves gods of timber, stone, gold, siluer, and other dead and corruptible matter, we ought to holde this principle, that with wicked falshood the glorie of God is corrupted, so oft as any shape is faigned to represent him. Therefore God in the law, after he had once challenged the glory of his deitie to himselfe

The Scripture is of no one thing more carefull than lest men corrupt the glorie of God, first by conceiuing, and then by expressing him vnder any shape or similitude.

Cap. 11. Of the knowledge of

alone, meaning to teach vs what maner of worshipping him he alloweth or refuseth, addeth immediately: Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, nor any similitude, in which words he restraineth our liberty, that we attempt not to represent him with any visible image. And therein he shortly reckneth vp all the formes wherewith of long time before, superstition had begun to turne his truth into lying. For we know that the Persians worshipped the Sun, yea, and so many stars as the foolish nations saw in the skie, so many gods they fained them. And scarce was there any liuing creature which was not among the Ægyptians a figure of God. But the Grecians were thought to be wiser then the rest, bicause they worshipped God in the shape of a man. But God compareth not images one with another, as though one were more and another lesse meete to be vsed, but without any exception he reiecteth all images, pictures and other signes, whereby the superstitious thought to haue God neere vnto them.

2 This is easie to be gathered by the reasons which he ioyneth to the prohibition. First with *Moses*: Remember that the Lord hath spoken to thee in the vale of *Horeb*. Thou hearest a voice, but thou sawest no bodie. Therefore take heed to thy self, least peradventure thou be deceiued and make to thy selfe any likenesse, &c. We see how openly God setteth his voice against all counterfeit shapcs, that we may knowe that they forsake God whosoever do couet to haue visible formes of him. Of the Prophets onely *Isay* shall be enough, which speaketh oft and much heereof, to teach that the maiestie of God is defiled with vncomely and foolish counterfaying, when he beeing without bodie, is likened to bodily matter: beeing inuisible, to a visible image: being a spirit, to a thing without life: being incomprehensible, to a small lump of timber, stone or golde. In like manner reasoneth *Paul*: For as much as we are the generation of GOD, we ought not to thinke that the godhead is like vnto gold, or siluer, or stone grauen by art and the inuention of man. Whereby it certainly appeareth, whatsoeuer images are erected, or pictures painted to expresse the shape of God, they simply displease him as certaine dishonors of his maiestie. And what maruell is it if the holy Ghost do thunder out these oracles from heauen, sith he compelleth the verie wretched and blind Idolaters themselves to confesse this in earth: It is known how *Seneca* complained as it is to read in *Augustine*. They dedicate (saith he) the holy immortall and inuolable Gods in most vile and base stuffe, and put vpon them the shapcs of men and beasts, and some of them with kind of man and woman mingled together, and with sundrie shapen bodies, & such they cal Gods, which if they should receiue breath & meet them, would be reckened monsters. Whereby againe plainly appeareth, that it is a fond caualution wherewith the defenders of images seeke to escape, which say that the Iewes were forbidden images, bicause they were inclinable to superstition. As though that thing pertained to one nation only which God bringeth forth of his eternall being and the continuall order of nature. And *Paul* spake not to the Iewes but to the Athenienses when he confuted their error in counterfaying a shape of God.

3 God indeede, I graunt, sometime in certaine signes hath giuen a presence of his godhead, so as he was saide to be beholden face to face, but all these signes that cuer he shewed, did aptly serue for means to teach, and withall did plainly admonish men of an incomprehensible essence. For the cloude and smoke and flame, although they were tokens of the heavenly glorie, yet did they as it were bridle and restrain the minds of men, that they should not attempt to passe any further. Wherefore, not *Moses* himselfe, to whom God disclosed himselfe most familiarly in comparison of other, obtained by praier to see that face, but receiued this answer, that man is not able to sustaine so great brightnesse. The holy Ghost appeared vnder the likenesse of a Dove, but sith he immediately vanished away, who doth not see that by that token of so short a continuance of a moment, the faithfull are put in minde, that they ought to beleue him to be an inuisible spirite, that holding them

contented

Exod.:o.4.

Maximus Tirius
Platonicus ser-
mone. 38.

Deu. 4. 10. 12. 15.
Not onely *Moses*,
Isay and *Paul*,
but also blind ido-
laters themselues
haue taught, that
the maiestie of
God is defiled
when he is bodily
represented in
any likenesse.
Isay. 40. 18. &
41. 7. & 45. 9. &
46. 5.
A. d. 17. 29.

Lib. 6. De ciui. dei
cap. 10.

Although God
haue vsed to de-
clare the presence
of his godhead by
corporall signes,
yet euen therein
he hath stil giuen
some note to shew
that hereupon we
should not pre-
sume to erect vnto
our selues a repre-
sentation of that
deitie which we
cannot compre-
hend. The Iewes
hauing such rudi-
ments, no ar-
gument why we
should haue them
because they had,
much lesse wor-
ship them, which
they did not.

contented with his vertue and grace, they should make him no outward shape. This, that God appeared sometimes in forme of a man, was a foreshewing of the reueiling that was to be made of him in Christ. And therefore it was not lawfull for the Iewes to abuse this pretence to erect to themselues a representation of the godhead in the shape of man. Also the mercie seate whercin God shewed forth the presence of his power in the time of the law, was so made, as it might teach that the best beholding of the godhead is this, when mens mindes are carried beyonde themselues with admiration of it. For the Cherubins with their wings stretched abroad did couer it, the veile did hide it, and the place it selfe being set farre inward, did of it selfe sufficiently keepe it secret. Therefore it is verie plaine that they be verie madde, that goe about to defend the images of God and of Saints with the example of these Cherubins. For, I pray you, what meant these little images, but to shewe that images are not meete to represent the mysteries of God? for as much as they were made for this purpose, that hiding the mercie seat with their wings, they should not onely keepe backe the eyes 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 Prophets described the Seraphins shewed them in a vision, with their face vncovered: whereby they signifie, that so great is the brightnesse of the glorie of God, that the Angels themselues are kept from direct beholding it, and the small sparkes thereof that shine in the Angels are withdrawn from our eyes. Although yet so many as rightly iudge, doe acknowledge that the Cherubins of whom we nowe speake, pertayned onely to the olde manner of introduction, as it were of children, vsed in the lawe. So to drawe them nowe 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 rudiments were appointed. And it is much shame, that the panime writers are better expounders of the law of God than the Papists are. *Iuuenal* reprocheth the Iewes, as it were in scorne, that they honor the white clouds and the deitie of heauen. I grant he speaketh peruersly and wickedly: and yet he speaketh more truly in saying that they haue among them no image of God, than the Papistes do which prate that they had a visible image of God. And whereas that people with a certaine hote hastines, brake out oftentimes to seeke them idols, euen as waters out of a great fresh spring boile out with violent force: hereby rather let vs learne how great is the inclination of our nature to idolatrie, lest throwing vpon the Iewes the blame of that fault which is common to all, we sleepe a deadly sleepe vnder vaine allurements to sinne.

Deu. 4. 11.
Exod. 33. 13.
Mat. 3. 16.
Exo. 25. 17.

Efty. 6. 2.

Psal. 115. 4. &
135. 15.
*The master of herc
of idols are made,
their makers, their
measure, doth
make them see me
worse than mad,
which allow the
the graving or
pausing, or hono
ring of such things
as the figures of
God.*

Horat. ferm. 1.
sat. 8.

4 To the same purpose serueth this saying: The idols of the Gentiles are gold and siluer, euen the workes of mens hands. Because the Prophet doth gather of the stuffe it selfe, that they are no gods that haue a golden or siluer image: and he taketh it for confessed truth, that it is a foolish faimed inuention whatsoever we conceiue of our owne sense concerning God. He nameth rather gold & siluer, than clay or stone, that the beautie or the price should not serue rather bring a reuerence to idols. But he concludeth generally, that nothing is lesse allowable, than gods to be made of dead stuffe. And in the meane while he standeth as much vpon this point, that men are carried away with too mad a rashnes, which themselues bearing about with them but a borrowed breath, ready to vanish away at euerie moment, yet dare giue the honor of God to idols. Man must needs confesse that himself is but a creature of a daies continuance, & yet he wil haue a piece of mettall to be counted God, to which himself gaue the beginning to be a God. For whence came the beginning of idols but from the wil of men? Very iustly doth the heathen Poet giue them this taunt:

*I was sometime a fig tree log, a blocke that serud for nougt:
The workman doubted what of me were fittest to be wrought:
A fourme to sit vpon, or els a Priap God to be.
At length he thought the better was a God to make of me.*

Cap. II. Of the knowledge of

Forsooth an earthly silly man that breatheth out his owne life in manner euerie moment, by his workmanship shall 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 taunts of him and such as he is, and let the rebuking of the Prophet prick vs, or rather thrust vs through where he saith, that they are too much beauly witted that with one selfe piece of wood do make a fire and warme themselves, do heat the oven to bake bread, do rost or seeth flesh, & do make them a God before which they fall down humbly to pray. Therefore in another place he doth not only accuse them by the law, but also doth reproch them that they haue not learned of the foundations of the earth: for that there is nothing lesse conuenient than to bring God to the measure of sive foote, which is aboue al measure and incomprehensible. And yet this fame monstrous thing which manifestly repugneth against the order of nature, custom sheweth to be natural to men. We must moreover hold in mind, that superstitions are in Scripture commonly rebuked in this phrase of speech, that they are the workes of mens hand which want the authoritie of God: that this may be certaine, that all these manners of worshipping that men do deuise of themselves are detestable. The Prophet in the Psalme doth amplify the madnesse of them that therefore are indued with vnderstanding, that they should know that all things are moued with the onely power of God, and yet they pray for helpe to things dead and sencelesse. But because the corruption of nature carrieth as wel all nations, as each man priuately to so great madnes, at last the holy Ghost thundreth with terrible curse against them, saying: Let them that make them become like to them, and so many as trust in them. And it is to bee noted that a similitude is no lesse forbidden than a grauen image, whereby the fond subtlerie of the Greekes is confuted. For they thinke they are well discharged if they graue not a God, while in painting they do more licentiously outrage than any other nations. But the Lord forbiddeth an image not only to be made by the grauer, but also to be counterfaiued by any other workman, because such counterfaiuing is euil and to the dishonor of his maiestie.

5 I know that it is a saying more than common among the people, that images are lay mens bookes. *Gregorie* so said, but the spirit of God pronounceth farre otherwise, in whose schoole if *Gregorie* had bene taught, he would neuer so haue spoken. For whereas *Hieremie* plainly saith, that the stocke is a doctrine of vanitie: and whereas *Habacuc* teacheth that the molten image is a teacher of lyes: surely hereof is a general doctrine to be gathered, that it is vaine and lying whatsoever men learne by images concerning God. If any man take exception, and say that the Prophets reprove them onely which abused images to wicked superstition: I graunt that to be true. But I adde further that which is easie for all men to see, that they condemne that thing wholly which the Papists take for an assured principle, that images are in skeepede of bookes. For they do in comparison set images against God as things directly contrarie, and such as neuer can agree together. This comparison I say is made in those places which I haue alleaged. Sith there is but one true God whom the Iewes did worship, it is anisse and falsly done to forge visiblc shapes to represent God, and men are miserably deceiued, that thereby seeke 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 Prophets would not so generally condemne it. At least thus much I win of them when we shew that it is vanitie and lying that men do attempt to represent God with images, we do nothing but rehearse word for word that which the Prophets haue taught.

6 Let be read what *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* haue written of this matter, which sticke not to take it for certaine that they were all mortall, of whom images are to be seene. Likewise *Aurysine*: which without doubting pronounceth that it is vnlawful not only to worship images, but also to set vp images to God. And yet saith he

ad ne

Esay. 44. 15.

Efay. 40. 21.
Esay. 2. 8. & 31. 7.
& 57. 10.
Ose. 14. 4.
Mic. 5. 14.
Psal. 115. 8.

They who seeke
the knowledge of
God in such bookes
learn nothing but
errors and lyes by
them.
Hier. 10. 8.
Hla. 2. 18.

By *Lactantius*,
Eusebius, *Augu-*
stine, the *El ber-*
gine Councel, &
Varro himselfe.

none other thing but the same which many yeeres before was decreed by the Elibertine Councell, whereof this is the xxxvj. Chapter. It is ordeined that no pictures be had in the Church, that the thing which is honored and worshipped be not painted on the walles. But most notable is that which in another place *Augustine* alleageeth out of *Varro*, and confirmeth it with his owne assent, that they which first brought in the images of Gods, both tooke away the feare of God, and brought in error. If *Varro* alone should say this, peradventure it should be but of small authoritie. Yet ought it of right to make vs ashamed, that a heathen man groping in darknesse came to this light, to see that bodily images are therefore vnmeet for the maiestie of God, because they diminish the feare of God, and encrease error in men. The prooffe it selfe witnesseth that this was no lesse truely than wisely spoken. But *Augustine* hauing borrowed it of *Varro*, bringeth it forth as of his owne minde. And first he admonisheth, that the first errors wherewith men were entangled concerning God, began not of images, but as with new matter added, encreased by thē. Secondly he expoundeth that the feare of God is therefore diminished or rather taken away thereby, because his maiestie may easily in the foolishnes, & in the fond & absurd forging of images grow to contempt. Which second thing I woulde to God we did not by proof find to be so true. Whosoever therefore wil couet to be rightly taught, let him elswhere learne the nature of images, what is meet to be known concerning God.

7 Wherefore if the Papists haue any shame, let them no more vse this shift to say that images are lay mens bookes, which by many testimonies of Scripture are so openly confuted. And although I grant them so much, yet should they not much get thereby for defence of their idols. What monsters they thrust in, in the place of God, is well known. The pictures and images that they dedicate to saints, what are they but examples of extreme riot and vnclannesse, whereunto if any woulde fashion himselfe, he were woorthie to be beaten with staues? Surely, the brothelhouses can shew harlots more chastely and soberly attyred, than their temples shewe images of these whom they would haue called virgins. Euen as vncomely array giue they to the Martyrs. Let them therefore fashion their idols at least to som honest thew of shamefastnes, that they may somewhat more colourably lie in saying, that they are the books of some holines. But if it were so, yet then would we answer, that this is not the right way to teach the faithfull people in holy places, whom God woulde haue there instructed with far other doctrine than with these trifles. God commanded in the churches a common doctrine to be set forth to all men in preaching of his worde & in his holy mysteries: whereunto they shew themselves to haue a minde not verie heedfull, that cast their eyes about to behold images. But whom do the Papistes call lay & vnlearned men whose vnskilfulnes may bear to be taught only by images? Forsooth euen those whom the Lord knowledgeth for his disciples, to whom he vouchsafeth to reueile the heavenly wisdome, whom he willet to be instructed with the wholesome mysteries of his kingdom. I grant indeed as the matter standeth, that there are at this day many which cannot be without such bookes. But whence I praie you groweth that dulnes, but that they are defrauded of that doctrine which onely was meete to instruct them with? For it is for no other cause, that they which had the cure of churches gaue ouer their office of teaching to idols, but because themselves were dumb. *Paul* testifieth that Christ is in the true preaching of the Gospel, painted out in a manner crucified before our eyes. To what purpose then were it to haue commonly set vp in churches so many crosses of woode, stone, siluer and golde, if this were well and faithfully beaten into the peoples heads, that Christ died to beare our curse vpon the crosse, to cleanse our sinnes with the sacrifice of his body, and to wash them away with his blood, and finally to reconcile vs to God the Father? Of which one thing they might learne more than of a thousand crosses of wood or stone. For perhaps the couetous do set their mindes & eyes faster vpon the golden & siluer crosses,

the counterfeiting of God by imagery condemned as a thing which diminisheth his feare, and bringeth his glory into contempt. Concil. Elibert. cap. 6. & ca. 31. Li. 4. De ciuit. dei cap. 9. & 31.

If the images which Papistes propose as bekes of holines, were not patterns of vnclannesses as they are, yet are they no fit meanes to instruct the people of God, before whom Christ should rather be painted by teaching, than taught by painting.

Gal. 3. 1.

Cap. I I Of the knowledge of

than vpon any words of God.

Sap. 14. 15.

Imagery is ancient and springeth from the ancient roote of infidelitie, men not beleeuing or not considering God to be present, vnlesse they haue some visible signe for aduers semeant of his presence.

Gen. 31. 19.

8 As concerning the beginning of idols, that is by common consent thought to be true which is written in the booke of wise dome, that they were the first authors of them, which gaue this honor to the dead, superstitiously to worship their memory. And truly I grant that this cuill custome was very ancient, and I deny not that it was the firebrand wherewith the rage of men being kindled to idolatrie, did more and more burne therein. Yet doe I not grant that this was the first originall of this mischief. For it appeareth by *Moses* th it images were vsed before that this curiositie in dedicating the images of dead men, wherof the prophane writers make often mention, were come in vre. When he telleth that *Rachell* had stolen her fathers idols, hee speaketh it as of a common fault. Whereby we may gather that the wit of man is, as I may so call it, a continuall worship of idols. After the generall flood, there was as it were a new regeneration of the world, and yet there passed not many yeeres but that men according to their owne lust fained them gods. And it is likely that the holie Patriarch yet liuing, his childrens children were giuen to idolatry, so that to his bitter grieffe he sawe the earth defiled with idols, whose corruptions the Lord had but late purged with so horrible iudgement. For *Thare* and *Nachor* euen before the birth of *Abraham* were worshippers of false gods, as *Iosue* testifieth. Seeing the generation of *Sem* so soone swarued, what shall we iudge of the posteritie of *Cham*, who were already cursed in their father? The mind of men, as it is ful of pride & rash boldnes, presumeth to imagin god according to hir own conceit: & as it is possessed with dulnes, yea, ouerwhelmed with grosse ignorance, so it conceiueth vanitie and a fonde fantasie in steed of God. And in these euils is added a new mischief, that man attempteth to expresse in workmanship such a god as he inwardly conceiueth. Thus the minde begetteth the idoll, & 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, vnles he shew himself carnally present. We know not (said they) what is becom of this *Moses*: make vs gods that may go before 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 nie vnto them, vnlesse they did see with their eies a corporall representation of his face to be a wittnes vnto them of the God that gouerned them. Their minde was therefore to knowe by the image going before 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 counterfeite deuisse like it selfe, wherein it may vainly delight as in an image of God. In a manner in all ages since the creation of the worlde, men to obey this blinde desire haue erected signes wherein they imagined God to be present before their carnall eies.

Ios. 24. 2.

Exod. 31. 1.

From making images to represent God, men were brought first to thinke that his presence was restrained vnto those images, then to imagine th: there was some diuine thing in them, & at length flatly to worship them.

9 After such inuention forged, by and by followeth worshipping. For when men thought that they beheld God in images, they did also worship him in the. At length being both with mindes and eies altogether fastned thereon, they began to waxe more and more brutish, and to wonder at them and haue them in admiration, as if there were some nature of godhead 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 did 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 downe to worship, thou art already bewitched with some superstition. For this reason the Lorde hath forbidden not onely images to be erected that are made to expresse a likenesse of him, but also anie titles or stones to be dedicated, that shoulde stande to be worshipped. And for the same reason also in the commandement of the lawe, this other point is added concerning worshipping. For so soone as they haue forged a visible forme for God, they also tie the power of God vnto it: So beastly foolish are men, that there they fasten

fasten God where they counterfeit him, and therefore must they needs worship it. Neither is there any difference whether they simply worship the idole, or God in the idole. This is alway idolatrie, when honors due to God are giuen to an idole, vnder what colour soeuer it be. And because God will not be worshipped superstitiously, therefore whatsoever is giuen to idols is taken from him. Let them take heed hereunto that seeke for pretences to defend the abhominable idolatrie, wherewith these manie ages past, true religion hath bene drowned and ouerthrowne. But (say they) the images are not taken for Gods. Neither were the Iewes themselues so vnadvised to forget that it was God by whose hands they had bene brought out of Ægypt before they made the calfe. Yea when *Aaron* saide, that those were the gods by whom they were deliuered out of the land of Ægypt, they boldly assented, shewing a plaine token of their meaning, that they would still keepe that God that was their deliuerer, so that they might see him go before them in the calfe. Neither is it to be beleued that the heauen were so grosse as to beleue, that God was no other thing but stocks & stones. For they changed their images at their pleasure, but still they kept the same gods in their minde: and there were many images of one God, and yet they did not according to the multitude of images faine them many gods. Besides that they did daily consecrate new images, yet did they not thinke that they made new gods. Let the excuses be read which *Augustine* saith were pretended by the Idolaters of his age. When they were rebuked, the common sort answered, that they did not worship that visible thing, but the deitie that did in it inuisible dwell. And they that were of somewhat better religion, as he calleth it, did say that they did neither worship the image, nor the spirit in it, but by the corporall image they did behold the signe of that thing which they ought to worship? Howe then? All idolaters, whether they were of the Iewes, or of the Gentiles were none otherwise minded than as I haue saide: being not contented with a spirituall vnderstanding of God, they thought by the images he should be more sure and neerer imprinted in them. After pnce that such disordered counterfiting of God well liked them, they neuer ended, till daily more and more deluded with new deceits, they imagined that God did show forth his power in images. And neuer thelesse, both the Iewes were perswaded that vnder such images they did worship the one true Lord of heauen and earth: and likewise the Gentiles, their false gods, whom yet they fained to dwell in heauen.

In Psal. 113.

10 Who soeuer denie that it hath thus bene done in time past, yea within our owne remembrance, they impudently lie. For, why fall they downe before them? And when they praise, why turne they towards them as to the eares of God? For it is true that *Augustine* saith, that no man praieeth or worshippeth when he so beholdeth an image, but he is so affected in minde, that he thinketh himselfe to be heard of it, or that it will do for him what he desireth. Why is there such difference betweene the images of one God, that passing by one image with little reuerence or none done to it, they honour another solemnly? Why do they wearie theselues with vowed pilgrimages to visite those images whereof they haue like at home? Why doe they at this day in defence of them as it were for their religion and countrey, fight to slaughter and destruction, in such sort as they would better suffer to haue the one onely God than their idols to be taken from them? And yet I do not reckon vp the grosse errors of the common people, which are almost infinite, and do in manner possesse the harts of all men. I do onely shew what themselues do confesse when they meane most of al to excuse themselues of idolatrie. We do not call them (say they) our gods. No more did the Iewes nor the Gentiles call them theirs in time past: and yet the Prophets each where cease not to cast in their teeth their fornication with stocks and stones, for dooing no more but such things as are daily done by them that would be counted Christians, that is to saie, that they carnally worshipped God in stocks and stones.

The same fault in
Papis which was
in idolatrous Iewes
and Gentiles.
In Psal. 113.

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The difference that they put betwene themselves and idolaters, is but a shift. They are not acquitted from the same sin because they give it another name.

11 Although I am not ignorant, nor thinke good to passe it ouer, as if I knew it not, how they seeke to escape with a more suttile distinction, whereof I shall againe make mention more at large hereafter. For they pretende that the worship which they giue to images, is *Idolodulia*, which is seruice of images, and not *Idololatria* which is worlship of images. For so they terme it when they teach that they may lawfully without any wrong done to God, giue vnto images and pictures that worship which they call *Doulia*, or seruice. And so they thinke themselues without blame, if they be but the seruants and not also the worshippers of idoles: as though it were not a little lighter matter to worship then to serue. And yet while they seeke a hole to hide them in the Greeke word, they childishly disagree with themselues. For seeing *Latreuin* in Greeke signifieth nothing but to worship, their saying commeth but to this effect, as if they would say, that they worship in deede their images, but without any worshipping. And there is no cause why they should say that I seeke to catch them in wordes: but they themselues, while they seeke to cast a mist before the eyes of the simple, doe bewray their owne ignorance. And yet though they be neuer so eloquent, they shall not attaine by their eloquence to prooue vnto vs that one selfesame thing is two sundry things. Let them (say I) shew me a difference in the thing it selfe whereby they may be thought to differ from the old idolaters. For as an adulterer or a murderer cannot escape guiltinesse of his fault, by giuing his sinne a new deuised name: so it is a very absurditie to thinke that these men be quit by new deuise of a name, if in the matter it selfe they nothing differ from those idolaters whom they themselues are compelled to condemne. But so far are they from proouing that their case differeth from the case of those idolaters, that rather the fountaine of all this whole mischief is an vnorderly counterfeiting, wherein they haue strived with them while both with their owne wit they deuise, and with their owne hands they frame them signifying foumes to expresse them a fashion of God.

Images, whether they be of stories, or onely of bodies may be both made and vsed, so that they be not made to represent God, nor otherwise abused when they are made.

12 And yet am I not so superstitious that I thinke no images may be suffered at all. But forasmuch as caruing and painting are the giftes of God, I require that they both be purely and lawfully vsed. Lest these things which God hath giuen vs for his glorie and for our owne benefite, be not onely defiled by disordered abuse, but also turned to our owne destruction. We thinke it vnlawfull to haue God fashioned out in visible forme, because himselfe hath forbidden it, and because it cannot be done without some defacement of his glorie. And lest they thinke that it is onely we that are in this opinion, they that haue bene trauelled in their works, shall finde that all sound writers did alway reprove the same thing. If then it be not lawfull to make any bodily image of God, much lesse shall it be lawfull to worship it for God, or God in it. It remaineth therefore lawfull that onely those things be painted and grauen whereof our eyes are capable: but that the maiestic of God which is fare about the sense of our eyes, be not abused with vncomely deuised shapes. Of this sort are partly histories and things done, partly images and fashions of bodies, without expressing of any things done by them. The first of these haue som vse in teaching or admonishing a man: but what profite the second can bring saue onely delectation, I see not. And yet it is euident, that euen such were almost all the images that heretofore haue stand vp in churches. Whereby we may iudge that they were there set vp not by discreet iudgement or choise, but by foolish and vnadvised desire. I speake not howe much amisse and vncomely they were for the most part fashioned, nor how licentious Painters and Caruers haue in this point shewed their wantonnesse, which thing I haue already touched. Onely I speake to this end, that though there were no fault in them, yet doe they nothing auale to teach.

Images dangerous and vsife to be in Churches.

13 But leaving also that difference, let vs by the way consider whether it be expedient in Christian temples to haue any images at all, that do expresse either things done or the bodies of men. First, if the authoritie of the ancient Church doe any thing

thing moue vs, let vs remember that for about fūe hundred yeeres together, while religion yet better flourished, and sincere doctrine was in force, the Christian Churches were vniuersally without images. So they were then first brought in for the garnishment of churches, when the sinceritie of ministracion was not a little altered. I will not now dispute what reason they had with them that were the first authors thereof. But if a man compare age with age, he shall see that they were much swarued from that vprightnes of them that were without images. What? do we think that those holy fathers would haue suffered the church to be so long without the thing which they iudged profitable and good for them? But rather because they saw either little or no profit in it, & much danger to lurk vnderneath it, they did rather of purpose & aduise dly reiect it, then by ignorance or negligence omit it. Which thing *Augustine* doth also in expresse words testifie: When they be set in such places (saith *Epist. 49.* he) honorably on hie, to be scene of them that pray and doe sacrifice, although they want both sense and life, yet with the very likenes that they haue of liuely members and senses, they so moue the weake minds, that they seeme to liue & breath, &c. And in another place: For that shape of members doth worke and in maner enforce thus much, that the mind liuing within a body doth thinke that body to haue sense, which he seeth like vnto his owne. And a little after: Images do more auale to bow downe an vnhappy soule, by this that they haue mouth, eyes, eares, & feete, than to amend it by this that they neither speak, nor see, nor heare, nor go. This truly seemeth to be the cause why *Iohn* willed vs to beware not onely of worshipping of images, but also of images themselues. And we haue found it too much in experience, that through the horrible madnes which hath heretofore possessed the world, to the destructiō in manner of al godlines, so soone as images be set vp in churches, there is as it were a signe set vp of idolatrie, because the folly of men cannot refrain it selfe, but it must forthwith run on to superstitious worshippings. But if there were not so much danger hanging thereby: yet when I consider for what vse temples are ordained, me thinks it is very ill becoming the holines therof, to receiue any other images than these liuely and natural images, which the Lord by his word hath consecrate. I meane Baptisme and the Lords supper, and other ceremonies wherewith our eyes ought both more earnestly to be occupied and more liuely to be moued, than that they should neede any other images framed by the wit of men. Lo this is the incomparable commoditie of images, which can by no value be recompenced, if we beleue the Papists.

14 I think I had spoken ynough of this thing already, but that the *Nicene Synode* doth as it were lay hand on me to enforce me to speake more. I meane not that most famous Synode which *Constantine* the Great assembled, but that which was holden eight hundred yeeres ago, by the commandement & authoritie of *Irene* the empressic. For that Synode decreed, that images should not onely be had in churches, but also worshipped. For whatsoeuer I should say, the authoritie of the Synode would make a great prejudice on the other side. Although to say truth, that doth not so much moue mee, as make it appeere to the readers how farre their rage extended, that were more desirous of images then became Christians. But first let vs dispatch this. They that at this day maintaine the vse of images, alledge the decree of that *Nicene Synode* for their defence. But there is extant a booke of confutation bearing the name of *Charles* the Great, which by the phrase we may gather to haue bene written at the same time. Therein are recited the sentences of the Bishops that were present at that Councell, and the arguments wherewith they contended. *Iohn* the Legate of the East partes saide: God created man after his owne image: and thereupon gathered that we ought to haue images. The same man thought that images were commended vnto vs in this sentence: Shew me thy face because it is beautifull. Another to prooue that images ought to be set vpon altars, cited this testimonie: no man lighteth a candle and putteth it vnder a bushell. Another, to shew that the beholding

Epist. 49.

In Psal. 113.

1. Ioh. 5. 21.

The frivolous arguments of Papists whereby it was disputed in the Nicene Synode, that images were to be had in churches.

Cap. 11. Of the knowledge of

of them is profitable for vs, brought forth a verse out of the Psalme: the light of thy countenance is sealed vpon vs. Another tooke this similitude: As the Patriarches vsed the Sacrifices of the Gentiles, so must Christian men haue the images of Saints in steede of the images of the Gentiles. To the same purpose haue they writted this saying: Lord, I haue loued the beautie of thy house. But specially wittie is the exposition of this place: As we haue heard so haue we seene, that God is not known by onely hearing of his word, but also by looking vpon images. Like is the sharpe deuise of Bishop *Theodore*. Maruellous (saith he) is God in his Saints. And in another place: In the Saints that are in the earth: therefore this ought to be referred to images. Finally, so filthie are their vsauourie follies that it greueth me to rehearse them.

Their arguments brought for prooffe that they might be worshipped.

15 When they talke of the worshipping: then are brought forth the worshipping of *Pharao*, and of the rod of *Ioseph*, and of the pillar that *Iacob* set vp. Albeit in this last example, they doe not onely depraue the meaning of the Scripture, but also bring in that which is no where to be read. Then these places seeme to them maruellous strong and meete prooues. Worship his footestool. Againe, worship on his holy hill. Againe, all the rich men of the people shall worship thy countenance. If a man would in scorne put the personage of a riding foole vpon the patrones of Images, could he gather together greater and grosser follies? But to put all out of doubt, *Theodosius* Bishop of *Mira*, doth so earnestly confirme by the dreames of his Archdeacon, that images ought to be worshipped, as if he had an oracle from heauen to shew for it. Now let the fauourers of images go and presse vs with the decree of that Synode. As though those reuerend fathers doe not altogether discredit themselves, in either so childishly handling, or so vngodly and fowly tearing the Scriptures.

Honour, and the same honor giuen by that Synod vnto images which is due vnto God himselfe.

16 Now come I to those monstrous impieties, which it is maruell that euer they durst vomit, and wise marvellous that they were not cried out against with hie detestation of all men. And it is good that this outrageously wicked madnes be bewraied, that at least the false colour of antiquitie may be taken away, which the Papistes pretend for the worshipping of images. *Theodosius* the Bishop of *Amorium* pronounceth curse against all them that will not haue images worshipped. Another imputeth all the calamities of *Grecia* and the East part to this, that images were not worshipped. What punishment then were the Prophets, the Apostles and Martyrs woorthie to suffer in whose time there were no images? They adde further. If the Emperors image be met with perfume and censing: much more is this honour due to the images of Saints. *Constantius* Bishop of *Constance* in *Cyprus*, professeth that he reuerently imbraceth images, and affirmeth that he will giue to them the same honourable manner of worship that is due to the Trinitie that giueth life. And whosoever refuseth so to doe, 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 man, they did all assent vnto it. Yea, *Iohn* the Legate of the East partes being further carried with heare, saide it were better to bring all brothell houses into the citie, then to denie the worshipping of images. At length by consent of them all it was decreed, that worse than all heretikes are the Samaritans, and worse than the Samaritans are the enemies of images. And because the play should not be without his solemne farewell, this clause was added, let them be glad and reioice that hauing the image of Christ do offer sacrifice vnto it. Where is now the distinction of *Latria* and *Dulia*, wherewith they are wont to seeke to blinde the eies both of God and men? For the councill without any exception doth giue euen as much vnto images as vnto the liuing God himselfe.

The xij. Chapter.

That God is generally discerned from idols, that he may be onely and wholly worshipped.

WE 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 more largely set forth. Now I doe but shortly repeate, that so oft as the Scripture affirmeth that there is but one God, it striueth not for the bare name of God, but withall commandeth this, that whatsoeuer belongeth to the godhead, be not giuen to any other. Whereby also appeereth what pure religion doth differ from superstition. *Eusebeia*, in Greeke signifieth as much as true worship, because alway euen the blinde themselves groping in darkenesse haue found that this rule ought to be holden, that God be not vnorderly worshipped. The name of religion although *Cicero* truly and well driueth from *relegere*, to record, or gather vp together: yet is the reason that he assigneth enforced and farre fet, that good worshippers did often recorde and diligently wey what was the truth. I rather thinke that that name is set as a contrarie to wandering libertue, because the greater part of the world vnaduisedly taketh holde of that which they first meete withall, and flieth about hither and hither: but true godlinesse, to the ende it may stande in stedfast state, *Relegit*, that is to say, doth gather vp it selfe together within her bonds. Like as I thinke superstition to haue her name hereof, that not being contented, with the manner and order prescribed, she heapeeth vp together a superfluous number of vaine things. But to leaue the words, it hath alway been agreed by the consent of all ages, that religion is with false errors corrupted and peruerted. Whereupon we gather that it is a very fond colour which the superstitious doe pretend, when with vndiscreete zeale they giue themselves leaue to do all things. And although this confession found in the mouches of all men: yet herein a shamefull ignorance bewraieith it selfe, that neither they cleaue to the one God, nor haue any regarde of order in the worshipping of him, as we haue already shewed. But God, to claime his owne right vnto himselfe, crieth out that he is ieaious, and that he will be a seuerer reuenger if he be mingled with any fained god. And then he setteth forth the lawfull maner of worshipping, to holde mankind in obedience. He containeth both these points in his law, when first he bindeth the faithfull vnto himselfe that he onely may be their lawmaker: and then he prescribeth a rule whereby to be worshipped after his owne minde. Of the law, because the vses and ends thereof are manie, I will intreate in place fit for it. Now I onely touch this point, that thereby men are bridleed that they run not out of the way to wrong worshippings. Now, as I first said, we must hold in minde, that if all that euer properly belongeth to Godhead doe not rest in God alone, he is spoiled of his honour, and his worship broken. And there must we somewhat heedfully mark with what subtleties superstition deceiueth. For it doth not so reuolt vnto strange gods that it seemeth to forsake the highest God, or to bring him downe into the number of other gods: but whilest he granteth vnto him the highest place, he setteth round about him a number of lesler gods, among whom he diuideth his offices. And so (albeit clokely and craftily) the glorie of the Godhead is cut in parts, that it remaineth not whole in him. So in the olde time, as well they of the Iewes as of the Gentiles did set beneath the father and iudge of gods a great route of gods which should euery one according to his degree in common haue with the highest God the gouernment of the heauen and earth. So the Saints that in a few ages past departed this life, are aduanced to the fellowship of God, to be worshipped, called vpon, and honored in stead of him. And yet with such abomination we thinke that the maiestie of God is not so much as diuided, when in deede it is a great part suppressed and extinguished, sauing that we retaine still a poore opinion of his supreme power: and in the meane time deceiued with entangled subtleties, we are fundrely carried to diuers gods.

2 For this purpose also was inuented the distinction of *Latria* and *Dulia*, as they terme

True religion cleaueith to one set frame of worshipping one God, and him alone. Superstitio; though it make that one God the chiefest, doth neuer thelesse diuide his honour amongst many.
2. de nat. deorum.

Cap. 12. Of the knowledge of

The distinction which Papistes make between the honor they do vnto God and vnto Saints, is vsfite and sond.

terme them, that is worship and seruice, whereby they might freely seeme to giue away the honors of God to Angels and dead men. For it is euident, that the worship which the Papistes giue vnto Saints, differeth nothing in deede from the worship of God. For all alike without diuersitie they worship both God and them: sauing that when they be charged with it, they winde away with this exception, that they keepe still for God the honour that is due vnto him inuolate, because they leaue vnto him the worship that they call *Latria*. But sith the question standeth vpon the matter, and not the word, who would permit them so carelesly to mock in a matter of all matters most weighty? But to let that also passe, yet win they nothing by this distinction, but to prooue, that they giue worship to one God, and seruice to another. For *Latria* in Greeke signifieth as much as in Latine *Cultus*, and in English worship. *Dulia*, properly signifieth seruice. And yet sometime in Scripture this difference is cōfounded together without diuersitie. But graunt it be a perpetuall difference, then must we search what both the words may meane. *Dulia* is seruice, *Latria* is worship. Now no man doubteth that to serue, is more than to worship. For many times a man could hardly beare to serue him whom he would not sticke to worship. So is it an vnequall dealing, to giue to the saints that which is the greater, and to leaue to God that which is the lesse. But many of the ancient authors haue vsed this distinction. What maketh that matter, if all men do perceiue it to be not only vnfit, but altogether verie fond?

Gal. 4. 8.

Though ciuill honor may be done vnto men, yet all religions not onely worship but seruice also, yea, and all diuifull behauiours of godlines are so due vnto God alone, that they cannot without impietie be made common vnto any other.

Mat. 4. 10.

Reu. 19. 10.

Act. 10. 25.

Zec. 14. 9.

3. Now leauing nice subtleties, let vs wey the matter it selfe. When *Paul* putteth the *Galathians* in remembrance what they were before that they were lightened in the knowledge of God, he saith that they gaue *Duliam* seruice to those that of nature were no gods. Although he name *Latriam* or worship, is therefore their superstition excusable? He doth neuerthelessse condemne their puerile superstition, which he termeth by the name of *Dulia* seruice, than if he had expressed the name of *Latria*, worship. And when *Christ* repulseth the assault of *Sathan* with his buckler, that it is written, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, the name of *Latria* was not brought in question. *Sathan* required but an adoration. Likewise when the Angell reprooued *Iohn*, because he fell down on his knees before him, we ought not to thinke that *Iohn* was so mad that he would giue vnto the Angel the honor that was due only to God. But because it was not possible, but that all worship that is ioyned with religion sa-uouereth somewhat as pertaining to God, therefore he could not adore the Angell, but that he must take away somewhat from the glorie of God. We read indeed often, that men haue bene honoured: but that was a ciuill honour, as I may so call it. But religion hath another rule, which so soone as it is ioyned with worshippe, bringeth with it a prophane abuse of the honour of God. The same may we see in *Cornelius*. He had not so slenderly profited in godlinesse, but that hee had learned to giue the soueraigne worship to God alone. Therefore, when he fell downe before *Peter*, he did it not of this meaning, to worship him in the steede of God. And yet did *Peter* earnestly forbid him to do that which he did. And why so? but because men do neuer so narrowly put difference betweene the worship of God and of his creatures: but that without diuersitie they giue away that vnto the creature, which belongeth vnto God. Wherefore if we haue one God, we must remember that nothing be it neuer so little must be taken away from his glorie, but that he keepe still that which is properly his. Therefore *Zacharie* when he preacheth of the repairing of the church, in plaine words expresth: That there shall not only be one God, but also that there shall be one name of that god, to the end that he haue nothing in common with idols. What maner of worship God requireth, we shall see in another place when it falleth in order. For it pleased him in his law to prescribe vnto men what is lawfull and right, and so to bind them to a certaine rule, that euerie man should not giue himselfe leaue to deuise what forme of worship he list. But because it is not expedient to loade the readers with heaping many matters together, I will not touch that point yer.

Only

Onely let it suffice for this time to keepe in minde, that euery carrying away of the dutifull behauiours of godlinesse to any other than to God alone, is not without ob-berie of God. And first superstition deuised to giue diuine honours to the Sunne, or other stars or idoles: then followed ambitious pride, which garnishing mortall men with spoiles taken from God, presumed to prophane all that cuer was holy. And although this principle remained among them, to honor the soueraigne deitie, yet grew it in vse indifferently to offer sacrifices to spirites, lesser gods, or dead men of honour. So slipperie is the way to slide into this fault, to make common to a number that which God seuerely challengeth to himselfe alone.

The xiiij. Chapter.

That there is taught in the Scriptures one essence of God from the verie creation, which essence containeth in it three persons.

THAT which is taught in the Scriptures concerning the incomprehensible and spirituall essence of God, ought to suffice not onely to ouerthrowe the foolish errors of the common people, but also to confute the fine subtelties of prophane Philosophie. One of the olde writers seemed to haue said very well, That God is all that we doe see, and all that we do not see. But by this meane he hath imagined the Godhead to be powred into all the partes of the world. Although God, to the intent to keepe men in sober minde, speaketh but sparsely of his owne essence, yet by those two names of addition that I haue rehearsed, he doth both take away all grosse imaginations, and also repress the presumptuous boldnes of mans minde. For surely his immeasurable greatnesse ought to make vs afraide, that we attempt not to measure him with our sense: and his spirituall nature forbiddeth vs to imagine any thing earthly or fleshly of him. For the same cause he often assigneth his dwelling place to be in heauen. For though, as he is incomprehensible, he filleth the earth also: yet because he seeth our mindes by reason of their dulnesse to lie still in the earth, for good cause he lifteth vs vp about the worlde, to shake off our sloth and sluggishnesse. And here falleth to ground the errour of the Manichees, which in appointing two original beginnings, haue made the diuell in a manner equal with God. Surely, this was as much as to breake the vnitie of God and restraints his vnmeasurable essence. For where they haue presumed to abuse certaine testimonies: that sheweth a foule ignorance, as their errour it selfe sheweth a detestable madnesse. And the *Anthropomorphites* are also easily confuted, which haue imagined God to consist of a bodie, because oftentimes the Scripture ascribeth vnto him a mouth, eares, eyes, hands, and feete. For what man, yea though he be slenderly witted, doth not vnderstand that God doth so with vs speake as it were childishly, as nurses doe with their babes? Therefore such maner of speeches doe not so plainly expresse what God is, as they do apply the vnderstanding of him to our slender capacitie. Which to doe, it behoued of necessitie that he descended a great way beneath his owne height.

2 But he also setteth out himselfe by another speciall marke, whereby he may be more neerely knowne. For he so declareth himselfe to be but one, that he yet giueth himselfe distinctly to be considered in three persons: which except we learne, a bare and emptie name of God without any true God slieth in our braine. And that no man should thinke that he is a threefold God, or that the one essence of God is diuided in three persons, we must here seeke a short and easie definition to deliuer vs from all error. But because many do make much ado about this word Person, as a thing inuented by man: how iustly they doe so, it is best first to see. The Apostle naming the sonne the engraued forme of the Hypostasis of his father, he vndoubtedly meanneth, that the father hath some being, wherein he differeth from the sonne. For to take it for essence (as some expositors haue done, as if Christ like a peece of waxe printed

The scripture teacheth God to be an essence vnmeasurable & spirituall, doth not only stop men from measuring God by sense and from imagining any earthly thing of him, but also by the one doth conuince the Manichees, by the other the Anthropomorphites of madnesse.

The scriptures teach one diuine essence wherein there are three distinguished, but not diuided persons subsisting.

Heb. 1.3.

with

with a seale did represent the substance of the father) were not onely hard but also an absurditie. For sith the essence of God is single or one and vndiuisible, he that in himselfe containeth it all, and not by peecemeale, or by deriuation, but in whole perfection, should very improperly, yea, fondly be called the engraued forme of him. But because the father although he be in his owne proper tie distinct, hath expressed himselfe wholly in his sonne, it is for good cause said, that he hath giuen his Hypostasis, to be seene in him. Wherewith aptly agreeth that which by and by followeth, that he is the brightnes of his glorie: Surely by the Apostles words we gather, that there is a certaine proper Hypostasis in the father, that shineth in the sonne: whereby also againe 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 prooue him to be God, and yet he must needes be other than the father. Yet this distinction is not of the essence, which it is vnlawful to make manifold. Therefore if the Apostles testimony be credited, it followeth that there be in God three Hypostases. This terme seeing the Latines haue expressed with the name of Person, it were too much pride and waiewardnes to braule about so cleere a matter. But if we list word for word to translate, we may call it subsistence. Many in the same sence haue called it substance. And the name of Person hath not been in vse among the Latines onely, but also the Grecians, perhaps to declare a consent, haue taught that there are three *Personae*, that is to say Persons in God. But they, whether they be Greekes or Latines that differ one from another in the word, doe very well agree in the summe of the matter.

With the names of
Trinitie and Per-
son no man should
be offended.

3 Now howsoeuer the heretikes barke at the name of person, or some ouermuch precise men doe carpe that they like not the word fained by deuise of men: sith they cannot get of vs to say, that there be three, whereof euery one is wholly God, nor yet that there be many Gods: what vnreasonablenesse is this, to mislike wordes, which expresse none other thing but that which is testified and approoued by the Scriptures? It were better (say they) to restraine not only our meanings but also our words within the bounds of Scripture, than to deuise strange names that may be the beginnings of disagreement and brawling: so doe we tie our selues with strife about words: so the truth is lost in contending: so charitie is broken by odiouly brawling together. If they call that a strange word, which cannot be shewed in Scripture, as it is written in number of syllables: then they binde vs to a hard law, whereby is condemned all exposition that is not peeced together, with bare laying together of textes of Scripture. But if they mean that to be strange, which being curiously deuised, is superstitiously defended, which maketh more for contention than edification, which is either vnaptly, or to no purpose vsed, which withdraweth from the simplicitie of the word of God, then with all my hart I embrace their sober minde. For I iudge that we ought with no lesse deuout reuerence to talke of God than to thinke of him, for as much as whatsoever we doe of our selues thinke of him, is foolish, and whatsoever we speake is vnfauorie. But there is a certaine measure to be kept. We ought to learne out of the Scriptures a rule both to thinke and speake, whereby to examine all the thoughts of our minde and wordes of our mouth. But what withstandeth vs, but that such as in Scripture are to our capacitie doubtfull and entangled, we may in plainer words expresse them, being yet such words as doe reuerently and faithfully serue the truth of the Scripture, and be vsed sparsely, modestly, and not without occasion? Of which sort there are examples ynough. And where as it shall by prooffe appeere that the Church of great necessitie was enforced to vse the names of Trinitie, and Persons, if any shall then finde fault with the newnesse of words, shall he not be iustly thought to be greued at the light of the truth, as he that blameth onely this, that the truth is made so plaine and cleere to discern?

The crooked sub-
sistence of heretikes
hath caused fouled

4 Such newnesse of wordes, if it be so to be called, commeth then chiefly in vse, when the truth is to be defended against wranglers that do mock it out with cauil-
tions.

tions. Which thing we haue at this day too much in experience, who haue great busines in vanquishing the enimies of true and sound doctrine. With such folding and crooked winding these slipperie snakes do slide away, vnlesse they be strongly griped and holden hard when they be taken. So the old fathers being troubled with contending against false doctrines, were compelled to shew their meanings in exquisite plainnes, least they should leaue any crooked bywaies to the wicked, to whom the doubtful constructions of words were hiding holes of errors. *Arrius* confessed Christ to be God, and the sonne of God, bicause he could not gainsay the euident words of God, and as if he had beene so sufficiently discharged, did faine a certaine consent with the rest. But in the meane while he ceased not to scatter abroad that Christ was creat, and had a beginning as other creatures. But to the end they might draw forth his winding subletie out of his den, the ancient fathers went further, pronouncing Christ to be the eternal son of the father & consubstantiall with the father. Heereat wickednes began to boile, when the *Arrians* began to hate and detest the name *Omoousion*, consubstantiall. But if in the beginning they had sincerely and with plaine meaning confessed Christ to be God, they would not now haue denied him to be consubstantiall with the father. Who dare now blame these good men as braulers and contentious, bicause for one litle words sake, they were so hot in disputation, and troubled the quiet of the Church? But that little word shewed the difference betweene the true beleeuing Christians, and the *Arrians* that were robbers of God. Afterward rose vp *Sabellius* which accounted in a maner for nothing the names of the Father, the Sonne, and Holy Ghost, saying in disputation that they were not made to shew any manner of distinction, but only were seuerall additions of God, of which sort there are many. If he came to disputation, he confessed, that he beleued the father God, the sonne God, the holy Ghost God. But afterward he would readily slip away with saying, that he had in no otherwise spoken than as if he had named God, a strong God, iust God, and wise God: and so he sung another song, that the Father is the Son, and the holy Ghost is the Father, without any order, without any distinction. The good doctors which then had care of godlines, to subdue his wickednes, cried out on the other side that there ought to be acknowledged in one God three properties: and to the end to fense themselves against the crooked writhe subtleties with plaine & simple truth, they affirmed, that there did truly subsist in one God, or (which came al to one effect) that there did subsist in the vnitie of God a Trinitie of persons.

5 If then the names haue not beene without cause inuented, we ought to take heede, that in reiecting them we be not iustly blamed of proude presumptuousnes. I would to God they were buried indeed, so that this faith were agreede of all men that the Father and the Sonne, and the holy Ghost be one God: and yet that the Father is not the Sonne, nor the holy Ghost the Sonne, but distinct by certaine propriety. Yet am I not so precise, that I can finde in my hart to strue for bare words. For I note, that the olde fathers, which otherwise speake verie religiously of such matters, did not euerie where agree one with another, nor euery one with himselfe. For what formes of speech vsed by the Councils doth *Hilary* excuse? To how great libertie doeth *Augustine* sometime breake forth? How vnlike are the Greeces to the Latins? But of this variance one example shall suffice for this time: When the Latins ment to expresse the word *Omoousion*, they called it *Consubstantiall*, declaring the substance of the Father & the Son to be one, so vsing the word substance for essence. Whereupon *Hierome* to *Damasus* sayeth, it is sacrilege to say, that there are three substances in God: and yet aboute a hundred times you shall finde in *Hilary*, that there are three substances in God. In the word *Hypostasis*, how is *Hierome* accombred? For he suspecteth that there lurketh poyson in naming three *Hypostases* in God. And if a man do vse this word in a godly sense, yet he plainly saith that it is an improper speech, if he spake vnfaignedly, and did not rather wittingly & willingly seeke

beletters to devise new words for plainer opening of that, vnder which their poyson lurked, as, Cons substantiall, against the Arrians: Personall Trinitie, against the Sabellians.

The words which haue beene in this case devised for opening of the truth, so that the things themselves be agreed vpon, are neither ouer stiffely to be vttered, nor too waywardly to be refused.

Cap. 13. Of the knowledge of

to charge the Bishops of the Eastlands, whom hee sought to charge with an vniust sclander. Sure this one thing he speaketh not verie truely, that in all prophane schooles, *Ousia*, essence is nothing else but hypostasis, which is prooued false by the common and accustomed vse. *Augustine* is more modest and gentle, which although he say, that the word hypostasis in that sense is strange to Latine eares, yet so far is it off, that he taketh from the Greeks their vsuall manner of speaking, that he also gently beareth with the Latins that had followed the Greek phrase. And that which *Socrates* writeth in the sixt booke of the Tripartite history, tendeth to this ende, as though he ment that he had by vnskillful men bin wrongfully applied vnto this matter. Yea and the same *Hillarie* himselfe laieth it for a great faulte to the heretikes charge, that by their waiwardnes he is compelled, to put those things in peril of the speech of men, which ought to haue bin kept in religiousnes of minds, plainly confessing that this is to do things vnlawfull, to speake that ought not to be spoken, to attempt things not licenced. A little after, he excuseth himselfe with many words, for that he was so bolde to vter newe names. For after he had vsed the naturall names Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, hee addeth that whatsoever is sought further, is beyonde the compasse of speech, beyonde the reach of sense, and beyonde the capacitie of vnderstanding. And in another place he saith, that happie are the Bishops of Gallia, which neither had nor receiued, nor knewe any other confession, but that olde and simple one, which from the time of the Apostles was receiued in all Churches. And much like is the excuse of *Augustine*, that this word was wrung out of necessitie by reason of the imperfection of mens language in so great a matter: not to expresse that which is, but that it should not be vnspoken how the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost are three. This modestie of the holy men ought to waic vs, that wee doe not fourthwith so seuerely, like Censors, note them with infamie that refuse to subscribe and swaie to such wordes as wee propound them: so that they doe it not of pride, of stowardnesse, or of malicious craft. But let them againe consider, by how great necessitie we are driuen to speake so, that by little and little they may be enured with that profitable manner of speech. Let them also learne to beware, lest sith we must meeete on the one side with the *Arrians*, on the other side with *Sabellians*, while they be offended that we cut off occasion from them both to caull, they bring themselves in suspition, that they be the disciples either of *Arrius* or of *Sabellius*. *Arrius* saith that Christ is God, but he muttereth that he was created, and had a beginning. He saith Christ 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 once that Christ is Consubstantiall with his Father, then plucke you off his visour from the dissembler, and yet you adde nothing to the scripture. *Sabellius* saith, that the seuerall names, Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, signifie nothing in God seuerally distinct: say that they are three: and he will crie out that you name three gods. Say that there is in one essence a Trinitie of persons, then shall you in one word both say what the Scripture speaketh, and stop their vaine babling. Now if any be holden with so curious superstition, that they cannot abide these names: yet is there no man, though he would neuer so faine, that can deny but that when we heare of one, we must vnderstand an vnite of substance: when we heare of three in one essence, that it is ment of the persons of the trinitie. Which thing being without fraud confessed, we stay no longer vpon words. But I haue long ago founde, and that often, that whoeuer do obstinately quarell about words, do keepe within them a secret poison: so that it is better willingly to prouoke them, than for their pleasure to speake darkly.

The essence of God
is one simple and
single thing,
whereas there are

6 But leauing disputation of wordes, I will now begin to speake of the matter it selfe. I cal therefore a Person, a subsistence in the essence of God, which hauing relation to the other is distinguished from them with vncommunicable proprietie. By the name

name of the subsistence we meane another thing than the essence. For if the word had simply been God, and in the meane time had nothing seuerally proper to it selfe, *Iohn* had said amisse that it was with God. Where he forthwith addeth, that God himselfe was the same worde, he calleth vs backe againe 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, whereby it doth differ from it. So of the three subsistences, I say, that ech hauing relation to other, is in proprietie distinguished. Relation is here expressly mentioned. For when there is simple and indefinite mention made of God, this name belongeth no lesse to the Sonne and the Holy ghost, than to the Father. But when the Father is compared with the Sonne, the generall proprietie of either doth discern him from the other. Thirdly, whatsoever is proper vnto euery of them is vncommunicable. For that which is giuen to the Father for a marke of difference, cannot agree with, nor be giuen to the Sonne. And I mislike not the definition of *Tertullian*, so that it be rightly taken, That there is in God a certain disposition or distributiō, which yet changeth nothing of the vniuity of the essence.

three subsistences, each differing from the other, hauing some incommunicable proprietie.
Iohn 1. 1.

Lib. contra Praxeam.

7 But before that I goe any further, it is good that I proue the Godhead of the Sonne and of the Holy ghost. Then after we shall see, how they differ one from another. Surely when the word of God is spoken of in the Scripture: it were a verie great absurditie to imagine it onely a fading and vanishing voice, which sent into the aire, commeth out of God himselfe, of which sort were the oracles giuen to the fathers, and all the prophecies: when rather the worde is ment to be the perpetuall wisdome abiding with the Father, from whence all the oracles and prophecies proceeded. For as *Peter* testifieth, no lesse did the old prophets speake with the spirite of Christ, than did the Apostles and all they that after them did distribute the heavenly doctrine. But because Christ was not yet openly shewed, we must vnderstand that the Word was before all worldes begotten of the Father. And if the Spirite was of the word, whose instruments were the Prophets, we doe vndoubtedly gather that he was true God. And this doth *Moses* teach plainly enough in the creation of the world, when he setteth the word as the meane. For why doth he expressly tell, that God in creating of all his works said, Be this done: or that done: but that the vnsearchable glory of God may shiningly appeare in his images? The suttle-nosed and babbling men do easily mocke out this, with saying that the name Word, is there taken for his bidding or commandement. But better expositors are the Apostles, which teach that the worldes were made by the same, and that he susteineth them all with his mightie Word. For here wee see that the word is taken for the bidding or commandemēt of the Son, which is himselfe the eternall and essentiall Word to the Father. And to the wise and sober it is not darke that *Salomon* saith, where he bringeth in wisdome begotten of God before all worldes, and bearing rule in the creation of things, and in all the works of God. For to say that it was a certaine commandement of God, seruing but for a time, were very foolish and vaine: whereas indeed it was Gods pleasure at that time to shew foorth his stedfast and eternall purpose, yea and some thing more secret. To which intent also maketh that saying of Christ: My Father and I do worke euē to this day. For in saying: That from the beginning of the world he was continually working with his Father, he doth more openly declare that which *Moses* had more shortly touched. We gather then that the meaning of Gods speaking was this, that the Word had his office in the doing of things, and so they both had a common working together. But most plainely of all doth *Iohn* speake, when he sheweth that the same Word, which from the beginning was God with God, was together with God the Father the cause of all things. For he both giueth to the Word a perfect and abiding essence, and also assigneth vnto it some thing peculiar to it selfe, and plainly sheweth how god in speaking was the creator of the world. Therefore as I reuelations

The word in bereof in Scripture is said that the spirite was of it, the world made and sustained by it, that is was begotten of God before the worldes, that it worketh with the father, that it is the cause of all things, is no sounding voice, but that essentiall word which is the soune of God the true and very God himselfe.

1. Pct. 1. 11.

Heb. 1. 2.

Ecc. 24. 14.

Iohn 5. 17.

Iohn 1. 3.

proceeding from God doe well beare the name of the word of God, so ought we yet to set in the highest place that substantiall Word, the wellspring of all Oracles, which being subiect to no alteration, abideth alwaies onc and the selfesame with God, and is God himselfe.

The word in the beginning of things began to shew it selfe, but was before any thing began, and was it selfe without beginning.

8 Here many dogges doe barke against vs, which when they dare not openlie take from him his Godhead, doe secretly steale from him his eternitie. For they say, that the Word then began first to be, when GOD in the creation of the world opened his holy mouth. But very vndiscreetly doe they to imagine a certaine innouation of the substance of God. For as those names of God that haue relation to his outward worke, began to be giuen vnto him after the beginning of his worke, as for example, this that he is called the creator of heauen and earth: so doth Godlinesse know or admit no name that should signifie any new thing in himselfe to haue chaunced vnto God. For if any should come to him from elie where than in himselfe, then this saying of *Iames* should faile, that every good giuing and euery perfect gift is from aboue, and commeth downe from the Father of lightes, with whom is no variableness, neither shadowing by turning. Therefore nothing is lesse to be suffered, than to faine a beginning of that Word, which both alwaies was God, and afterwarde was Creator of the World. But full suttly forsooth they reason, that *Moses* in saying that God then first spake, doth secretly shew, that there was no word in him before. Which is a most trifling argument. For it followeth not, because a thing at some one certaine time beginneth to be shewed openly, that therefore it had neuer any being before. But I conclude farre otherwise and say: seeing that in the same moment that God said, Let light be made, the power of the worde appeared and shewed it selfe: the same Worde was long before: but if a man aske how long before, he shall finde no beginning. For he appointed no certaine space of time when himselfe said: Father, glorifie me with the glory which I had with thee before the World was. And this thing *Iohn* also left not vntouched, because he first sheweth that in the beginning the Word was with God, before that he commeth to the creation of the world. We say therefore againe, that the Word which was conceived of God before any beginning of time, was continually remaying with him. Whereby both his eternitie, true essence, and Godhead is proued.

Gen. 1. 3.

Iohn 17. 5.

The places of scripture which proue Christ to be God, and the scribes which the Iewes haue so auoide them.

Psal. 45. 6.

Exo. 7. 1.

Esa. 9. 5.

9 Although I doe not yet touch the person of the Mediator, but doe defer it to that place where we shall specially entreat of the redemption: yet because it ought to be certainly holden without controuersie among all men, that Christ is the same Word clad with flesh, in this place will be very fit to recite all those testimonies that proue Christ to be God. When it is said in the xlv. Psalme, thy throne O God is for euer and euer: the Iewes doe cauill and say, that the name *Elohim* is also applied to the Angels and foueraigne powers. But in all the Scripture there is not a like place, that raiseth an eternall throne to any creature. For he is here not simply called God, but also the eternall Lord. Again, this title is giuen to none but with an addition, as it is said: that *Moses* shall be for a God to *Pharao*. Some read it in the Genitiue case which is very foolish. I graunt indeede that often times a thing is called Diuine or of God, that is notable by any singular excellence: but here by the tenour of the text it appeareth, that such a meaning were hard and forced, and will not agree. But if their stubbornesse will not so yeelde: In *Esaie* is very plainly brought in for all one both Christ and God, and he that is adorned with the foueraigne power, which is properly belonging to God alone. This (saith he) is the name whereby they shall call him, the strong God, the Father of the World to come, &c. Here the Iewes barke againe, and turne the text thus: this is the name whereby the strong God the father of the world to come shall call him: so that they leaue this only to the Sonne to be called the Prince of peace. But to what purpose should so many names of addition in this place be heaped vpon God the Father, seeing it is the purpose of the Prophet to adorne Christ

Christ with such speciall notes as may build our faith vpon him? Wherefore it is out of doubt that he is here in like sort called the strong God, as he is a litle before called Immanuel. But nothing can be found plainer than that place of *Hieremy* where he saith, that this shall be the name whereby the seed of *Dauid* shall be called *Iehouah* our righteousnesse. For where the Iewes themselves do teach, that all other names of God are but adiectiue names of addition, and that this only name *Iehouah* which they call vnspcakable is a substantiue name to expresse his essence: we gather that the Son is the onely and eternall God, which saith in another place that he will not giue his glorie to another. But heere also they seeke to scape away because that *Moses* gaue that name to the Altar that hee builded: and *Ezechiel* gaue it to the newe citie *Hierusalem*. But who doeth not see that the Altar was builded for a monument that God was the auancement of *Moses*, and that *Hierusalem* is not adorned with the name of God, but onely to testifie the presence of God? For thus saith the Prophet: The name of the citie from that day shall be *Iehouah* there. And *Moses* saith thus: Hee builded an Altar and called the name of it, *Iehouah* my exaltation. But more busines ariseth by another place of *Hieremie*, where the same title is applied to *Hierusalem* in these words: this is the name whereby they shall call her *Iehouah* our righteousnes. But this testimonie is so farr from making against the truth which wee defend, that it rather confirmeth it. For where as he had before testified that Christ is the true *Iehouah* from whom floweth righteousnes, nowe he pronounceth that the Church shall so verily feele the same, that she may gloriously vse the verie name it self. And so in the first place is set the fountaine and cause of righteousnes, in the other the effect.

Iere. 23. 6.
Eisay. 42. 8.

Eze. 48. 35.
Exod. 17. 15.
Iere 33. 16.

10 Now if this do not satisfie the Iewes, that *Iehouah* is so often presented in the person of an Angell, I see not with what caullations they can mocke it out. It is said, that the Angell appeared to the holy fathers: and the same Angell challengeth to himselfe the name of the eternall God. If any take exception and say, that this is spoken in respect of the person that he representeth: this knot is not thus loosed. For being a seruant he would not suffer Sacrifice to be offered to him and take from God his due honour. But the Angell refusing to eate bread, commaundeth Sacrifice to be offered to *Iehouah*. And then he proueth that himselfe indeed was the same *Iehouah*, and therefore *Manoah* and his wife by this token did gather, that they had seene not onely an Angell but God. And thence cometh that he saide we shall die because we haue seene God. And when his wife answereth, if *Iehouah* would haue slaine vs, hee would not haue receiued Sacrifice at our hands: in this she doth confesse that hee was God which before was called the Angell. Beside this, the answer of the Angell himselfe taketh away all doubt of it, saying: why dost thou aske me of my name, which is maruellous? So much the more 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 truly and wisely haue the true teaching doctours of the Church expounded, that the same principall Angell was the Word of God, which then as aforehande began to execute the office of mediatour. For though he was not yet clothed with flesh, yet he came downe as a meane betwene God and men, to come more familiarly to the faithfull. Therefore his nye communicating himselfe made him to be called an Angell: yet still in the meane time he retained that which was his owne, to be the God of vnspcakable glorie. The same thing meaneth *Oseas*, which after he had recited the wrastling of *Jacob* with the Angell, saith: *Iehouah* the God of hostes, *Iehouah*, worthis of memorie is his name. Here againe *Seruetto* carpeth, that God did beare the person of an Angell. As though the Prophet did not confirme that which *Moses* had said: why dost thou aske me of my name? And the confession of the Holy Patriarch doth sufficiently declare that hee was not a created Angell, but one in

The word communicating it self with men, tooke the office & name of an Angell, yet still shewed it selfe to be the God of vnspcakable glorie.
Iud. 6. 7.
Iud. 13. 16.

Ose. 12. 5.

Cap. 13. Of the knowledge of

Gen. 32. 29.
1. Cor. 10. 4.
Zach. 2. 3.

Esa. 25. 9.

Mal. 3. 1.

The Godhead of
Christ plainly
avaouched in the
New Testament.

Esa. 8. 14.
Rom. 9. 25.
Rom. 14. 10.
Esa. 55. 23.

Eph. 3. 4.
Psal. 37. 19.

Iohn. 1. 14.
Esa. 6. 1.

Heb. 1. 10. & 6.

Iohn. 1. 1.

2 Cor. 10.
Rom. 9. 5.

1. Tim. 3. 16.

whom the full Godhead was resident, when hee saide: I haue seene God face to face. And for this cause *Paul* saith, that *Christ* was guide of the people in the wilderness. For though the time was not yet come of his abasement: yet that eternall word shewed a figure of that office to which he was appointed. Now if the second Chapter of *Zacharie* be wayed without contention, the Angel that sent another Angell was by and by pronounced to be the God of hostes, and to him is foueraigne power ascribed. I omit innumerable testimonies on the which our faith safely resteth, although they do not much moue the Iewes. For when it is said in *Esaie*: Behold, this is our God, this is *Ichouah*, we shal waite vpon him, & he shal saue vs, they that haue eyes may see, that herein is ment God which raisth vp for the saluation of his people. And these vchement demonstrations twise repeated suffer it to be drawn no otherwhere but to *Christ*. And yet plainer and fuller is the place of *Malachie*, where he promisetht that he shall come, the Lord that was then desired, to his owne temple. But to none but to the only foueraigne God was the temple dedicate, which temple yet the Prophet doth claime for *Christ*. Whereupon followeth that *Christ* is the same God that was euer honored among the Iewes.

II As for the new Testament, it swarmeth with innumerable testimonies, therefore we must trauell rather shortly to chooſe out ſome, than largely to heepe vp all. For though the Apostles ſpeake of him ſince he was now become the Mediator in fleſh: yet all that I ſhall bring forth ſhall apply ſerue to proue his Godhead. Firſt, this is worthe to be ſingularly marked, that thoſe things which were before ſpoken touching the eternall God, the Apostles do ſhew that they are either already performed, or hereafter to be performed in *Christ*. For where *Eſaie* prophecieth that the Lord of hoſtes ſhall be to the Iewes and Iſraelites a ſtumbling ſtone & a rocke to fall vpon: *Paul* affirmeth that the ſame is fulfilled in *Christ*. Therefore he declareth him to be the Lord of hoſtes. Likewise in another place, We muſt all (ſaith hee) once be brought to appeare before the iudgment throne of *Christ*. For it is written, to me ſhall all knees bow, and to me ſhall all roongs ſwear, Seeing God in *Eſaie* ſpeaketh this thing of himſelfe, and *Christ* in deed performeth it in himſelfe, it followeth that he is the ſelfe ſame God, whoſe glorie may not be withdrawn to another. And that thing which writing to the *Ephesians* he allegeth out of the *Pſalmes*, is euident that it can be applied to none but to God alone. Aſcending on hie he hath carried captiuitie captiue, meaning that ſuch aſcending was in ſhadow ſhewed, when God in notable victorie againſt foreine nations did ſhew forth his power, but he declareth that in *Christ* it was more fully performed. So *Iohn* teſtifieth that it was the glorie of the Son that was reueiled to *Eſaie* by a viſion, whereas in deede the Prophet himſelfe writeth that the maiesty of God appeared vnto him. And it is euident that thoſe things which the Apoſtle writing to the Hebrues applieth to the Sonne, are the plaine titles of God: as, Thou Lord in the beginning didſt laie the foundations of heauen and earth, &c. Againe, worſhip him all yee his Angels. And yet he abuſeth not thoſe titles when he draweth them to *Christ*. For all thoſe things that are ſpoken of in thoſe *Pſalmes*, he himſelfe alone hath fulfilled. For it was he that roſe vp and had mercie of *Sion*. It was he that claimed to himſelfe the kingdome of all the nations and Ilands. And why ſhould *Iohn* ſticke to apply the maiesty of God to *Christ*, which in his perſage had ſaid that the worde was alway God? Why ſhould *Paul* feare to ſer *Christ* in the iudgement throne of God, hauing before with ſo open proclamation declared his Godhead, where he ſaied that hee was God bleſſed to the ende of worlds? And to make appeare, how well he agreeth in this point with himſelfe, in another place he writeth that *Christ* is God openly ſhewed in the fleſh. If he be God to be praized to the end of worlds, then he is the ſame to whome in another place he affirmeth all glorie and honour to be due. And thus he hideth not, but plainly cryeth out, that he would haue counted it no robbrie, if he had ſhewed himſelfe
equall

equall with God, but that he willingly abased himselfe. And that the wicked should not carpe that he is some made God, *Iohn* goeth further and saith: He is the true God and the eternal life. Although it ought abundantly to satisfie vs, that he is called God, specially of that witness which expressly affirmeth vnto vs, that there are no more Gods but one. That same witness is *Paule*, which saith thus: How many fouer be called Gods, either in heauen or in earth, to vs there is but one God from whom are all things. When we heare of the same mouth, that God was openlie shewed in the flesh, that God with his owne blood purchased the church vnto himselfe: why should we imagine a second God which he himselfe acknowledgeth not? And it is no doubt that all the godly were of the same meaning. Likewise *Thomas* in protesting him to be his Lord and his God, doth professe that he is that onely one God whom he had alwaies worshipped.

1. Tim. 1. 17.
Philip. 2. 6.
Iohn 5. 20.
1. Cor. 3. 5.
1. Tim. 3. 16.
Act. 20. 28.
Iohn 20. 28.

12 Now if we esteeme his Godhead by the workes that in the Scripture are ascribed vnto him, it shall thereby more evidently appeare. For when he said that from the beginning he was thitherto working with his Father: the Iewes which were most dull in vnderstanding of all his other sayings, yet then perceiued that he tooke vpon him the power of God. And therefore as *Iohn* telleth, they sought the more to kill him, because he did not onely breake the Sabbath, but also did call God his Father, making himselfe equall with God. How dull shall we be then, if we doe not perceiue that his Godhead is herein plainly affirmed? And truly to order the world with prouidence and power, and to gouerne all things with the authority of his owne might, which the Apostle ascribeth vnto him, belongeth to none but onely to the creator. And he not onely enterparteneth the gouernment of the world with his Father, but also all other offices which cannot be made common to God with his creatures. The Lord cryeth out by the Prophet: I am he, I am he, that do away thine offences for mine owne sake. According to the meaning of this sentence, when the Iewes thought that wrong was done to God for that Christ did forgiue sinnes, Christ not onely affirmed in wordes but also prooued by miracle that this power belonged vnto himselfe. We see therefore that he hath, not the ministracion, but the power of forgiuenesse of sinnes, which the Lord saith he will not suffer to passe away from himselfe to any. What shall we say of searching, and pearcing the secret thoughts of harts? is it not the properie of God alone? But the same had Christ: whereby is gathered that he is God.

His working with the Father, his gouerning of the world, his pardoning of sinnes, his perceiuing the verry thoughts of the harts, proueth him to be very God.
Iohn 5. 17.

Heb. 1. 3.
Esa. 43. 25.
Mat. 9. 6.
Mat. 9. 4.

That he wrought miracles by his owne power, and gaue power vnto others to worke: that he is author of life and saluation: that he is goodnes & iustice in selfe, that men are willed to beleue and trust in him: that his name is called vpon, that we are taught to glory in the knowledge of him, that the same thinges are wished ioynly from the father and from him, these are proofs of his Godhead.
Mat. 10. 8.
Mar. 3. 15 & 6. 7.
Act. 3. 6.
Iohn 5. 36. & 10. 37. & 14. 11.
Mat. 17. 17.

13 Now in his miracles how plainly and clearely doth he appeare? And though I graunt that as well the Prophets as the Apostles did equal and like miracles to these that he did: yet this great difference is there, that they by their ministracion disposed the giftes of God, he shewed forth his owne power. He vsed sometime prayer, to the end to giue glory vnto his Father. But we see for the most parte his owne power shewed vnto vs. And how could it otherwise be but that he was the very authour of miracles that by his owne authoritie gaue power to other to deale miracles abroad? For the Euangelist declareth that he gaue power to the Apostles to raise vp the dead, to heale the leprous, to cast out deuils. &c. And they so vsed the ministracion thereof, that they sufficiently shewed that this power came not from els where but from Christ. In the name of Iesus Christ (saith *Peter*) rise and walke. It is therefore no maruail if Christ alledged his miracles to confound the vnbeleeuingness of the Iewes: forasmuch as they were such as being done by his owne power did giue a most plaine testimonie of his Godhead. If else where then in God there is no saluation, no righteousnesse, no life: and Christ containeth all these things in him, surely he is thereby declared to be God. And no man can object against me and say, that life and saluation is powred into him by God: for it is not sayde that he receiued saluation, but that he is saluation himselfe. And if none be good but onely God: how can he be onely man, being I will not say good and iust, but selfe goodnes

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and iustice? Yea, from the first beginning of the creation as the Euangelist witnesseth, in him was life: and he euen then being life was the light of men. Wherefore being supported with such prooues we are bold to repose our faith and hope in him: when yet we know that it is an vngodlinesse that robbeth God for any man to fasten his confidence in creatures. Beleeue ye in God? saith he. Beleeue then also in me. And so doth *Paule* expound those two places of *Esay*, Whosoever trusteth in him, shall not be put to shame. Againe, Out of the roote of *Isay* shall he come that shall rise to rule peoples, in him the nations shall trust. And why should we seeke out more testimonies of Scripture for this matter, when we so often meete with this sentence? He that beleeueth in me hath eternall life. Moreouer the inuocation which hinged vpon Faith belongeth also to him, which yet is proper to the maiestie of God, if he haue any thing at all proper to himselfe. For one Prophet sayeth: Whosoever calleth vpon the name of *Iehouah* shall be saued: and another sayeth, a most strong toure is the name of *Iehouah*: to it the righteous shall flee and he shall be saued, but the name of Christ is called vpon for saluation: it followeth therefore that he is *Iehouah*. As for inuocation, we haue an example of it in *Stephen*, when he sayeth, Lord Iesu receiue my spirite. Againe, in the whole Church, as *Ananias* testifieth in the same booke. Lord (sayeth he) thou knowest how great euils this man hath done to thy Saintes that call vpon thy name. And that it may be more plainly vnderstanded, that the whole fulnesse of the Godhead doth corporally dwell in Christ, the Apostle doth confesse that he brought no other doctrine among the Corinthians but the knowledge of Iim, and that he preached no other thing but that knowledge. What, I pray you, and how great a thing is this, that the name of the Sonne onely is preached vnto vs, whom he willceth to glory in the knowledge of himselfe alone? Who dare say, that he is but a creature, of whom the onely knowledge is our whole glorie? Beside that, the salutations set before the Epistles of *Paule*, with the same benefites from the Sonne which they doe from the Father: whereby we are taught not onely that those things which the Father giueth vs doe come vnto vs by his intercession, but also by communie of power, he is the author of them. Which knowledge by practise is without doubt more certaine and perfect than any idle speculation. For there the godly minde doth behold God most present, and in manner handle him, where it feeleth it selfe to be quickened, lightned, saued, iustified and sanctified.

14 Wherefore out of the same fountains we must fetch our meane of prouing to confirme the Godhead of the Holy ghost. Very plaine is the testimony 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 world that is now to be seene is preferred by the power of the Spirite, but ere this beautie was added, the Spirite was then busied in preserving that confused lump of things. And that saying of *Esay* cannot be cauled against, Aud now *Iehouah* and his Spirite hath sent me. For he communicateth with the Holy ghost his chiefe power in sending of Prophets. Whereby appeareth the diuine maiestie of the Holy ghost. But our best prooue, as I haue said, shall be by familiar vse. For that which the Scriptures impute vnto it, is farre from the propertie of creatures, and such a thing as we our selues doe learne by assured experience of godlinesse. For he it is that being eche where poured abroad, doth sustaine and giueth growing and life to all things in heauen and in earth. And by this point he is proued to be none of the number of creatures, for that he is not comprehended within any boundes: but by pouring his liuely force into all things to breath into them life and motion, this is the very worke of God. Moreouer, if regeneration into an incorruptible life be better and more excellent than any present quickening: what shall we iudge of him from whose power the same proceedeth? And that he is the author of regeneration, not by a borrowed,

but

Iohn 1. 4.
Iohn 14. 1.
Esa. 26. 16.
Esa. 11. 10.
Rom. 10. 11. &
15. 12.

To. 2. 32.
Pr. 28. 10.

Act. 7. 59.
Act. 9. 13.

1. Cor. 2.

Fig. 9. 24.

Gen. 1. 2.
Reasons prouing
the godhead of the
holy Ghost, as it
preserued the
world in that ori-
ginall confusion, is
regenerated, is
sent the Prophet,
it giueth life, the
offices are attrib-
uted vnto it which
are proper vnto
God, as to search
the secrets of God,
&c.

Esa. 48. 16.

but by his owne force, 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 all those offices that are most of all properly belonging to the Godhead. For he searcheth the deepe secrets of God, wherewith none of all the creatures is of counsell. He giueth wisdom and skill to speake, whereas yet the Lorde pronounceth to *Moses* that it is onely his worke to doe it. So by him wee come to a partaking of God, so that we may feele his power as it were working life in vs. Our iustification is his worke. From him is power, sanctification, truth, grace, and what good thing soeuer may be thought of, because it is the holy Ghost onely from whom proceedeth all kind of gifts. For that sentence of *Paul* is right woorthie to be noted. Although there be diuers gifts, and manifold and sundrie is the distribution of them, yet is there but one holy Spirit: because he maketh him not onely the originall or beginning, but also the author. Which a little after is more plainly expressed in these words. One and the same spirit distributeth all things as he will. For if he were not something subsisting in God, he woulde nor attribute vnto him choise of minde and will. Therefore most evidently doth *Paul* giue to the holie Ghost diuine power, and sheweth that he is substantially resident in God.

1. Cor. 2. 10.
1. Cor. 12. 10.
Exod. 4. 11.

15 And the Scripture it selfe, when it speaketh of him, forbeareth not the name of God. For *Paul* hereby gathereth that we are the temple of God, because his spirit dwelleth in vs: which thing is not lightly to be passed ouer. For whereas God so often promiseth that he will choose vs for a temple to himselfe, that promise is no other way fulfilled, but by his spirit dwelling in vs. Surely, as *Augustine* very well saith: if we were commanded to make vnto the holie Ghost a temple of timber and stone because such worship is due to God onely, it were a cleere argument that he is God: now therefore how much cleerer is this, that we ought not to make a temple, but our selues to be a temple fo: him? And the Apostle himselfe calleth vs sometime the temple of God, sometime the temple of the holie Ghost, both in one meaning. And *Peter* reprehending *Ananias* for that he had lied to the holy Ghost, saide that he lied not vnto men but vnto God. And where *Esay* bringeth in the Lorde of hostes speaking, *Paul* teacheth that it is the holie Ghost that speaketh. Yea, where commonly the Prophets saie, that the words which they vtter are the words of the Lord of hostes, Christ and the Apostles do referre them to the holie Ghost. Whereby it followeth that he is the true *Iehouah*, that is, the chiefe authour of prophecies. Againe, where God complaineth that he was prouoked to wrath by the stubburnesse of his people, in steed of that *Esay* saith that his Holie spirit was greeued. Last of all, if blasphemie against the holie Ghost be not forgien in this worlde nor in the worlde to come, whereas he may obtaine pardon that hath blasphemed against the Sonne: his diuine maiestie is heere plainly proued, the offence or diminishment whereof is an vnardonable crime. I do wittingly and of purpose omit many testimonies that the ancient writers haue vsed. They haue thought it a marvellous meete place to alleage out of *Dauid*: with the word of the Lord the heauens were stablished, and all the power of them with the spirit of his mouth, to prouee that the world was no lesse the worke of the holie Ghost than of the Sonne. But forasmuch as it is commonly vsed in the Psalmes to repeat one thing twise: and in *Esay*, the spirit of his mouth is as much to say as his word, that reason is verie weake. Therefore I thought good to touch a fewe such things as godly mindes might soundly rest vpon.

1. Cor. 12. 11.

The holy Ghost in Scripture plainly termed God.

1. Cor. 3. 17.
& 6. 19.
2. Cor. 6. 16.
August. ad Maximinum. Epi. 66.

Act. 5. 3.
Esa. 6. 9.
Act. 2. 25.

63
Esa. 43. 10.
Mat. 12. 30.
Mar. 3. 29.
Luke 12. 10.
Psal. 33. 6.

Esa. 11. 4.

16 And as God hath more plainly disclosed himselfe by the coming of Christ, so is he also in the three Persons become more familiarly knowne. But of all the testimonies let this one suffice vs for this present. *Paul* so knitteth these three together, God, Faith, and Baptisme, that he reasoneth from the one to the other in this manner. Because there is but one Faith, he thereby sheweth that there is but one God. And because there is but one God, he thereby prouoeth that there is but one Faith.

In the Trinitie of persons the vnite of God is proued by this, that there is but one faith & one bapt: sine.
Epi. 4. 5.

Therefore.

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Therefore if we be entred into the Faith and religion of one God by Baptisme: we must needs thinke him the true God in whose name we are baptised: And it is not to be doubted, but that in this solemne protestation, Christ ment to testifie that the perfect light of Faith was alreadie deliuered, when he said: Baptise them in the name of the Father & of the Son and of the holie Ghost. For it is as much in effect as to be baptised in the name of one God, which with perfect brightnesse hath appered in the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghost. Whereby is euident that in the essence of God abide three Persons in which the one God is knowen, And surely, forasmuch as our faith ought not to looke hither & thither, nor diuersly to wander about, but to haue regard to the one God, to be applied to him, and to sticke fast in him: it is hereby easily proued, that if there bee diuers kindes of Faith, there must also be many gods. Now whereas Baptisme is a Sacrament of Faith: it proueth vnto vs the vntie of God, because it is but one. And heereof also followeth, that it is not lawfull to be baptised but into one God, because we embrace the faith of him, into whose name we are baptised. What ment Christ then, when he commanded to be baptised, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie Ghost, but that we ought with one Faith to beleue in the Father, Sonne, and the holie Ghost? Therefore sith this remaineth certaine, that there is but one God, and not many, we determine that the Worde and the Spirit are nothing else but the very selfe essence of God. And very foolishlie did the *Arrians* prate, which confessing the godhead of the Sonne, did take from him the substance of God. And such a like rage vexed the *Macedonians*, which woulde haue to be vnderstanded by the Spirit, onely the gifts of grace that are poured forth into men. For as wisdom, vnderstanding, prudence, fortitude, feare of God do proceede from him: so he onely is the spirite of wisdom, prudence, fortitude, and godlinesse. Yet is not he deuided according to the distribution of his graces: but howsoeuer they be diuersely dealt abroad, yet he remaineth one and the same, as the Apostle saith.

1. Cor. 12. 11.

The sonne distinguished from the father, and the spirit from them both.
In sermone de sacro baptismo.

17 Againe, there is shewed in the Scriptures a certaine distinction of the Father, from the Worde, and of the Worde from the Spirit. In discussing whereof, howe great religiousnes and sobrietie we ought to vse, the greatnesse of the mystery it selfe doth admonish vs. And I verie well like that saying of *Gregorie Nazianzene*: I cannot thinke vpon the one, but by and by I am compassed about with the brightnesse of the three: And I cannot feuerally discern the three, but I am suddenly driuen backe to one. Wherefore let it not come in our mindes once to imagine such a Trinitie of Persons as may holde our thought withdrawn into feueralities, and doth not forthwith bring vs againe to that vniue. The names of Father, Sonne, and holie Ghost, do prouoe a true distinction, that no man should thinke them to be bare names of addition, whereby God according to his workes is diuersly entituled: but yet it is a distinction, not a diuision. The places that we haue alreadie cited, doe shewe that the Sonne hath a proprietie distinct from the Father, because the Worde had not bene with God, if he had not been another thing than the Father: neither had he had his glorie with the Father, but being distinct from him. Likewise he doth distinguish himselfe from the Father, when he saith, that there is another which beareth him witness. And for this purpose maketh that which in another place is said, that the Father created all things by the Worde, which he could not, but being after a certaine manner distinct from him. Moreouer, the Father came not downe into the earth, but he that came out from the Father. The Father died not, nor rose againe, but he that was sent by him. Neither yet did this distinction begin at the taking of flesh, but it is manifest that he was also before, the onely begotten in the bosome of the Father. For who can abide to saie, that then the Sonne entred into the bosome of the Father, when he descended from heauen to take manhoode vpon him? He was therefore before in the bosome of the Father, and enjoyed his glorie with the Father. As for the

Iohn 5. 3. & 8. 15.

Iohn 1. 18.

Ioh. 14. 6. 15. 26.

the distinction of the Holy Ghost from the Father, Christ speaketh of it when he saith, that it proceedeth from the Father. And how oft doth he shew it to be another beside himselfe? as when he promiseth that he will sende another comforter, and often in other places.

Ioh. 14. 16.

18 But to borrow similitudes from matters of men, to expresse the force of this distinction, I knowe not whether it be expedient. In deede the olde fathers are wont so to doe sometime: but withall they doe confesse, that whatsoever they bring forth for like, doth much differ. For which cause I am much afraid to be any way bold, least if I bring foorth any thing vnsidly, it should giue occasion either to the malicious to caull, or to the vnskillfull to be deceiued. Yet such distinction as we haue marked to be set out in Scriptures, it is not good to haue left vnsoken. And that is this, that to the Father is giuen the beginning of working, the fountaine and spring of all things: to the Sonne, wisdom, counsell, and the very disposition in the doing of things: to the holy Ghost is assigned power and effectuall working. And although eternitie belong vnto the Father, and eternitie to the Sonne and to the Holy Ghost also, for as much as God could neuer haue bene without his wisdom and power, and in eternitie is not to be sought, which was first or last: yet this obseruation of order is not vaine or superfluous, wherein the Father is reckoned first, and then of him the Sonne, and after of them both the holie Ghost. For euery mans minde of it selfe enclineth to this, first to consider God, then the wisdom rising out of him, and last of all the power wherewith he putteth the decrees of his purpose in execution. In what sort the Sonne is said to be of the Father onely, and the holie Ghost both of the Father & the Sonne, is shewed in many places, but no where more plainly than in the viij. Chapter to the Romances, where the same spirite is without difference sometime called the spirit of Christ, and sometime of him that raised vp Christ from the dead: and that not without cause. For *Peter* doth also testify that it was the spirite of Christ wherewith the Prophets did propheticke, whereas the Scripture so often teacheth, that it was the Spirite of God the Father.

That the father is of none, the sonne is of the father, and the spirite is of both.

19 Now this distinction is so far off from standing against the single vnitie of God, that thereby we may prooue that the Sonne is one God with the Father, because he hath one spirite with him, and that the holy Spirite is not a thing diuers from the Father and the Sonne. For in each Hypostasis is vnderstanded the whole substance, with this, that euery one hath his owne proprietie. The Father is whole in the Sonne, and the Sonne is whole in the Father, as himselfe affirmeth. I am in the Father, and the Father is in me. And the Ecclesiasticall writers doe not grant the one to be seuered from the other by any difference of essence. By these names that betoken distinction (saith *Augustine*) that is ment whereby they haue relation one to another, and not the very substance whereby they are all one. By which meaning are the sayings of the old writers to be made agree, which otherwise would seeme not a litle disagree. For sometime they say that the Father is the beginning of the Sonne, & sometime that the Sonne hath both Godhead & essence of himselfe, and is all one beginning with the Father. The cause of this diuersitie *Augustine* doth in another place wel and plainly declare, when he saith: Christ hauing respect to himselfe, is called God, and to his Father is called the Sonne. And againe, the Father as to himselfe is called God, as to his Sonne is called the Father, where hauing respect to the Son he is called the Father, he is not the Sonne: and where as to the Father he is called the Sonne, he is not the Father: and where he is called as to himselfe the Father, and as to himselfe the Sonne: it is all one God. Therefore when we simply speake of the Sonne: without hauing respect to the Father, we do wel & properly say, that he is of himselfe: & therefore we call him but one beginning: but when we make mention of the relation betweene him and his Father, then we rightly make the Father the beginning of the Sonne. All the whole fifth booke of *Augustine* concerning the Trinitie doth nothing

That the Trinitie of persons is an argument to prooue the vnitie of God: and in what sense the father is the beginning of the sonne.
Iohn. 14. 10.

August. hom. de temp. 38.

De trinitate & collad. Pascentium epi. 174.
Cyrillus de trin. lib. 6. idem lib. 3. dialog.
August. in Psal. 109. 8. tract. in Io. 39. & Psa. 68.

but set forth this matter. And much safer it is to rest in that relation that he speaketh of, than in too subtly parsing vnto the hie mysterie, to wander abroade by many vaine speculations.

The diuersitie of persons, & the order of them standeth well ynough with one single diuine essence, whereunto we must haue recourse when she father, the sonne, or the spirit severally is called God, and not imagine each to be a severall God from other.

20 Let them therefore that are pleased with sobernesse, and contented with measure of Faith, shortly learne so much as is profitable to be 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 which we comprehend three Persons or Hypostases. And therefore so oft as we doe 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 ioyned to the Father, then commeth in a relation, and so we make distinction betwene the Persons. And because the properties in the Persons bring an order with them; so as the beginning and originall is in the Father: so oft as mention is made of the Father and the Sonne, or the holy Ghost together, the name of God is peculiarly giuen to the Father. By this meane is retained the vniue of the essence, and regarde is had to the order, which yet doth minish nothing of the godhead of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. And whereas we haue already seene that the Apostles doe affirme, that the Sonne of God is he, whome *Moses* and the Prophets doe testifie to be *Iehouah* the Lord, we must of necessitie alway come to the vniue of the essence. Wherefore it is a detestable saciledge for vs to call the Sonne a severall God from the Father, because the simple name of God, doth admit no relation, and God in respect of himselfe cannot be saide to be this or that. Nowe, that the name of *Iehouah* the Lorde indefinitely taken is applied to Christ, appeereth by the wordes of *Paul*, where he saith: Therefore I haue thrise praised the Lord, because that after he had receiued the answer of Christ, My grace is sufficient for thee: he saith by and by, that the power of Christ may dwell in me. It is certaine that the name Lorde is there set for *Iehouah*, and therefore to restraine it to the person of the Mediatour were very fond and chuldisch, for so much as it is an absolute sentence that compareth not the Father with the Sonne. And wee knowe that after the accustomed manner of the Greekes, the Apostles do commonly set the word *Kyrios*, Lord, in steed of *Iehouah*. And not to fetch an example fare off, *Paul* did in no other sense pray to the Lorde, than in the same sense that *Peter* citeth the place of *Isaell*: Whosocuer calleth vpon the name of the Lorde shall be saued. But where this name is peculiarly giuen to the Sonne, we shall see that there is another reason thereof, when we come to a place fit for it. Nowe it is ynough to haue in minde, when *Paul* had absolutely praised to God, he by and by bringeth in the name of Christ. Euen so is the whole God called by Christ himselfe the Spirite. For there is no cause against it, but that the whole essence of God may be spirituall, wherein the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost be comprehended. Which is very plaine by the Scripture. For euen as there we heare God to be made a Spirite: so we doe heare the Holy Ghost, for so much as it is an Hypostasis of the whole essence, to be called both God, and proceeding from God.

2. Cor. 12. 9.

A. & 2. 16.
Ioel. 2. 28.

With what sobriety we ought to dispute against heresikes about the mysterie of the Trinitie.

21 But for as much as Sathan, to the ende to roote out our Faith, hath alway moued great contentions, partly concerning the diuine essence of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, and partly concerning their distinction of Persons: And as in a manner in all ages he hath stirred vp wicked spirites to trouble the true teachers in this behalfe: so at this day he trauelleth out of the olde embers to kindle a newe fire; therefore here it is good to answer the peruerse foolish errors of some. Hitherto it hath bene our purpose, to lead as it were by the hand those that are willing to learne, and not to striue hand to hand with the obstinate and contentious. But now the truth which we haue already peaceably shewed, must be rescued from the caullations of the wicked: Albeit my chiefe trauell shall yet be applied to this end, that they which giue gentle and open cares to the word of God, may haue whereupon stedfastly to

rest their footc. In this point, if any where at all in the secret mysteries of Scripture, we ought to dispute soberly, and with great moderation, and to take great heede that neither our thought nor our tooing proceede any further than the boundes of Gods worde doe extende. For how may the minde of man by his capacitie define the immeasurable essence of God, which neuer yet could certainly determine howe great is the bodie of the Sunne which yet he daily seeth with his eies? yea, how may the by her owne guiding attaine to discusse the substance of God, that cannot reach to knowe her owne substance? Wherefore let vs willingly giue ouer vnto God the knowledge of himselfe. For he onely, as *Hilarie* saith, is a conuenient witnesse to himselfe, which is not knowen but by himselfe. We shall giue it ouer vnto him, if we shall both conceiue him to be such as he hath opened himselfe vnto vs, and shall not elsewhere search to know of him, than by his owne word. There are to this end written fine homilies of *Chrysostome* against the *Anomei*. Yet the boldnesse of Sophisters could not be restrained by them from babbling vnbridledly. For they haue behaued themselues in this behalfe no whit more modestly than they are wonted in all other. By the unhappie successe of which vndiscretion, we ought to be warned to take care that we bend our selues to trauell in this question rather with tractable willingnesse to learne, than with sharpnesse of wit, and neuer haue in our minde either to search for God any where else than in his holy worde, or to thinke any thing of him, but hauing his worde going before to guide vs, or to speake any thing but that which is taken out of the same worde. The distinction that is in the one Godhead of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, as it is very harde to knowe, so doth it bring more businesse and comberance to some wits than is expedient. Let them remember that the mindes of men doe enter into a maze when they follow their owne curiositie, and so let them suffer themselues to be ruled with the heauenly oracles, howsoeuer they cannot attaine the height of the mysterie.

Hilar. lib. pri. de
Trinitate.

22 To make a register of the errors, wherewith the purenesse of Faith in this point of doctrine hath in times past been assailed, were too long and full of vnprofitable tediousnesse. and the most part of heretikes haue so attempted to ouerwhelme the glorie of God with grosse doting errors, that they haue thought it enough for them to shake and trouble the vnskillfull. And from a few men haue sprung vp many sectes, whereof some doe teare in sunder the essence of God, some doe confounde the distinction that is betweene the Persons. But if we holde fast that which is alreadie sufficiently shewed by the Scripture, that the essence of the one God which belongeth to the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, is single and vndiuided: Again, that the Father by a certaine propertie differeth from the Sonne, and the Sonne from the Holy Ghost: we shall stop vp the gate not onely against *Arius* and *Sabellius*, but also the other old authors of errors. But because in our time there be risen vp certaine phrentike men, as *Seruetto* and other like, which haue embraced all things with new deceits: It is good in few words to discusse their falhoods. The name of the Trinitie was so hatefull, yea, so detestable to *Seruetto*, that he saide, that all the Trinitaries, as hee called them, were vtterly godlesse. I omit the foolish wordes that he had deuised to raile withall. But of his opinions this was the summe. That God is made Tripartite, when it is said, that there abide three persons in his essence, and that this Trinitie is but a thing imagined, because it disagreeth with the vnitie of God. In the meane time the Persons he would haue to be certaine outward conceptions of Forme, which are not truly subsisting in the essence of God, but doe represent God vnto vs in this or that fashion. And at the beginning that there was in God nothing distinct, because once the Word and the Spirit were all one: but since that Christ arose God out of God, the holy ghost sprong also another god out of him. And though sometime he colour his follies with allegories, as when he saith, that the eternall Word of God was the spirit of Christ with God, and the bright shining of his
forme:

The monstrous
impietie of Ser-
uetto.

forme: Againe, that the holy Ghost was the shadow of the godhead, yet afterwarde he bringeth the godhead of them both to nothing, affirming that after the rate of distribution, there is both in the Sonne & in the holy Spirit a part of God, euen as the same spirit in vs, and also in wood and stones is substantially a portion of god. What he babbleth of the Person of the Mediatour, we shall heereafter see in place conuenient. But this monstrous forged deuse, that a Person is nothing else but a visible forme of the glory of God, needeth no long confutation. For whereas *Iohn* pronounceth, that the Worde was God before the world was yet create, he maketh it much differing from a conception of forme. But if then also, yea, & from farthest Eternitie of time, that Worde which was God was with the Father, and had his owne proper glory with the Father, he could not be an outward or figuratiue shining: but it necessarily followeth that he was an Hypostasis that did inwardly abide in God. And although there be no mention made of the Spirit, but in the historie of the creation of the world, yet he is not there brought in as a shadow, but an essentiall power of God, when *Moses* sheweth that the very vnfashioned lumps was sustained in him. Therefore it then appeered, that the eternall Spirit was alwaies in God, when he preferred and sustained the confused matter of heauen and earth, vntill beautie and order were added vnto it. Surely he could not yet be an image or representation of God as *Seruetto* dreameth. But in other points he is compelled more openly to disclose his wickednes, in saying that God by his eternall purpose, appointing to himselfe a visible Sonne, did by this meane shew himselfe visible. For if that be true, there is no other godhead left vnto Christ, but so farre as he is by the eternall decree of God ordeined his Sonne. Morcouer, he so transformeth those imagined shapes, that he sticketh not to faine newe accidents in God. But this of all other is most abhominable, that he confusely minglith as well the Sonne of God, as the holy Ghost, with all creatures. For he plainly affirmeth, that there be part, and partitions in the essence of God, of which euery portion is God. And namely he saith, that the Spirits of the faithfull are coeternall & consubstantiall with God: albeit in another place he assigneth the substantiall deitie, not onely to the soule of man, but also to other creatures.

23 Out of this sinke came forth another like monster. For certaine lewd men meaning to escape the hatred and shame of the wickednes of *Seruetto*, haue indeede confessed, that there are three Persons, but adding a manner howe: that the Father which truly and properly is the one onely God, informing the Sonne and the holie Ghost, hath powred his godhead into them. Yea they forbear not this horrible manner of speech, that the Father is by this marke distinguished from the Sonne and the holy Ghost, that he is the onely essentiatour or maker of the essence. First they pretend this colour, that Christ is each where called the Sonne of God: whercof they gather, that there is none other properly God but the Father. But they marke not, that though the name of God be also common to the Sonne, yet by reason of preeminence it is sometime giuen to the Father onely, because he is the fountaine and originall of the Deitie, and that for this purpose, to make the single vnitie of the essence to be thereby noted. They take exception and say: If he be truly the Sonne of God, it is inconuenient to haue him reckoned the Sonne of a Person. I answere that both are true: that is, that he is the Sonne of God, because he is the Worde 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 ought to haue regarde of the Person, that the name of God be not taken simply but for the Father onely. For if wee meane none to be God but the Father, we plainly throw downe the Sonne from the degree of God. Therefore so ofte as mention is made of the godhead, we must not admit a comparison between the Sonne and the Father, as though the name of God did belong onely to the Father. For truly the God that appeered to *Esaie* was the true and onely God, and yet *Iohn* affirmeth that the same was Christ. And

John 1.1.

Gen. 1.2.

*That the essence
of God doth not
belong to the fa-
ther onely.*

Esa. 6.1.

John 1.2.41.

Esa. 8.14.

he that by the mouth of *Esay* testified, that he should be a stumbling stone to the Jewes, was the onely God: and yet *Paul* pronounceth that the same was Christ. He that crieth out by *Esay*, I live, and to me all knees shall bow, is the onely God: and yet *Paul* expoundeth that the same was Christ. For this purpose I erue the testimonies that the Apostle receiveth. Thou O God hast laide the foundations of heauen and earth. Againe, let all the Angels of God worship him, which things belong to none, but to the onely God. And yet he saith, that they are the proper titles of Christ. And this cauilation is nothing woorth, that that is giuen to Christ, which is proper to God, because Christ is the shining brightnesse of his glorie. For because in each of these places is set the name of *Jehouah*, it followeth, that it is so saide in respect that he is God of himselfe. For if he be *Jehouah*, it cannot be denied that he is the same God that in another place crieth out by *Esay*: 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 perish out of the earth that is vnder the heauen. Whereas on the other side we must needs confesse, that the Sonne of God is he, whose Godhead is oft proued in *Esay* by the creation of the worlde. And how can it be that the Creator, which giueth being to all things, shall not be of himselfe, but borrowe his being of another? For whosoer saith that the Sonne was essentiate or made to be of his Father, denieth that he is of himselfe. But the Holy Ghost saith the contrarie, naming him *Jehouah*. Now if we graunt that the whole essence is in the Father onely, either it must be made partable, or be taken from the Sonne, and so shall the Sonne be spoiled of his essence, and be a God onely in name and title. The essence of God, if we beleue these triflers: belongeth onely to the Father, for as much as he is onely God, and is the essence maker of the Sonne. And so shall the Godhead of the Sonne be an abstract from the essence of God, or a deriuation of a part out of the whole. Now must they needs graunt by their owne principle, that the Holy Ghost is the Spirite of the Father onely. For if he be a deriuation from the first essence, which is onely proper to the Father, of right he cannot be accounted the Spirite of the Sonne: which is confuted by the testimonie of *Paul*, where he maketh the Spirite common to Christ and the Father. Moreouer, if the person of the Father be wiped out of the Trinitie, wherein shall hee differ from the Sonne and the holy Ghost but in this, that he only is God? They confesse Christ to be God, and yet they say, he differeth from the Father. Againe, there must 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, doe manifestly bring the true Godhead of Christ to nothing, which cannot be without essence, yea, and that the whole essence. The Father differeth not from the Sonne, vnlesse he haue something proper to himselfe that is not common to the Sonne. What now will they finde 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 wicked. Beside that by this meane they doe foule teare in sunder the essence of God. It remaineth therefore that the essence is whole, & perfectly common to the Father and the Son. And if that be true, then as touching the essence there is no difference of the one of them from the other. If they say, that the Father in giuing his essence, remaineth neuertheless the onely God, with whom the essence abideth: then Christ shall be a figuratiue God, and a God onely in they and in name but not in deede: because nothing is more proper to God than to be: according to this saying: He that is hath sent me vnto you.

24 It is easie by many places to prouoe that it is fallie which they hold, that so oft as there is in Scripture mention made absolutely of God, none is meant thereby but the Father. And in those places that they themselves doe alledge, they fouly bewray their owne want of consideration, because there is also set the name of the Sonne.

Whereby

Rom 9.33.
Esa. 45.23.
Rom 14.11.
Heb. 1.10.
Psal. 102.26.
Psal. 97.7.

Esa. 44.6.

Iere. 10.11.

Exod. 5.3.
The arguments answered which are brought to prouoe the Father to be the onely true God.

Whereby appeareth, that the name of God is there relatively taken, and therefore restrained to the Person of the Father. And their obiection where they say, If the Father were not onely the true God, hee should himselfe be his owne Father, is answered with one worde. It is not inconuenient for degree and orders sake, that he be peculiarly called God which hath not onely of himselfe begotten his wisdom, but also is the God of the Mediatour, as in place fit for it, I will more largely declare. For sith Christ was openly shewed in the flesh, he is called the Sonne of God, not only in respect that he was the eternall Worde before all worldes begotten of the Father: but also because he tooke vpon him the Person and office of the Mediatour to ioyn vs vnto God. And because they do so boldly exclude the Son from the honor of God, I woulde faine knowe whether the Sonne when hee pronounceth, that none is good but God, doe take goodnesse from himselfe? I doe not speake of his humane nature, least perhappes they shoulde take exception, and saye, that whatsoeuer goodnesse was in it, it came of free gifte. I aske whether the eternall Worde of God be good or no? If they say nay, then we holde their vngodlinesse sufficiently conuincid: in saying yea, they confound themselues. But whereas at the first sight, Christ seemeth to put from himselfe the name of Good, that doth the more confirme our meaning. For sith it is the singular title of God alone, forasmuch as he was after the common manner saluted by the name of Good, in refusing false honour, hee did admonish them, that the goodnesse wherein hee excelled, was the goodnes that God hath. I aske also, where *Paul* affirmeth that onely God is immortall, wise, and true, whether by these wordes Christ be brought into the number of men mortall, foolish, and false? Shall not hee then be immortall, that from the beginning was life to giue immortalitie to Angels? Shall not he be wise, that is the eternall wisdom of God? Shall not the truth it selfe be true? I aske furthermore, whether they thinke that Christ ought to be worshipped or no? For hee claimeth this vnto himselfe, to haue all knees bow before him: it followeth that he is the God which did in the lawe forbid any other to be worshipped but himselfe. If they will haue that meant of the Father onely which is spoken in *Esay*: I am, and none but I: this testimonie I turne against themselues, forasmuch as we see, that whatsoeuer pertaineth to God is giuen to Christ. And their cauillation hath no place, that Christ was exalted in the flesh, wherein he had been abased, and that in respect of the flesh, al authoritie is giuen him in heauen and in earth: because although the maiestie of king and Iudge extend to the whole Person of the Mediatour, yet if he had not bene God openly shewed in flesh, he could not haue bene advanced to such height, but that God should haue disagreed with himselfe. But this controuersie *Paul* doeth well take away, reaching that he was equall with God before he did abase himselfe vnder the shape of a seruant. Now howe could this equalitie haue stande together, vnlesse he had bene the same God whose name is *Iah* and *Iehouah*: that rideth vpon the Cherubin, that is King of all the earth and Lord of the worldes? Now howsoeuer they babbles against it, it cannot be taken from Christ which *Esai* saith in another place: He, he, is our God, for hum we haue waited, whereas in these words he describeth the coming of God the Redeemer, not only that should bring home the people from the exile of Babylon, but also fully in all points restore the Church. And with their other cauillation they nothing preuaile, in saying, that Christ was God in his Father. For though we confesse that in respect of order and degree the beginning of the Godhead is in the Father, yet we say that it is a detestable inuention to say, that the essence is onely proper to the Father, as though he were the onely Godmaker of the Sonne. For by this meanes either he should haue moe essences than one, or else they call Christ God onely in title and imagination. If they grant that Christ is God, but next after the Father, then shall the essence be in him begotten and fashioned, which in the Father is vnbegotten and vnfashioned. I know

that many quicke nosed men do laugh at this that we gather the distinction of Persons out of the wordes of *Moses*, where he bringeth in' God speaking thus: Let vs make man after our image. But yet the godly readers do see how vainly and fondly *Moses* should bring in this as a talke of diuers together, if there were not in God mo Persons than one. Now certaine is it, that they whom the Father spake vnto, were vncreate: but nothing is vncreate but God himselte, yea the one onely God. Now therefore vnlesse they graunt that the power of creating was common, and the authoritic of commaunding common, to the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost: it shall followe that God did not inwardly thus speake to himselte, but directed his speech to other foreine workmen. Finally one place shall easily answere two of their obiections. For whereas Christ himselte pronounceth that God is a spirit, this were not conuenient to bee restrained to the Father onely, as if the Word himselte were not of Spirituall nature. If then the name of Spirit doth as well agree with the Sonne as with the Father, I gather that the Sonne is also comprehended vnder the indefinite name of God. But he addeth by and by after that, none are allowed for good worshippers of the Father, but they that worship him in spirit and truth: whereupon followeth another thing, because Christ doth vnder a head execute the office of a teacher, he doth giue the name of God to the Father, not to the intent to destroy his owne Godhead, but by degrees to lift vs vp vnto it.

Gen. 1. 26.

Iohn. 4. 24.

25 But in this they are deceiued, that they dreame of certaine vndiuided singular things, wherof each haue a part of the essence. But by the Scriptures, we teach, that there is but one essentiall God, and therefore that the essence as well of the Sonne as of the Holy Ghost is vnbegotten. But for so much as the Father is in order first and hath of himselte begotten his wisdome, therefore rightfully as is abovesaid, he is counted the originall and fountaine of al the godhead. So God indefinitely spoken, is vnbegotten, and the Father also in respect of person is vnbegotten. And foolishly they thinke that they gather, that by our meaning is made a quaternitie, because factiously and caullously they ascribe vnto vs a deuise of their owne braine, as though we did saie that by deriuation there come three persons out of one essence: whereas it is euident by our writings, that we do not drawe the persons out of the essence, but although they be abiding in the essence we make a distinction betweene them. If the persons were seuered from the essence, then peraduenture their reason were like to be true. But by that meane it shoulde bee a Trinitie of Gods and not of persons, which one God containeth in him. So is their fond question answered, whether the essence doe meete to make vp the Trinitie, as though wee did imagine that there descend three gods out of it. And this exception groweth of like foolishnes where they say, that then the Trinitie, should be without God. For though it meet not to make vp the distinction as a part or a member, yet neither are the persons without it, nor out of it. Because the Father if he were not God could not be the Father, and the Sonne is none otherwise the Sonne but because he is God. We say therefore, that the Godhead is absolutely of it selfe. Whereby we grant that the Sonne in so much as he is God, is of himselte without respect of his person, but in so much as he is the Sonne, we say that he is of the Father. So his essence is without beginning, but the beginning of his person is God himselte. And the true teaching writers that in olde time haue spoken of the Trinitie, haue onely applyed this name to the Persons, for so much as it were not onely an absurde error but also a grosse vngodlinesse, to comprehend the essence in the distinction. For they that will haue these three to meete, the essence, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, it is plaine that they do destroy the essence of the Sonne and the holy Ghost, for else the parts ioyned together would fall in sunder, which is a fault in euerie distinction. Finally if the Father and the Sonne were Synonimes or seuerall names signifying one thing, so the Father should be the Godmaker, and nothing shoulde remaine in the Sonne

There is one indivisible diuine essence, which is vnbegotten, absolutely of it selfe and without beginning.

but a shadow, and the Trinitie should be nothing else, but the ioyning of one God with two creatures.

*Christ though the
sonne of God, yet
properly God not
by a certaine deri-
u:ed denie, but by
the same Godhead
whereby his father
is God.
Iohn. 17. 3.*

26 Whereas they obiekt, that if Christ be properly God, he is not rightfully called the Son: to that we haue already answered, that because in such places there is a comparison made of the one Person to the other, the name of God is not there indefinitely taken, but restrained to the Father onely, in so much as he is the beginning of the Godhead, not in making of essence as the madde men do fondly imagine, but in respect of order. In this meaning is construed that saying of Christ to the Father: this is the eternall life, that men beleuee in thee the one true God, and Iesus Christ whom thou hast sent. For speaking in the Person of the Mediatour, hee keepeth the degree that is meane betweene God and men: and yet is not his maiestie thereby diminished. For though he abased himselfe, yet he left notwithstanding the Father his glorie that was hidden before the worlde. So the Apostle in the second Chapter to the Hebrues, though he confesseth that Christ for a short time was abased beneath the Angels, yet he sticketh not to affirme withall, that he is the same eternal God that founded the earth. We must therefore hold, that so oft as Christ in the person of the Mediator speaketh to the Father, vnder this name of God is comprehended the Godhead which is his also. So when he saide to the Apostles: It is profitable that I go vp to the Father, because the Father is greater: He giueth not vnto himselfe onely the second degree of Godhead to bee as touching his eternall essence inferiour to the Father, but because hauing obtained the heavenly glorie, he gathereth together the faithfull to the partaking of it. He setteth his father in the higher degree, inasmuch as the glorious perfection of brightness that appeareth in heauen, differeth from that measure of glorie that was scene in him being clothed with flesh. After like manner in another place *Paul* saith: that Christ shall yeelde vp the kingdome to God and his Father, that God may be all in all. There is nothing more absurde than to take away eternall continuance from the Godhead of Christ. If he shall neuer cease to be the Sonne of God; but shall alway remaine the same that he was from the beginning, it followeth that vnder the name of the Father, is comprehended the one essence that is common to them both. And surely therefore did Christ descend vnto vs, that lifting vs vp vnto his Father, he might also lift vs vp vnto himselfe, in as much as he is all one with his Father. It is therefore neither lawfull nor right so exclusiue to restrain the name of God to the Father, as to take it from the Sonne. For, *Iohn* doth for this cause affirme that he is true God, that no man should thinke that he resteth in a second degree of Godhead beneath his Father. And *maruell* what these framers of new Gods do meane, that while they confesse Christ to be true God, yet they foorthwith exclude him from the Godhead of his Father. As though there could any be a true God but he that is the one God: or as though the Godhead powred from one to another, be not a certaine newe forged imagination.

Iohn. 16. 7.

1. Cor. 15. 24.

Iohn. 1. 1.

*Trenaus fer from
shinking the fa-
ther onely and not
the sonne to be
properly eternall
God.*

27 Whereas they heap vp many places out of *Irenaeus*, where he affirmeth that the Father of Christ is the onely and eternall God of Israel: that is either done of a shainefull ignorance, or of an extreme wickednesse. For they ought to haue considered, that then the holy man hid to do in disputation with those frantike men, that denied that the Father of Christ was the same God that in old time spake by *Moses* and the Prophets, but that he was I wot not what imagined thing brought out of the corruption of the worlde. Therefore he altogether trauelleth in this point, to make it plaine that there is no other God preached of in the Scripture but the Father of Christ, and that it is amisse to deuise any other, and therefore it is no maruell if he so oft conclude that there was no other God of Israel, but he that was spoken of by Christ and the Apostles. And in like manner nowe, whereas wee are to stande against another sort of errour, we may truly say that the God which in olde time appeared.

appeared to the Fathers, was none other but Christ. But if any man object that it was the Father, our answer is in readinesse, that when we strue to defend the Godhead of the Sonne, we exclude not the Father. If the readers take heede to this purpose of *Irenaeus*, all that contention shall cease. And also by the sixt Chapter of the third booke, this whole strife is ended, where the good man standeth all vpon this point, to proue that he which is in Scripture absolutely and indefinitely called God: is verily the one onely God, and that Christ is absolutely called God. Let vs remember that this was the principall point whereupon stode all his disputation, as by the whole proceffe thereof doth appeare: and specially the 46. Chapter of the second booke, that he is not called the Father by darke similitude or parable, which is not very God in deed. Moreouer in another place he saith, that as well the Sonne as the Father were ioyntly called God by the Prophets and Apostles. Afterward he defineth how Christ which is Lord of all, and King, and God, and iudge, receued power from him which is the God of all, that is to say in respect 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, which gaue the Law by the hand of *Moses*, and appeared to the Fathers. Now if any man doe prate that with *Irenaeus* onely the Father is the God of *Israell*, I will turne againe vpon him that which the same writer plainly teacheth, that Christ is all one and the same: as also he applyeth vnto him the Prophecie of *Habacuc*: God shall come out of the South. To the same purpose serueth that which is read in the ninth Chapter of the fourth booke. Christ himselfe therefore with the Father is the God of the liuing. And in the twelfth Chapter of the same booke he expoundeth that *Abraham* beleueed God, because Christ is the maker of heauen and earth and the onely God.

28 And with no more truth doe they bring in *Tertullian* for their defender. For though he be rough sometime and crabbed in his manner of speech, yet doth hee plainly teach the summe of that doctrine that we defend. That is to say, whereas he is the one God, yet by disposition and order he is his Word: that there is but one God in vnitie of substance, and yet that the same vnitie by mysterie of orderly distribution is disposed into Trinitie, that there are three, not in state, but in degree, not in substance, but in forme, not in power, but in order. He saith that he descendeth the Sonne to be a second next to the Father, but he meaneth him to be none other than the Father, but by way of distinction. In some places he sayeth that the Sonne is visible. But when he hath reasoned on both partes he defineth that he is inuisible in so much as he is the Word. Finally where he affirmeth, that the Father is determined in his owne person, he proueth himselfe farr from that error which we confute. And though he doth acknowledge none other God but the Father, yet in the next peece of his writing expounding himselfe, he sayeth, that he speaketh not exclusiue in respect of the Sonne, because hee denieth that the Sonne is any other God beside the Father, and that therefore their sole gouernement is not broken by distinction of Person. And by the perpetuall course of his purpose it is easie to gather the meaning of his wordes. For he disputeth against *Praxeas*, that though God be distinguished into three persons, yet are there not made many Gods nor the vnitie torne in sunder. And because by the imagination of *Praxeas* Christ could not be God, but hee must also be the Father, therefore he so much laboureth about the distinction. Whereas he calleth the Worde and the Spirit a portion of the whole, although it be a hard kinde of speech, yet is it excusable, because it is not referred to the substance, but onely sheweth the disposition and order that belongeth onely to the Persons, as *Tertullian* himselfe witnesseth. And hereof hangeth that: How many persons thinkest thou there are, O most froward *Praxeas*, but euen so many as there be names? And so a little after that, they may beleuee the Father and the Sonne ech in their names and Persons. Hereby I thinke may be suffici-

Lib. 3. cap. 9.
Cap. 12. eiusdem
lib.
Cap. 16. eiusdem
lib.

Ibi. ca. 18. & 23.

Tertullian as far
from that opinion.

ently confuted their impudencie, that seeke to beguile the simple with colour of *Tertullians* authoritie.

*The fathers with
generall consent
teach Christ to be
the same God
with the father.*

29 And surely whosoever shall diligently compare together the writings of the old authors, shall finde no other thing in *Irenæus*, than that which hath been taught by other that came after. *Iustine* is one of the auncientest, and he in all things doth agree with vs. Yet let them object that he as the rest doe, calleth the Father of Christ the onely God. The same thing doth *Hilarie* teach, yea, and speaketh more hardly, 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 defence of the same Faith that we follow. Yet are they not ashamed to picke out certaine mangled sentences whereby they would perswade that *Hilarie* is a Patrone of their error. Where they bring in *Ignatius*: if they will haue that to be of any authoritie, let them proue that the Apostles made a Law for lent and suchlike corruptions of religion. Nothing is more vsauorie than those fond trifles that are published vnder the name of *Ignatius*. Wherefore their impudencie is so much lesse tolerable, that disguise themselves with such visors to deceiue. Moreouer the consent of the auncient Fathers is plainly perceiued by this, that at the Councell of *Nice*, *Arrius* neuer durst alledge for himselfe the authoritie of any one allowed writer. And none of the Greekes or Latines doth excuse himselfe and say, that he dissenteth from them that were before. It needeth not to be spoken how *Augustine* whom these loselies doe most hate, hath diligently searched the writings of them all, and how reuerently he did embrace them. Truly euen in matters of least weight he vseth to shew what compelleth him to dissent from them. And in this matter, if he had read any thing doubtfull or darke in other, he hideth it not. But the doctrine that these men striue against, he taketh it as confessed, that from the farthest time of antiquitie it hath bene without controuerse receiued. And by one word it appeareth that he was not ignorant what other had taught before him, where he saith that in the Father is vnitie, in the first booke of Christian doctrine, will they say that he then forgate himselfe? But in another place he purgeth himselfe from such reproch, where he calleth the Father the beginning of the whole Godhead, because he is of none: considering indeed wisely, that the name of God is specially ascribed to the Father, because if the beginning should not be reckened at him, the single vnitie of God cannot be conceiued. By this I trust the Godly reader will perceiue that al the cauillations are confuted, wherewith Sathan hath hitherto attempted to peruert or darken the pure truth of doctrine. Finally, I trust that the whole summe of doctrine in this point is fully declared, if the readers will temper them of curiositie, and not more greedily than meete is, seeke for comberfome and entangled disputations. For I take not in hand to please them, that doe delight in an vntemperate desire of speculation. Truly I haue omitted nothing of suttile purpose that I thought to make against me. But while I studie to edifie the Church, I thought it best to leaue many things vntouched which both smally posited, and would grieue the readers with superfluous tediousnes. For to what purpose were it to dispute, whether the Father doe alwayes beget? For as much as it is folly to faime a continuall act of begetting, sith it is euident that from eternitie there haue been three Persons in God.

The xiiij. Chapter.

*That the Scripture euen in the creation of the world and of all things: doth by certaine
markes put difference betweene the true God, and fained gods.*

*Esay 40. 21.
The crewen of
the world taught
by Moses, that*

Although *Esay* doth worthily reprecie the worshippers of false gods with slouth-
subaile, for that they haue not learned by the very foundations of the earth,
and round compasse of the heauens, which is the true God: yet such is the dulnesse
and

and grossenes of our wit, that least the faithfull should fall away to the inuentions of the Gentiles, it was necessary to haue God more expressly painted out vnto them. For whereas the saying that God is the minde of the world, which is compted the most tollerable description that is found among the Philosophers, is but vaine, it behooueth vs more familiarly to know him, least we alwaies wauer in doubtfullnesse. Therefore it was his pleasure to haue a history of the creation remayning, whereupon the Faith of the Church might rest, and seeke for none other God but him, whom *Moses* hath declared to be the maker and builder of the world. There is first set foorth the time, that by continuall proceeding of yeares the faithfull might come to the first originall of mankinde, and of all things. Which knowledge is very necessary, not onely to confute those monstrous fables that sometime were spread in *Aegypt* and other partes of the world, but also, that the beginning of the world once being knowne, the eternitie of God may more clearly shine foorth and rauish vs in admiration of it. Neither ought we to be any thing moued with that vngodly mocke, that it is maruell why it came no sooner in the minde of God to make the heauen and the earth, and why he sitting idle did suffer so immeasurable a space to passe away, sith he might haue made it many thousand ages before : whereas the whole continuance of the world that now draweth to an end, is not yet come to six thousand yeeres. For why God so long deferred it, is neither lawfull nor expedient for vs to enquire. Because if mans minde will trauaile to attaine thereunto, it shall faile an hundred times by the way, neither were it profitable for vs to know that thing which God himselfe to proue the modestie of our faith, hath of purpose willed to be hidden. And well did that godly old man speake, which when a wanton fellow did in scorn demand of him, what God had done before the creation of the world, answered, that he buylded Hell for curious fooles. Let this graue and seuerer warning repress the wantonnesse that tickleth many, yea, and drueth them to cull and hurtfull speculations. Finally, let vs remember that the same inuisible God whose wisdom, power and iustice is incomprehensible, doth set before vs the historie of *Moses* as a looking glasse, wherein his liuely image appeareth. For, as the eyes that either are growen dimme with age, or dilled with any disease, doe not discern any thing plainly, vnlesse they be holpen with spectacles : so, such is our weakenes, that vnlesse the Scripture direct vs in seeking of God, we doe foorthwith runne out into vanitie. And they that follow their owne wantonnesse, because they be now warned in vaine, shall all too late feele with horrible destruction, how much it had been better for them reuerently to receiue the secreet counsels of God, than to vomite out blasphemies, to obscure the heauen withall. And rightly doth *Augustine* complaine, that wrong is done to God when further cause of things is sought for, than his onely will. The same man in another place doth wisely warne vs, that it is no lesse cuill to moue question of immeasurable spaces of times than of places. For how broad fouer the circuite of the heauen is, yet is there some measure of it. Now, if one should quarrell with God for that the emptines wherein nothing is contained, is an hundred times more, shall not all the godly abhorre such wantonnesse? Into like madnes run they that busie themselves about Gods sitting still, because at their appointment he made not the world innumerable ages sooner. To satisfie their owne greedines of minde, they couet to passe without the compasse of the world, as though in so large a circuit of heauen, and earth, they could not finde things enough that with their inestimable brightnes may ouerwhelme all our senses : as though in sixe thousand yeers, God hath not shewed examples, in continual consideration whereof, our minds may be exercised. Let vs therefore willingly abide enclosed within those boundes where-with it pleased God to enuiron vs, and as it were to penne vp our mindes, that they should not stray abroad with libertie of wandring.

men might know
the God which
made it, and not
enquire why he
made it no sooner.

Lib. de gen. con-
tra Ma.
De ciuit. dei lib.
4^o

2 For like reason is it that *Moses* declareth, that the worke of God was not ended

The deciding of
the creation was
in

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fixe daies, the order of creating, & the maner which Moses used in speaking of God, do shew what we ought especially to learne by that historie.

in a moment but in fixe daies. For by this circumstance we are withdrawn from forged inuentions to the one ouely God that deuided his worke into fixe daies, that it should not greewe vs to be occupied all the time of our life in considering of it. For though our eies, what way soeuer wee turne them, are compelled to looke vpon the workes of God, yet see we how fickle our head is, and if any godly thoughts doe touch vs, how soone they passe away. Heere againe mans reason murmureth, as though such proceedings were disagreeing from the power of God, vntill such time as being made subiect to the obedience of faith, she learne to keepe that rest wherunto the hallowing of the seuenth day calleth vs. But in the very order of things, is diligently to be considered the fatherly loue of God toward mankind, in this: that he did not creat *Adam* vntill he had stored the world with all plentie of good things, For if he had placed him in the earth while it was yet barren and emptie, if he had giuen him life before that there was any light, he should haue seemed not so well to prouide for his commoditie. But now where he first disposed the motions of the Sunne and the Planets for the vse of man, and furnished the earth, the waters & the aire with liuing creatures, & brought forth abundance of fuits to suffice for foode, taking vpon him the care of a diligent and prouident housholder, he shewed his maruellous bountie toward vs. If a man do more heedfully wey with himselfe those things that I do but shortly touch, it shall appeare that *Moses* was the sure witness and publisher of the one God the creator. I omit heere that which I haue already declared, that he speaketh not there only of the bare essence of God, but also setteth forth vnto vs his eternall Wisedome and Spirit, to the end we should not dreame that God is any other, than such as he will be knownen by the image that he hath there expressed.

The creation of Angels is a thing necessarie to be knowne, both because they are the most noble part of Gods workes, and also for that there are sundrie errors concerning Angels, which cannot without such knowledge be refused.

3 But before that I begin to speake more at large of the nature of man, I must say somewhat of Angels. Because, though *Moses* applying himselfe to the rudenes of the common people, reciteth in his history of the creation no other workes of God but such as are seene with our eies, yet whereas afterwarde he bringeth in Angels for ministers of God, we may easly gather, that he was the creator of them in whose seruice they employ their trauell and offices. Though therefore *Moses* speaking after the capacite of the people, doth not at the very beginning rehearse the Angels among the creatures of God: yet that is no cause to the contrarie, but that we may plainly & expressly speake those things of them, which in other places the Scripture commonly teacheth. Bicause if we desire to know God by his workes, so noble and excellent an example is not to be omitted. Beside that, this point of doctrine is verie necessarie for the confuting of manie errors. The excellencie of the nature of Angels hath so daseled the mindes of many, that they thought the Angels had wrong offered them, if they should be made subiect to the authoritic of one God, & brought as it were in obedience. And hereupon were they fained to be Gods. There rose vp also one *Manicheus* with his sect, which made themselues two originall beginnings of things, God, and the deuill, and to God he assigned the beginning of good things, and of things of euil nature he deturmined the deuill to be the author. If our mindes should be entangled with this error, God should not keepe whole his glorie in the creation of the worlde. For, whereas nothing is more proper to God than eternitie and a being of himselfe as I may so terme it, they which giue that vnto the diuell, do they not in a maner giue him the title of Godhead? Now where is the almightinesse of God become, if such authoritie be granted to the diuell, that he may put in execution what he will though God say nay and withstand it? As for the onely foundation that the *Manichees* haue, that it is vnlawfull to ascribe vnto God that is good, the creation of any thing that is euil: that nothing hurteth the true faith, which admitteth not that there is any thing naturally euil in the whole vniuersalitie of the world, because neither the forwardnesse and malice both of man and the diuell, nor the sins that

omnia naturalia sunt by corruptio nature.

that proceede thereof, are of nature, but of the corruption of nature. Neither was there any thing from the beginning, wherein God hath not shewed an example both of his wisdom and iustice. Therefore to answer these peruerse deuises: it beliooueth vs to lift vp our munes higher than our eyes can attaine to see. For which cause it is likely, that where in the *Nice*ne creed God is called the Creator of all things, things inuisible are expressed. Yet will we be carefull to keepe the measure that the rule of godlinesse appointeth, least the readers with searching to vnderstand further than is expedient, should wander abroad, being led away from the simplicitie of Faith. And surely, forasmuch as the Holy ghost teacheth vs alway for our profit, and such things are as finally auailable to edifie, he doth either leaue wholly vnspoken, or but lightly, and as it were ouerrunningly touch them: it shall be also our duety to be content not to know those things that doe not profit vs.

4 That the Angels, for as much as they are the ministers of God ordeined to execute his commandments, are also his creatures, it ought to be certainly out of all question. To moue doubt of the time and order that they were created in, should it not rather be a busie waiwardnesse than diligence? *Moses* declareth that the earth was made, and the heauens were made, with all their armies, to what purpose than is it, curiously to search, what day the other more secret armies of heauen beside the starres and planets first began to be? But, because I will not be long, let vs, as in the whole doctrine of religion, so here also remember that we ought to keepe one rule of modestie and sobrietie, that of obscure things we neither speake, nor thinke, nor yet desire to know any other thing than that hath bene taught vs by the Word of God: and another point, that in reading of Scripture we continually rest vpon the searching and studying of such thinges as certaine to edification, and not giue our selues to curiositie or study of thinges vnprofitable. And because it was Gods pleasure to instruct vs, not in trifling questions, but in sound godlinesse, feare of his name, true confidence, and duties of holinesse: let vs rest vpon such knowledge. Wherefore, if we will be rightly wise, we must leaue those vanities that idle men haue taught without warrant of the worde of God, concerning the nature, degree, and multitude of Angels. I know that such matters as this, are by many more greedily taken holde of, and are more pleasant vnto them than such things as lie in dayly vs. But if it greue vs not to be the schollers of *Christ*, let it not greue vs to follow that order of learning that he hath appointed. So shall it so come to passe, that being contented with his schooling, we shall not onely forbear, but also abhorre superfluous speculations, from which he calleth vs away. No man can deny, that the same *Demise*, whatsoeuer man he was, hath disputed many things both litlely and wittulie in his Hierarchie of Heauen: but if a man examine it more neerely, he shall finde that for the most part it is but meere babbling. But the dutifull purpose of a Diuine is, not to delite eares with prating, but to stablish consciences with teaching thinges true, certaine, and profitable. If one should read that booke, he would thinke that the man were slipped downe from heauen, and did tell of things not that he had learned by hearefay, but that he had seene with his eyes. But *Paule* which was rauished aboue the third heauen, hath vttered no such thing, but also protesteth, that it is not lawfull for man to speake the secrets that he had seene. Therefore bidding farewell to that trifling wisdom, let vs consider by the simple doctrine of the Scripture, what the Lord would haue vs know concerning his Angels.

5 It is commonly read in the Scripture, that the Angels are heauenly Spirites, whose ministration and seruice God vseth for putting in execution of those thinges that he hath decreed. For which reason that name is giuen them, because God vseth them as messengers, to shew himselfe vnto men. And vponlike reason are deriued the other names that they are called by. They are named armies, because they doe like a Gard enuiron their Prince, and doe adorne and set forth the honorable

Superfluous speculations, and curious questions about Angels, are to be avoided.
Gen. 1. 2.

The duty of

1. Cor. 12. 2.

Angels in Scripture, termed armies, strengthes, principalities, powers, dominions, thrones, Gods.

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shew of his maiestie, and like souldiers they are alway attending vpon the ensigne of their captaine, & are euer so prepared & in readines to do his commandements, that so soon as he doth but beckn to them, they prepare themselves to work, or rather be at their worke already. Such an image of the throne of God to set out his royaltie, the other Prophets do describe, but principally *Daniel* where he saith, that when God fate him down in his throne of iudgement, there stood by a thousand thousand, & ten thousand companies of ten thousands of Angels. And because God doth by them maruellously shew forth and declare the might & strength of his hand, therefore they are named strengths, because he exerciseth and vseth his autoritie in the world by them, therefore they are sometime called principalties, sometime powers, sometime Dominions. Finally, because in them as it were sitteth the glorie of God, for this cause also they are called Thrones: though of this last name I will not certainly say, because another exposition doth either as well or better agree with it. But (speaking nothing of that name) the holy Ghost often vseth those other former names to aduance the dignitie of the ministerie of Angels. For it were not reason that those instruments should be let passe without honor, by whom God doth specially shew the presence of his maiestie. Yea, for that reason they are many times called Gods, because in their ministry, as in a looking glas, they partly represent vnto vs the godhead. Although indeed I mislike not this that the olde writers do expound, that Christ was the Angel, where the scripture saith, that the Angel of God appeared vnto *Abraham, Iacob, Moses,* & other, yet oftentimes where mention is made of al the Angels in deed, this name is giuen vnto them. And that ought to seeme no maruill. For if this honor be giuen to princes and gouernors, that in their office they stand in the steed of God that is soueraigne king and iudge, much greater cause there is why it should be giuen to the Angels, in whom the brightnes of the glorie of God much more abundantly shineth.

6 But the scripture standeth most vpon teaching vs that, which might most make to our comfort and confirmation of Faith: that is to wit, that the Angels are the distributors and administratours of Gods bountie toward vs. And therefore the Scripture reciteth, that they watch for our safetie: they take vpon them the defence of vs, they direct our waies, they take care that no hurtfull thing betide vnto vs. The sentences are vniuersal, which principally pertaine to Christ the head of the Church, and then to all the faithfull. He hath giuen his Angels charge of thee, to keepe thee in all thy waies. They shall beare thee vp in their hands, least thou chance to hit thy feete against a stone. Againe, the Angell of the Lorde standeth rounde about them that feare him, and he doth deliuer them. Whereby God sheweth that he appointeth to his Angels the defence of them, whom he hath taken in hand to keepe. After this order the Angell of the Lorde doth comfort *Agar* when she fled away, and commandeth her to be reconciled to her mistres. God promiseth to *Abraham* his seruant an Angell to be the guide of his iourney. *Iacob* in blessing of *Ephraim* and *Manasses* prayeth, that the Angell of the Lorde by whom he himselfe had bene deliuered from all euill, may make them prosper. So the Angell was set to defend the tentes of the people of *Israel*. And so oft as it pleased God to reskew *Israel* out of the hands of their enemies, he raised vp reuengers by the ministerie of Angels. So finally (to the end I need not to rehearse many mo) the Angels ministred to Christ and were readie assistant to him in all necessities. They brought tydings to the women of his resurrection, and to the disciples of his glorious comming. And so to fulfill their office of defending vs, they fight against the deuil and all enemies, and do execute the vengeance of God vpon them, that are bent against vs. As wee read that the Angell of God to deliuer *Hierusalem* from the siege, slew in one night a hundred fower score and sine thousand in the campe of the king of *Assyria*.

7 But whether to euerie of the faithfull be a seuerall Angell assigned for their defence,

Dan. 7. 10.

Coloss. 1. 10.
Eph. 1. 21.

Gen. 18. 1. 32.
Iof 5. 14.
Iudi. 6. 14. &
13. 22.
Esa. 8. 2. 6.

The service which
Angels do vnto
men.

Psal. 91. 11.
Psal. 34. 8.
Gen. 16. 9.

Gen. 24. 7.
Gen. 48. 16.
Exod. 14. 19.
& 23. 20.
Iud. 2. 1. & 6. 11.
& 13. 10.

Mat. 4. 11.

Luke. 22. 43.
Mat. 28. 5.
Luke. 24. 5.
A. 2. 10.

2 King. 19. 35.
Esa. 37. 36.

defence, I dare not certainly affirme. Surely when *Daniel* bringeth in the Angell of the *Persians*, and the Angell of the *Grecians*, he sheweth that he ment, that there are to kingdomes and provinces certaine Angells appointed as gouernours. And when *Christ* saith that the Angells of children do alway behold the face of the Father, hee seemeth to meane, that there are certaine Angells to whom the preservation of them is giuen in charge. But I cannot tell whether we ought thereby to gather, that euery one hath his Angell set ouer him. But this is to be holden for certaintie, that not one Angell onely hath care of euery one of vs, but that they all by one consent do watch for our safetie. For it is spoken of all the Angells together, that they more reioyce of one sinner conuerted to repentance, than of ninetie and nine iust that haue stand still in their righteousnes. And it is said of mo Angells than one, that they conueyed the soule of *Lazarus* into the bosome of *Abraham*. And not without cause did *Elizeus* shew to his seruant so many fiere chariots that were peculiarly appointed for him. But one place there is that seemeth more plaine than the rest to prouue this point. For when *Peter* being brought out of prison knocked at the doores of the house where the brethren were assembled, when they could not imagine that it was he, they saide it was his Angell. It shoulde seeme that this came in their minde by the common opinion, that to euery of the faithfull are assigned their Angells for gouernours. Albeit yet heere it may be answered that it may well bee, notwithstanding any thing that there appeereth, that we may thinke it was any one Angell, to whom God had giuen charge of *Peter* for that time; and yet not to be his continuall keeper: as the

Whether euery man haue his peculiar Angell to attend vpon him, is an idle and a needles question.
Da. 10. 13. & 12. 1
Mat. 18. 10.

Luk. 15. 7.
Luk. 16. 23.
2. King. 16. 17.

Act. 12. 15.

8 They that dare take vpon them to define of the multitude and degrees of Angells, let them looke well what foundation they haue. I grant *Michael* is called in *Daniel*, the Great prince, and with *Iude*, the Archangell. And *Paul* saith, it shall be an Archangell that shall with sound of trumpet calmen to the iudgement. But who can thereby appoint the degrees of honours betweene Angells, or discern one from another by speciall markes, and appoint euery one his place and standing? For the two names that are in Scripture, *Michael*, and *Gabriel*: and if you list to adde the thirde out of the historie of *Tobie*, may by their signification seeme to be giuen to the Angells, according to the capacite of our weaknes, although I had rather leaue that exposition at large. As for the number of them, we heare by *Christ*s mouth of many Legions, by *Daniel* many companies of ten thousands, the seruant of *Elizeus* sawe many chariots full: and this declareth that they are a great multitude, that it is said, that do campe rounde about them that feare God. As for shape, it is certaine, that spirits haue none, and yet the Scripture for the capacite of our wit doth not in vaine vnder *Cherubin* and *Seraphin* paint vs out Angells with wings, to the intent we shoulde not doubt that they will be euer with incredible swiftnesse, readie to succour vs, so soone as need shal require, as if the lightning sent from heauen should flie vnto vs with such swiftnesse as it is wonted. Whatsoeuer more than this may be sought of both these points, let vs beleuee it to be of that sort of mysteries, wherof the full reuelation is deferred to the last day. Wherefore let vs remember to take heed both of too much curiositie in searching and too much boldnes in speaking.

The different degrees of honour amongst Angells, & the certaintie of the number are things unknowne.
Dan. 12. 11.
Iud. 1. 9.
1. The. 4. 16.

Mat. 26. 55.
Dan. 7. 10.
Psal. 34. 8.

9 But this one thing which many troublesome do call in doubt, is to be holden for

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Against the opinion of the Sadduces, who denied that there are any such spirits as we call Angels.

Act. 8. 53.
Gal. 3. 19.
Matt. 22. 30. & 24. 37. 31. & 25.
Luk. 9. 26.
1. Tim. 5. 21.
Hebr. 1. 4. & 2. 16.

Heb. 12. 22.

Mal. 3. 1.

That which Angels do for vs, must not cause vs to do the honour vnto them that we owe to God.

Col. 1. 16.

for certaintie, that Angels are ministring spirits, whose seruice God vseth for the defence of his, and by whom hee both distributeth his benefits among men, and also putteth his other works in executiō. It was in the old time the opinion of the Sadduces, that by Angels is ment nothing else, but either the motions that God doth inspire in men, or the tokens that he sheweth of his power. But against this error crie out so many testimonies of Scripture, that it is maruell that so grosse ignorance could be suffred in that people. For to omit those places that I haue before alleaged, where are recited thousands and Legions of Angels: where ioy is giuen vnto them: where it is said that they vphold the faithfull with their hands, and carrie their soules into rest: that they see the face of the Father, and such like: there are other places whereby it is cleerely prooued, that they are indeed spirits of a nature that hath substance. For whereas *Stephen* and *Paul* do say, that the law was giuen by the hande of Angels, and *Christ* saith, that the elect after the resurrection shall be like vnto angels: that the day of iudgement is not knowne to the verie Angels: that he shal then come with his holie Angels: howsoeuer they be writthed, yet must they so be vnderstanded. Likewise, when *Paul* charged *Timothie* before *Christ* and his chosen Angels, to keepe his commandements, hee meaneth not qualities or inspirations without substance, but very spirits. And otherwise it standeth not together that is written in the Epistle to the *Hebrues*, that *Christ* is become more excellent than Angels, that the world is not made subiect vnto them: that *Christ* took vpon him not their nature, but the nature of man. If we meane not the blessed Spirits, to whom may these comparisons agree? And the author of that Epistle expoundeth himselfe, where he placeth in the kingdom of heauen the soules of the faithfull and the holy Angels together. Also the same that we haue alreadie alleaged, that the Angels of children doe alway behold the face of God, that they do reioyce at our safetie, that they maruell at the manifold grace of God in the Church, that they are subiect to *Christ*, the head. To the same purpose serueth this, that they so oft appeered to the holy Fathers in the forme of men, that they talked with them, that they were lodged with them. And *Christ* himselfe for the principall preeminence that he hath in the person of the Mediatour, is called an Angell. This I thought good to touch by the way, to furnish the simple with defence against those foolish and reasonlesse opinions, that many ages ago raised by Satan do now and then spring vp againe.

10 Now it resteth, that we seeke to meet with that superstition which is comonly wont to creepe in, where it is said: that Angels are the ministers & deliuerers of all good things vnto vs. For by & by mans reason falleth to this point, to think that therefore all honor ought to be giuen them. So cometh it to passe that those things which belong onely to God & *Christ*, are conueied away to Angels. By this meane we see that in certain ages past, the glory of *Christ* hath bin many waies obscured, when angels without warrant of Gods word were loden with immeasurable titles of honour. And of all the vices that we speake against, there is almost none more auncient than this. For it appeereth that *Paul* himselfe had much to do with some which so aduanced angels, that they in maner would haue brought *Christ* vnder subiectiō. And therefore he doth so carefully presse this point in his Epistle to the *Colossians*, that *Christ* is not onely to be preferred before all Angels, but that he is also the author of all the good things that they haue: to the end we should not forsake him & turne vnto them, which cannot sufficiently helpe themselues, but are faine to drawe out of the same fountaine that we do. Surely forasmuch as there shineth in them a certain brightnes of the maiestie of God, there is nothing wherunto we are more easily enclined, than with a certaine admiration to fall downe in worshipping of them, and to giue vnto them all things that are due onely to God. Which thing *Iohn* in the Reuelation confesseth to haue chanced to himselfe, but he addeth with all, that he receiued this answer, See thou do it not. For I am thy fellow seruant, Worship God.

11 But this danger we shall well beware of, if we doe consider why God vseth rather by them than by himselfe 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 could not be without them: for so oft as pleaseth him, he letteth them alone, and bringeth his worke to passe with an onely becke: so far is it of, that they be any aide to him, to ease him of the hardnesse thereof. This therefore maketh for the comfort of our weaknes, so that we want nothing that may auaille our mindes, either in raising them vp in good hope, or confirming them in assurance. This one thing ought to be enough & enough againe for vs, that the Lord affirmeth that he is our protector. But while we see our selues besieged with so many dangers, so many hurtfull things, so many kindes of enemies: it may be (such is our weaknesse and frailtie) that we be sometime filled with trembling feare, or fall for despaire, vnlesse the Lord after the proportion of our capacitie doe make vs to conceiue his presence. By this meane he not onely promiseth that he will haue care of vs, but also that he hath an innumerable garde to whome he hath giuen in charge to trauell for our safetie, and that so long as we be compassed with the garrison and support of them, whatsoever danger betideth, we be without all reach of hurt. I graunt we doe amisse that after this simple promise of the protection of God alone, we still looke about from whence other helpe may come vnto vs. But for as much as it pleaseth the Lord of his infinite clemencie and gentlenesse to helpe this our fault, there is no reason why we should neglect his so great benefite. An example thereof we haue in the seruant of *Elizeus*, which when he sawe the hill besieged with the armie of the *Syrians*, and 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* praied God to open his seruants eies, and by and by he sawe the hill furnished with hostes and fierie chariotes, that is, with a multitude of Angels to keepe him and the Prophet safe. Encouraged with this vision he gathered vp his hart againe, and was able with a dreadlesse minde to looke downe vpon his enimies, with sight of whome he was before in a maner driuen out of his wit.

Our frailtie is the cause why God who might do all things for vs by himselfe, doth so many things by the ministerie of his Angels.

2^d King. 6. 17.

12 Wherefore whatsoever is said of the ministerie of Angels, let vs apply it to this ende, that ouercomming all distrust, our hope may be the more strongly stablished in God. For these succours are therefore prouided vs of God, that we should not be made afraid with multitude of enemies, as though they could preuaile against his helpe, but should flie vnto that saying of *Elizeus*, that there be mo on our side than be against vs. How much then is it against order of reason, that we should be led away from God by Angels, which are ordained for this purpose, to testifie that his helpe is more present among vs? But they doe leade vs away in deede, if they do not straight leade vs as it were by the hand to him, that we may haue eie vnto, call vpon, and publish him for our onely helper: if we consider not them to be as his hands that mooue themselues to no worke but by his direction: if they doe not holde vs fast in the one Mediatour Christ, so that we may hang wholly of him, leane all vpon him, be carried to him and rest in him. For that which is described in the vision of *Jacob*, ought to stick and be fastened in our mindes, how Angels descende downe to the earth vnto men, and from men doe goe vp to heauen by a ladder, whereupon standeth the Lorde of hostes. Whereby is meant, that by the onely intercession of Christ it commeth to passe, that the ministeries of the Angels doe come vnto vs, as he himselfe affirmeth, saying: Hereafter yce shall see the heauens open and the Angels descending to the sonne of man, *John* 1. 51. Therefore the seruant of *Abraham* being committed to the custodie of the Angell, doth not therefore call vpon the Angell to helpe him, but holpen with that commendation, he praieth to the Lorde, and beseecheth him to shew his mercie to *Abraham*. For as God doth not therefore make them ministers of his power and goodnesse, to the intent to part his glorie with them:

That which God doth vs sore heue our weaknes, must not cause vs to diminish his glorie.

Gen. 28. 15.

Gen. 24. 7.

Cap. 14. Of the knowledge of

them: so doth he not therefore promise vs his helpe in their ministracion, that wee shoulde diuide our confidence betwene him and them. Let vs therefore forsake that *Platonical* philosophie, to seeke the way to God by Angels, and to honour them for this purpose, that they may make God more gentle vnto vs; which superfluous and curious men haue from the beginning gone about, and to this day doe continue to bring into our religion.

Plato in Epynone & Cratilo.

That which the Scripture hath concerning diuels, is to make vs watchfull, not to discourage vs.

13 As for such things as the Scripture teacheth concerning diuels, they tende in a manner all to this ende, that we may be careful to beware aforchance of their awaies and preparations, and furnish our selues with such weapons as are strong and sure enough to driue away euen the strongest enemies. For whereas Satan is called the God and prince of the world, whereas he is named the strong armed man, the Spirit that hath power of the aire, and a roaring Lion: these descriptions serue to no other purpose, but to make vs more wary and watchfull, and readier to enter in battell with him. Which is also sometime set out in expresse wordes. For *Peter* after he had saide, that the diuell goeth about like a roaring Lion, seeking whome he may deuoure, by and by addeth this exhortation, that we strongly resist him by faith. And *Paul* after he had giuen warning that we wrastle not with flesh and bloud, but with the princes of the aire, the powers of darknesse, and spirituall wickednesses, by and by biddeth vs put on such armour as may serue for so great and dangerous a battell. Wherefore let vs also apply al to this end, that being warned how there doth continually approach vpon vs an enemie, yea, an enemie that is in courage most hardie, in strength most mightie, in policies most suttile, in diligence and celeritie vnweariable, with all sortes of engins plentifully furnished, in skill of warre most readie, we suffer not our selues by sloth and cowardise to be surprisid, but on the other side with bolde and hardie mindes set our foote to resist him (and because this warre is onely ended by death) encourage our selues to continue. But specially knowing our owne weaknesse and vnskillfulnesse, let vs call vpon the helpe of God and enterprife nothing but vpon trust of him, for as much as it is in him onely to giue vs policie, strength, courage and armour.

The reason why sometime many diuels, and sometimes onely one is mentioned.
Mar. 16.9.
Mat. 12.42.
Luk. 8.30.

14 And that we should be the more stirred vp and enforced so to doe, the Scripture warneth vs, that there are not one or two or a fewe enemies, but great armies that make warre with vs. For it is said, that *Mary Magdalene* was deliuered from seuen diuels, wherewith she was possessed. And *Christ* saith, that it is the ordinarie custome, that if after a diuell be once cast out, a man make the place open againe, he bringeth seuen spirites worse than himselfe, and returneth into his possession, finding it emptie. Yea it is said that a whole legion besieged one man. Hereby therefore we are taught, that we must fight with an infinite multitude of enemies, least despising the fewnesse of them, we should be more slacke to enter in battell, or thinking that we haue some respice in the meane time granted, we should giue our selues to idlenesse. Whereas many times Satan or the diuell is named in the singular number, thereby is meant that power of wickednesse which standeth against the kingdome of Iustice. For as the Church and the fellowship of Saints haue *Christ* to their head, so the faction of the wicked is painted out vnto vs with their prince, that hath the chiefe authoritie among them. After which manner this is spoken. Go ye cursed into eternall fire that is prepared for the diuell and his angels.

Mat. 25.41.

The malice of Satan being such as is it, we must haue vnappeasable war with him.

15 Here also this ought to stirre vs vp to a perpetuall warre with the diuell, for that he is euery where called the enemie of God and of vs. For if we haue regarde of Gods glory, as it is meete we should, then ought we with all our force to bende our selues against him, that goeth about to extinguish it. If we be affectioned to maintaine the kingdome of *Christ* as we ought, then must we needes haue an vnappeasable warre with him that conspireth the ruine thereof. Againe, if any care of our owne safetie doe touch vs, then ought we to haue neither peace nor truce with him that continually

continually lieth in waite for the destruction of it. Such a one is he described in the third Chapter of Genesis where he leadeth man away from the obedience that hee did owe to God, that he both robbeth God of his due honour, and throweth man himselfe headlong into destruction. Such a one also is he set forth in the Euangelists, where he is called an enemie, & is said to scatter tares, to corrupt the seed of eternall life. In summe, that which Christ testifieth of him, that from the beginning he was a murtherer, and a lyer, we finde by experience in all his doings. For he assaileth the truth of God with lies, obscureth the light with darknesse, entangleth the mindes of men with errors, raiseth vp hatreds, kindleth contentions and strifes, doth all things to this end to ouerthrow the kingdome of God, and drowne men with himselfe in eternall destruction. Whereby appeereth, that he is of nature frowarde, spitefull and malicious. For needes must there be great frowardnes in that wit, that is made to assaile the glorie of God and saluation of men. And that doth *Iohn*. speake of in his Epistle, when he writeth, that he sinneth from the beginning. For he meaneth that he is the author, captaine and principall workman of all malice and wickednes.

Mat. 13. 28.
Iohn 8. 44.

16 But forasmuch as the diuell was created by God, let vs remember that this malice which we asigne in his nature, is not by creation, but by deprauation. For whatsoeuer damnable thing he hath, he hath gotten to himselfe by his owne reuolting & fall. Which the scripture therefore giueth vs warning of, least thinking that he came out such a one from God, we should ascribe that to God himselfe which is farthest from him. For this reason doth Christ say that Satan speaketh of his owne when he speaketh lies, and addeth a cause why, for that he stood not still in the truth. Now when he saith that he stood not still in the truth, he sheweth that once he had been in the truth. And when he maketh him the Father of lying, he taketh this from him, that he can not lay that fault to God whereof he himselfe is cause to himselfe. Although these things be but shortly and not very plainly spoken, yet this is enough for this purpose, to deliuer the maiestie of God from all slander. And what maketh it matter to vs, to know more or to any other purpose concerning diuels? Many perhaps doe grudge, that the Scripture doth not orderly and distinctly in many places set forth that fall and the cause, manner, time, and fashion thereof. But because these things 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 befitting for the holy Ghost to feed curiositie with vaine histories without any fruite: and we see that it was the Lordes purpose to put nothing in his holy oracles but that which we shoulde learne to edification. Therefore, least we our selues should tarie long vpon things superfluous, let vs be content shortly to know thus much concerning the nature of Diuels, that at the first creation they were the Angels of God: but by swaring out of kinde, they both destroyed themselves and are become instruments of destruction to other. Thus much, because it was profitable to bee knowne, is plainly taught in *Peter* and *Iude*. God spared not (say they) his angels which had sinned, and not kept their beginning, but had forsaken their dwelling place. And *Paul* naming the elect Angels, doth without doubt secretly by implication set the reprobate Angels in comparison against them.

Satan being at the first created good, hath swarued out of his kinde by falling voluntarily from God.

Iohn 8. 44.

17. As for the discord and strife that we say is between God and Satan, we must so take it that still we hold this for certaine, that he can do nothing but by the wil and sufferance of God. For we read in the historie of *Iob*, that he presented himselfe before God to receiue his commandements, and durst not go forward to do any enterprise till he had obtained licence. So when *Achab* to be deceiued he tooke vpon him that he would be the Spirit of lying in the mouth of all the prophets, and so being sent of God hee performed it. For this reason is hee called the euill spirit of the Lorde that tormented *Saul*, because by him as with a scourge the finnes of the wicked king were punished. And in another place it is written, that the plagues were laid

2. Pet. 2. 4.
Iud. 1. 6.
1. Tim. 5. 20.

That Satan stubbornly resisteth God, it is by Gods owne sufferance: but the will of God disposeth the effects wch. ch. come from Satan, and turneth them to good.
Iob. 1. 6. & 2. 1.
1. King. 22. 20.
1. Sa. 16. 14. & 18. 10.
Psal. 34.

upon the Egyptians by the euil angels. According to these particular examples *Paul* doth generally testifie, that the blinding of the wicked is the worke of God, whereas before he had called it the working of Satan. It is evident therefore that Satan is vnder the power of God, and so governed by his authoritie that he is compelled to doe him seruice. Now when we say that Satan resisteth God, that the works of Satan disagree with the works of God, we doe therewithall affirme that this disagreement and strife hangeth vpon the sufferance of God. I speake not now of his will, nor of his endeour, but of the effect onely. For sith the diuell is wicked of nature, he is not inclined to obey the will of God, but is wholly caried to stubbornesse and rebellion. This therefore he hath of himselfe and of his owne wickednesse, that of desire and purpose he withstandeth God. And by this wickednesse he is stirred vp to the enterprising of those things that he knoweth to be most against God. But because God holdeth him fast tied and restrained with the bridle of his power, he executeth onely those things that are granted him from God. And so doth he obey his creator whether he will or no, because he is constrained to apply his seruice whither soeuer God compelleth him.

18. Now because God boweth the vncleane Spirites hither and thither as pleaseth him, he so tempereth this gouernement, that they exercise the faithfull with battell, they set vpon them out of ambushes, they assaile them with inuasions, they presse them with fighting, and oftentimes wearie them, trouble them, make them afraid, and sometime wound them, but neuer overcome nor oppresse them. But the wicked they subdue and drawe away, they raigne vpon their soules and bodies, and abuse them as bondslauces to all mischeeuous doings. As for the faithfull because they are vniquited of such enemies, therefore they heare these exhortations. Do not giue place to the diuell. The diuell your enimie goeth about as a roaring lyon, seeking whom he may deuoure, whom resist yee being strong in faith, and such like. *Paul* confesseth that he himselfe was not free from this kinde of strife, when he saith, that for a remedie to tame pride, the Angel of Satan was giuen to him by whom he might be humbled. This exercise therefore is common to all the children of God. But because that same promise of the breaking of Sathans head, pertaineth generally to Christ, and to all his members, therefore I say, that the faithfull can neuer be overcome nor oppressed by him. They are many times striken downe, but they are neuer so astonied withall, but that they recouer themselues. They fall downe many times with violence of strokes, but they are after raised vp againe: they are wounded, but not deadly. Finally, they so labour in all the course of their life that in the ende they obtaine the victorie: but I speake not this of euery doing of theirs. For we know that by the iust vengeance of God *Dauid* was for a time giuen ouer to Satan, by his motion to number the people: and not without cause *Paul* saith there is hope of pardon, although any haue been entangled with the snares of the diuell. Therefore in another place the same *Paul* saith, that the promise aboue alleaged is begun in this life, wherein we must wrastle, and is performed after our wrastling ended: when he saith, the God of peace shal shortly beate downe Satan vnder your feete. This victorie hath alway fully bene in our head Christ, because the Prince of the worlde had nothing in him, but in vs that are his members it doth now partly appeere, and shall be perfected, when being vnclodeth of our flesh by which we are yet subiect to weakenesse, we shall be full of the power of the Holy Ghost. In this manner when the kingdome of Christ is raised vp and aduanced, Satan with his power falleth downe, as the Lord himselfe saith. I sawe Satan fall as a lightning downe from heauen. For by this answer he confirmeth that which the Apostles had reported of the power of his preaching. Againe, When the Prince possesseth his owne pallace, all things that hee possesseth are in peace, but when there cometh a stronger, he is throwen out, &c. And to this end Christ in dying ouercame Satan which had the power of death,

2. The. 2. 9.

*Satan beareth not
full sway ouer the
faithfull, ouer the
wicked he raig-
neth at pleasure.*

Eph. 4. 27.

1. Pet. 5. 8.

2. Cor. 12. 7.

Gen. 3. 15.

3. Sam. 24. 7.

Rom. 16. 20.

Luke. 10. 18.

Luke. 12. 24.

and triumphed vpon all his armies, that they shoulde not hurt the Church, for otherwise they would euery moment an hundred times destroy it. For (considering what is our weaknes, and what is his furious strength) howe could we stande, yea neuer so little time against his manifold and continual assaults, but being supported by the victory of our captaine? Therefore God suffereth not the Diuell to raigne ouer the soules of the faithfull, but onely deliuereth him the wicked and vnbeleeuing to gouerne, whom God doth not vouchsafe to haue reckoned in his flocke. For it is said, 2. Cor. 4.4. Eph. 2.2. that he possesseth this world without controuersie till he be thrust out by Christ. Againe, that he doth blinde all them that beleue not the Gospell. Againe, that he performeth his worke in the stubborne children, and woorthely, for all the wicked are the vessels of his wrath. Therefore, to whom shoulde they be rather subiect than to the minister of Gods vengeance? Finally, they are saide to be of their Father the Diuell, be cause as the faithfull are heereby knowne 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, are properly discerned to be his children.

19 As we haue before confuted that trifling Philosophie concerning the holie Angels, which teacheth that they are nothing else but good inspirations or motions, which God stirreth vp in the mindes of men: so in this place must we confute them that fondly say, that diuels are nothing else but euill affections or perturbations of the mind, that are thrust into vs by our flesh. That may we shortly do, because there be many testimonies of Scripture, and those plaine enough vpon this point. First, where the vnclane Spirites are called Angels, Apostataes, which haue swarued out of kinde from their beginning, the verie names doe sufficiently expresse, that they are not motions or affections of mindes, but rather indecide as they be called mindes or Spirites endued with sense and vnderstanding. Likewise, whereas both Christ and *Iohn* doe compare the children of God with the children of the Diuell: were it not an vnfit comparison, if the name of the Diuell signified nothing else but euill inspirations? And *Iohn* addeth somewhat more plainly, that the Diuell sinneth from the beginning. Likewise, when *Iude* bringeth in *Michael* the Archangell fighting with the diuell, doubtlesse he setteth against the good Angell an euill and rebellious Angell. Wherewith agreeth that which is read in the historie of *Iob*, that Satan appeared with the holy Angels before God. But most plaine of all are those places that make mention of the punishment which they begin to feele by the iudgement of God, and specially shall feele at the resurrection. Sonne of *Dauid*, why art thou come before the time to torment vs? Againe, Goe yee cursed into eternall fire that is prepared for the Diuell and his Angels. Againe, if he spared not his owne Angels that had sinned, but cast them downe into hell and deliuered them into chaines of darknesse to be kept vnto damnation, &c. Howe soude shoulde these speeches bee, that the Diuels are ordeined to eternall iudgement, that fire is prepared for them, that they are nowe already tormented and vexed by the glorie of Christ: if there were no diuels at all? But because the matter needeth no disputation among them that beleue the word of the Lord, and little good is done with testimonies of Scripture among those vaine students of speculation, whom nothing pleaseth but that which is new: I suppose I haue performed that which I purposed, that is, that the godly mindes shoulde be furnished against such soude errors, where-with vnquiet men doe trouble both themselues and other: that be more simple. But it was good to touch this, least any entangled with that error, while they thinke they haue none to stande against them, should waxe more slowe and vnprouided: to rectify.

20 In the meane time let it not be wearisome vnto vs, in this so beautifull a stage to take godly delight of the manifest and ordinarie workes of God. For, as I haue elsewhere already saide, though this bee not the chiefe, yet is it in order the first doctrine

*Diuels are really
subsisting spirits,
and not affections
onely, or perturbations
of the minde.*

1. Ioh. 3. 8.

Iob. 1. 6.

Matt. 8. 29.

Matt. 25. 41.

Iude. 1. 9.

*The considerations
of things which
God hath created
is fruitefull.*

Cap. 14. Of the knowledge of

doctrine of Faith, to remember, that what way soeuer we turne our eies, all that we see are the works of God, and with godly consideration to wey for what ende God did make them. Therefore that we may conceiue by Faith so much as behooueth vs to knowe of God; it is good first of all to learne the historie of the creation of the world, how it is shortly rehearsed by *Moses*, and afterwarde more largely set out by holy men, specially by *Basilie* and *Ambrose*. Out of it we shall learne that God by the power of his worde and Spirite created heauen and earth of nothing, and thereof brought forth all liuing creatures, and things without life, with maruellous order disposed the innumerable varietie of things, to euery thing he gaue the proper nature, assigned their offices, appointed their places and abidings, and where all things are subiect to corruption, yet hath he so prouided, that of all sortes some shall bee preferred to the last day, and therefore some he cherisheth by secret meanes, and powreth now and then, as it were a newe luelinesse into them, and to some he hath giuen the power to increase 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 and beautie of all things as possibly might be, as it were a large and gorgeous house furnished and stored with abundance of most finely chosen stuffe, last of all how in framing man and adorning him with so goodly beautie, and with so many and so great giftes, he hath shewed in him the most excellent example of all his workes. But because it is not my purpose at this present to set forth at large the creation of the worlde, let it suffice to haue once againe touched these few things by the way. For it is better, as I haue already warned the readers, to fetch a fuller vnderstanding of this matter out of *Moses*, and other, that haue faithfully and diligently conuycyed the historie of the world by writing to perpetuall memorie.

The first thing that we are to weigh assentiually when we behold heauen and earth is, what vertues of God there are presented to be seene in creatures.

21 It is to no purpose, to make much adoe in disputing, to what end the consideration of the workes of God ought to tend, or to what marke it ought to be applied: for as much as in other places already a great part of this question is declared, and so much as belongeth to our present purpose may in fewe wordes be ended. Truly, if we were minded to set out it is woorthie, how inestimable wisedom, power, iustice, and goodnesse of God appeereth in the framing of the worlde, no eloquence, no garnishment of speech could suffice the largenesse of so great a matter. And no doubt it is Gods pleasure that we should be continually occupied in so holy a meditation, that while we behold in his creatures as in looking glasses the infinite riches of his wisedom, iustice, bountie and power, we should not run ouer them, as it were with a flying eie, or with a vaine wandring looke, as I may so call it, but that we should with consideration rest long vpon them, cast them vp and downe earnestly and faithfully in our mindes, and oft repeate them with remembrance. But because we are now busied in that kinde that pertaineth to order of teaching, it is meeete that we omit those things that require long declamations. Therefore, to be short, let the readers knowe that then they haue conceiued by faith, what this meaneth, that God is the creator of heauen and earth, if they first follow this vniuersall rule, that they passe not ouer with not considering or forgetfulnesse of those vertues, that God presenteth to be seene in his creatures, then, that they so learne to apply themselves, that they may therewith be throughly moued in their hearts. The first of those we doe when we consider how excellent a workemans worke it was to place and aply set in so wel disposed order the multitude of the stars that is in heauen, that nothing can be deuised more beautifull to behold: to set and fasten some of them in their standings so that they cannot mooue, and to other some, to graunt a free course, but so that in moouing they wander not beyond their appointed space, so to temper the motion of them all, that it may diuide in measure the daies and nightes, monethes, yeeres, and seasons of the yeere, and to bring this inequalitye of daies which

we daily see to such a tempered order, that it hath no confusion. Likewise, when we marke his power in sustaining so great a bodie, in governing the so swift whirling about of the engine of heauen, and such like. For these few examples do sufficiently declare, what it is to recorde the power of God in the creation of the world. For else, if I should trauell as I said, to expresse it all in words, I should neuer make an end, forasmuch as there are so many miracles of the power of God, so many tokens of his goodnes, so many examples of his wisdom, as there be formes of things in the world, yea, as there be things either great or small.

22 Now remaineth the other part which commeth neerer to faith, that while we consider that God hath ordained all things for our guard and safetie, and therefore withall do feele his power and grace in our selues, and in so great good things that he hath bestowed vpon vs: we may thereby stir vp our selues to the trust, inuocation, praise and loue of him. Now, as I haue before said, God himselfe hath shewed in the verie order of creation, that for mans sake he created all things. For it is not without cause that he deuided the making of the world into sixe daies, whereas it had bene as easie for him in one moment to haue in all points accomplished his whole worke, as it was by such proceeding from peece to peece to come to the ende of it. But then it pleased him to shewe his prouidence and fatherly carefullnesse toward vs, that before he made man he prepared all that he foresawe should be profitable for him and fit for this preservation. How great vnthankfulnesse nowe should it be to doubt, whether this good Father do care for vs, whom we see to haue bene carefull for vs ere that we were borne? How wicked were it to tremble for distrust least his goodnes would at any time leaue vs destitute in necessitie, which we see was displeas'd for vs being not yet borne, with great abundance of all good things? Beside that we heare by *Moses* that by his liberalitie all that euer is in the world is made subiect to vs. Sure it is that he did it not to mocke vs with an emprie name of gift. Therefore we shall neuer lacke any thing, so far as it shall be available 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 minds withall, that the disposition of all things which he hath created, is in his hand & power, & that we are his children whom he hath taken into his owne charge and keeping to foster and bring vp: that wee may looke for all good things at his hande, and assuredly, that hee will neuer suffer vs to lacke things needfull for our safetie, to the end our hope should hang vpon none other: that whatsoeuer we desire, our prayers may be directed to him: of what thing soeuer we receiue profit, we may acknowledge it to be his benefit, and confesse it with thanks giuing: that being allured with so great sweetnes of his godnes and liberalitie, we may studie to loue and honour him with all our heart.

The fruit of our considering the creatures of God must be the feeling of his goodnes toward our selues, and our growing thereby in faith, hope, & goodnes.

Gen. 1. 26. & 9. 2.

The xv. Chapter.

What a one man was created: wherein there is entreated of the powers of the soule, of the image of God, of freewill, and of the first integritie of nature.

Nowe must we speake of the creation of man, not onely because he is among all the workes of God the most noble and most excellent example of his iustice, wisdom and goodnes: but also because as we haue said in the beginning, we cannot plainly and perfectly know God, vnlesse we haue withall a mutuall knowledge of our selues. Although the same knowledge be of two sorts, the one to know what we were created at the first beginning, the other to know what our estate began to be after the fall of *Adam* (for it were but to finall profit for vs to know our creation, vnlesse we did also in this lamentable fall know what is the corruption and deformity of our nature:) yet at this time we wil be content with description of our nature when

Mans first excellence doth stop their mouths which blame God with mens evils, & his being made so excellent out of the earth, doth both humble him, & commend his maker.

it was pure. And before we descend to this miserable estate whereunto man is now in thraldome, it is good to learne what a one he was created at the beginning. For wee must take heed that in precisely declaring only the natural euils of man, we seem not to impute them to the author of nature. For vngodlines thinketh himselfe to haue sufficient defense in this colour, if it may lay for himselfe that what soeuer fault she hath, the same did after a certaine maner proceed from God, and sticketh not if she be accused, to quarrell with God, and to lay the fault vpon him whereof she is worthily accused. And they that would seeme to speake somewhat more reuerently of the maiestie of God, yet do willingly seeke to excuse their owne wickednesse, by nature, not considering that therein though not openly they blame God also, to whose reproch it should fall if it were prooued that there is any fault in nature. Sith then we see that our flesh gapeth for all the waies to escape, whereby she thinketh the blame of her owne euils may any way be put off from her, we must diligently traueil to meete with this mischiefe. Therefore we must so handle the calamitie of mankind that we cut off all excuse, and deliuer the iustice of God from all accusation. Afterwarde in place conuenient we shall see how farre men be now from that purenesse that was giuen to *Adam*. And first we must remember, that in this that man was taken out of earth and clay, a buble was put vpon his pride, for there is no greater absurditie, than for them to glorie in their excellencie, that do not onely dwell in a cottage of claie, but also are themselves in part but earth and ashes. But forasmuch as God did not onelie vouchsafe to giue life vnto an earthen vessell, but also it was his pleasure that it should be the dwelling house of an immortall Spirite, *Adam* might iustly glorie in so great liberalitie of his maker.

*The soule of man
in many waies pro-
ued to be a spiri-
tall, and immortall
substance.*

*Eccle. 12. 7.
Luke 23. 46.
Act. 7. 59.*

2 Now it is not to be doubted that man consisteth of soule and body, and by the name of soule I meane an immortall essence, and yet created, which is the nobler part of him. Sometime it is called the Spirit. Albeit when these two names Soule and Spirit are ioyned together, they differ one from the other in signification, yet when Spirit is set by it selfe it meaneth as much as Soule. As, when *Salomon* speaking of death, saith that then the Spirite returneth to him that gaue it. And *Christ* commending his Spirit to his Father, and *Stephen* his Spirit to *Christ* doe both meane none other thing, but that when the Soule is deliuered from the prison of the flesh, God is the perpetuall keeper of it. As for them that imagine that the Soule is therefore called a Spirite, because it is a breath or a power by God inspired or powred into bodies which yet hath no essence: both the thing it selfe, and all the Scripture sheweth, that they doe too grossly erre. True it is, that while men are fastned to the earth more than they ought to be, they waxe dull, yea, because they are estranged from the Father of lightes they are blinded with darkenesse, so that they doe not thinke vpon this, that they shall remaine aliue after death. And yet is not that light so quenched in darknesse, but that they be touched with some feeling of immortallitie. Surelie the conscience which discerneth betweene good and euill, answereth the iudgement of God, is an vndoubted signe of an immortall Spirite. For howe coulde a motion without essence attaine to come to the iudgement seate of God, and throwe it selfe into feare by finding hir owne guiltinesse? For the bodie is not moued with feare of a Spirituall paine, but that falleth onely vpon the Soule. Whereby it followeth, that the Soule hath an essence. Moreover the verie knowledge of God doth prooue that the soule's which ascende vpp above the worlde are immortall: for a vanishing liuelinesse were not able to attaine to the fountaine of life. Finally, forasmuch as so many excellent gifts wherewith mans minde is endued, doe crye out that there is some diuine thing engrauen in it, there are euen so many testimonies of an immortall essence. For that sense which is in brute beastes, goeth not out of the bodie, or at least extendeth no further than to things presently set before it. But the nimblenes of the minde of man which vieweth

the heauen and earth and secrets of nature, and comprehending all ages in vnderstanding and memorie, digesteth euery thing in order, and gathereth things to come by things past, doth plainly shew that there heeth hidden in man a certaine thing seuerall from the body. We conceiue by vnderstanding the inuisible God and Angels, which the body cannot doe. We know things that be right, iust, and honest, which are hidden from the bodily senses. Therefore it must needs be that the spirit is the seate of this vnderstanding. Yea, and our sleepe it selfe, which astonieth a man and seemeth to take life away from him, is a plaine witness of immortalitie, forasmuch as it doth not only minister vnto vs, thoughts of those things that neuer were done, but also foreknowings of things for time to come. I touch these things shortly which euen prophane writers do excellently set out with more gorgious garnishment of words: but with the godly readers a simple putting in minde of them shall be sufficient. Now if the soule were not a certaine thing by it selfe seuerall from the body, the Scripture would not teach that we dwell in houses of clay, that by death we remove out of the Tabernacle of the flesh, that we doe put of that which is corruptible, finally at the last day we may receive rewarde euery man as he hath behaued himselfe in his body. For these places and other that we doe ech where commonly light vpon, doe not onely manifestly distinguish the soule from the body, but also in giuing to the soule the name of man do shew that it is the principal part. Now whereas *Paul* doth exhort the faithfull to cleanse themselves from all defiling of the flesh and the Spirit, he maketh two parts of man wherein abideth the filthinesse of sinne. And *Peter* where he calleth Christ the shepheard and bishop of soules, should haue spoken fondly if there were no soules about whom he might execute that office. Neither would that conueniently stand together which he saith of the eternall saluation of soules, and where he biddeth to cleanse our soules, and where he saith that euill desires doe fight against the soule, and where the author of the Epistle to the *Hebreues* saith, that the Pastors doe watch that they may yeeld account for our soules, vnlesse it were true that soules had a proper essence. To the same purpose serueth it that *Paul* calleth God for witness to his owne soule, because it could not be called in judgement 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 throwe the soule into hell fier. Now where the author of the Epistle to the *Hebreues* doth distinguish the Fathers of our flesh from God, which is the onely Father of Spirits, he would not otherwise more plainly affirme the essence of Soules. Moreouer, if the soules remained not aliuie being deliuered from the prisons of their bodies, Christ should very fondly haue brought in the soule of *Lazarus* ioying in the bosome of *Abraham*, and againe, the soule of the rich man subiect to horrible torments. The same thing doth *Paul* confirme, when he teacheth that we wander abroad from God, so long as we dwell in the flesh, and that we enjoy his presence being out of the flesh. But, because I will not be long in a matter that is not obscure, I will adde onely this out of *Luke*, that it is reckened among the errors of the *Sadduces*, that they did not belecue that there were any Spirites and Angels.

3 Also a strong prooffe hereof may be gathered of this, where it is said, that man is create like to the Image of God. For although the glorie of God doe appeare in the outward shape of man, yet is it no doubt that the proper seate of the Image of God is in the Soule. I do not deny that as concerning our outward shape, in asmuch as the same doth distinguish and seuer vs from brute beastes, we do also therein more neerely approach to God then they: neither will I much stand against them which thinke that this is to be accounted of the Image of God, that where all other liuing creatures doe groelingwise behold the ground, to man is giuen an vpright face, and hee is commanded to looke vpon the heauen, and to aduance his countenance

1. Cor. 7. 1.

1. Pet. 2. 25.

1. Pet. 1. 9.

1. Pet. 1. 3.

Heb. 13. 16.

Mat. 10. 28.

Luk. 12. 5.

Heb. 12. 9.

Luk. 16. 22.

2. Cor. 5.

Act. 23. 8.

Man was created like to God, not in the fashion of his body, nor because he was framed at the first according to the shape which the soune of God should afterwards take up

*him: nor because
he was like vnto
Christ, who is pro-
perly Gods image,
but for that in his
first integritie he
resembled the ex-
cellencie of his
Creator.*

Gen. 1.27.

Gen. 1. 16.

toward the starres: so that this remaine certaine, that the image of God which appeareth or shineth in these outward signes, is spirituall. For *Ofsander* (whom his writings declare to haue beene in fickle imaginations fondly witty) referring the image of God without difference, as well to the bodie as to the soule, minglet heauen and earth together. For he saith, that the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost did settle their image in man, because though *Adam* had stand without falling, yet should Christ haue become man. And so by their opinion the body that was appointed for Christ, was but an example or figure of that bodily shape which then was formed. But where shall he finde that Christ is the image of the Spirit? I graunt indeede that in the person of the Mediator shineth the glory of the whole godhead. But how shall the eternall word be called the image of the Spirit whom he goeth before in order? Finally, it ouerthroweth the distinction betweene the Sonne and the Holy Ghost, if he doe here call him his image. Moreouer I would faine learne of him how Christ doth resemble the Holy Ghost in the flesh that he tooke vpon him, and by what markes and features he doth expresse the likenesse of him: And whereas this saying: Let vs make man after our image, doth also belong to the Person of the Sonne, it followeth, that he must be the image of himselfe, which is against all reason. Beside that, if *Ofsanders* inuention be beleued, man was fashioned onely after the figure and paterne of Christ, in that he was man, and so that forme out of which *Adam* was taken, was Christ, in that that he was to be clothed with flesh, whereas the Scripture in a far other meaning teacheth, that he was create in the image of God. But their fittle inuention is more colourable which do thus expound it, that *Adam* was create in the image of God, because he was fashioned like vnto Christ, which is the onely image of God. But that exposition also is not found. Also some interpreters make a great disputation about Image and Likenes, while they seeke a difference betweene those two words, where is no difference at al, saying, that this word Likenes is added to expound the other. First we know that among the *Helrues* such repetitions are common, wherein they expresse one thing twise: and in the thing it selfe there is no doubt, but that man is therefore called the image of God, because he is like to God. Whereby appeareth that they are to be laughed at, which doe so fittly argue about the words, whether they appoint *Zelem*, that is to say, Image in the substance of the soule, or *Demuth*, that is to say, Likenesse in the qualities, or what other thing soeuer it be that they teach. For whereas God determined to create man after his own image, this being somewhat darkely spoken, he doth as by way of explication repeat it in this saying, After his likenes: as if he would haue said, that he would make man, in whom he would represent himselfe as in an image, because of the marks of likenes grauen in him. And therefore *Moses* a little after reciting the same thing, doth repeat the image of God twise, leauing out the name of Likenes. And it is a trifling obiection that *Ofsander* maketh, that not a part of man, or the soule onely with the gifts thereof, is called the image of God, but the whole *Adam* which had his name giuen him of the earth, from whence he was taken. Trifling, I say, will all readers that haue their sound wit iudge this obiection. For where whole man is called mortall, yet is not the soule thereby made subiect to mortalitie. Againe, where he is called a liuing creature endued with reason, it is not thereby ment, that the body hath reason and vnderstanding. Although therefore the soule is not the whole man, yet is it inconuenient, that man in respect of the soule be called the image of God, albeit I hold still that principle which I haue before stablished, that the Image of God extendeth to the whole excellencie, whereby the nature of man hath preeminence among all kind of liuing creatures. Therefore in that worde is noted the integritie that man had when he was endued with right vnderstanding, when he had his affection framed according to reason, and all his senses gouerned in right order, and when in excellent giftes he did truly resemble the excellencie of his Creator. And though the principall

seate of the image of God were in the minde and hart, or in the soule and the powers thereof, yet was there no part of man, not so much as the body, wherein did not some sparkes thereof appeare. Certaine it is that also in all the partes of the worlde, there doe shine some resemblance of the glory of God: whereby we may gather that where it is saide, that his Image is in man, there is in so saying a certaine se- cret comparison, that aduanceth man about all other creatures, and doth as it were suer him from the common sort. Neither is it to be denied, that the Angels, were create after the likenesse of God, sith (as Christ himselfe testifieth) our chief perfection shall be to become like vnto them. But not without cause doth *Moses* by that peculiar title set forth the grace of God toward vs, specially, where he compareth onely visible creatures with man.

Mat. 22. 30.

4 But yet it seemeth that there is not given a full definition of the image of God, vnlesse it plainlier appeare in what qualities man excelleth: and wherby he ought to be counted a glasse, resembling the glory of God. But that can be by no other thing better knowne, than by the repairing of mans corrupted nature. First it is doubtlesse, that when *Adam* fell from his estate, he was by that departure estranged from God. Wherefore although we graunt that the Image of God was not altogether defaced and blotted out in him, yet was it so corrupted, that all that remaineth, is but vglie deformitie. Therefore the beginning of recouery of safene for vs, is in that restoring which we obtaine by Christ, who is also for the same cause called the second *Adams*, because he restored vs vnto true and perfect integritie. For although where *Pauls* doth in comparison set the quickening Spirit that Christ giueth to the Faithfull, against the liuing soule wherein *Adam* was created, he setteth forth the more abundant measure of grace in the regeneration: yet doth he not take away this other principall point, that this is the ende of our regeneration, that Christ should newe fashion vs to the Image of God. Therefore in another place he teacheth, that the new man is renewed according to the Image of him that created him. Wherewith agreeth this saying: put on the new man which is created according to God. Now it is to be seene what *Paule* doth principally comprehend vnder this renning. First he speaketh of knowledge, and after of pure righteousness and holines. Whereby we gather that the Image of God was first of all to be seene in the light of the minde, in the vprightnes of the hart, and soundnes of all the parts. For although I graunt that this is a figuratiue phrase of speech to set the part for the whole: yet cannot this principle be overthrowen, that that thing which is the chiefe in the renuing of the Image of God, was also the principall in the creation of him. And for the same purpose maketh it that in another place he teacheth, that we beholding the glorie of God with open face, are transformed into the same Image. Now doe we see how Christ is the most perfect Image of God, according to the which we being fashioned are so restored, that in true godlinesse, righteousnessse, purenesse, and vnderstanding, we beare the Image of God. Which principle being established, *Ofsanders* imagination of the shape of our body doth easily vanish away of it selfe. Whereas the man alone is in *Paul* called the Image and glory of God, and the woman is excluded from that degree of honor, it appeareth by the rest of the text, that the same is to be applied onely to ciuill order of policie. But that vnder the name of Image, wherof we speake, is comprehended all that belongeth to the spirituall and eternall life, I thinke it be already sufficiently proued. And the same thing doth *Iohn* confirme in other words: saying, that the light which was from the beginning in the eternall worde of God was the light of men. For where his purpose was to praise the singular grace of God, wherby man excelleth all liuing creatures, to suer him from the common sort, because he hath attained no common life, but ioyned with the light of vnderstanding, he therewithall sheweth how he was made after the Image of God. Therefore sith the Image of God is the vncorrupted excellencie of the nature of man, which

The excellencie wherein man resembled God, consisteth in knowledge, and holines, not in the number of the faculties of his minde, nor in the power which God gaue him ouer other creatures.

1. Cor. 15. 14

Col. 3. 10.

Eph. 4. 24.

2. Cor. 3. 18.

1. Cor. 11. 7.

Iohn 1. 4.

Cap. 15. Of the knowledge of

shined in Adam before his fall, and afterward was so corrupted and almost defaced, that nothing remaineth since that ruine, but disordered, mangled, and filthily spotted: yet the same doth in some part appeare in the elect, in so much as they are regenerate, and shall obtaine her full brightnes in heauen. But that we may know on what parts it consisteth, it shall be good to entreat of the powers of the soule. For that speculative deuise of *Augustine* is not sound, where he saith, that the soule is a glas of the Trinity, because that there are in it vnderstanding, wil, & memorie. Neither is their opinion to be approoued, which set the image of God in the power of dominion giuen vnto him, as if he resembled God only in this marke, that he is appointed Lord and possessor of all things, whereas indeed the image of God is properly to be sought within him, and not without him, and is an inward good gift of the soule.

Lib. de Tri. 10.
De ciui. dei. 11.

Man was not made in the likeness of God because his soule was a portion of the god-head, or because the essentiall iustice of god was poured into him. Gen. 2.7.

5 But before I go any further, it is needfull that I meet with the doting error of the *Manichees*, which *Seruetto* hath attempted to bring in againe in this age. Where it is said, that God breathed the breath of life into the face of man, they thought that the soule did conuay into man the substance of God, as if some portion of the immeasurable God were come into man. But it is easie euen shortly to shewe how manie grosse and soule absurdities this diuelish error draweth with it. For if the soule be by deriuation part of the essence of God, it shall follow that the nature of God is subiect, not onely to change and passions, but also to ignorance, euill lustes, weakness, and all kindes of vices. Nothing is more inconstant than man, because contrarie motions do rōsse and diuersly drowne his soule, oftentimes he is blind by ignorance, oft he yeeldeth as vanquished euen to small tentations, and we know that the soule it selfe is the sinke and receiuer of all filthinesse, al which things we must ascribe to the nature of God, if we grant that the soule is of the essence of God, or a secret inflowing of Godhead. Who would not abhorre this monstrous deuise? Truly indeed doth *Paul* alleage out of *Aratus*, that we are the ofspring of God, but in qualitie & not in substance, inasmuch as he hath garnished vs with godly gifts. But in the meane tyme, to tear in sunder the essence of the Creator, as to say, that euery man doth possesse a part of it, is too much madnesse. Therefore wee must certainly hold, that the soules, although the image of God be grauen in them, were no lesse created than the Angels were. And creation is not a powring out of one substance into another, but a beginning of essence made of nothing. And although the spirit of man came from God, and in departing out of the flesh returneth to God, yet is not forthwith to be said, that it was taken out of his substance. And in this point also *Oslander*, while he glorieth in his illusions, hath entangled himselfe with an vngodly error, not acknowledging the image of God to be in man without his essentiall iustice, as though God by the inestimable power of his holy spirit could not make vs like vnto himselfe, vnlesse Christ should substantially powre himselfe into vs. With whatsoeuer colour many do go about to disguise these deccits, yet shall they neuer so beguile the eyes of the readers, that are in their right wits, but that they will easily see that these things fauour of the *Manichees* error. And where saint *Paul* entreatcheth of the restoring of this image, it may be readily gathered out of his words, that man was made of like forme to God, not by inflowing of his substance, but by grace and power of his spirit. For he saith, that in beholding the glorie of Christ, we are transformed into the same Image, as by the Spirit of God, which surely fo worketh in vs, that it maketh vs not of one substance with God.

Act. 17. 28.

tion is a
nge of essence
of nothinge.

3. C. 3. 18.

The doctrine of
Philosophers con-
cerning the na-
ture and powers
of the soule.

6 It were but folly to borrow of the Philosophers a definition of the soule, of whom almost none, except *Plato*, hath perfectly affirmed it to be an immortal substance. In deede some other also, that is the *Socratians*, do touch it, but so as none doth plainly teach that to other, which himselfe was not perswaded. But therefore is *Pluto* of the better iudgement, because hee doth in the soule consider the image of God. Some other do so binde the powers and vertues of the soule to this present life, that
being

being out of the body they leaue to it nothing. Now we haue already taught by the Scripture, that it is a bodiles substance : now must we adde that although properly it is not comprehended in place, yet it is set in the body, and doth there dwell as in a house, not onely to minister life to all the parts of the body, and to make the instruments thereof meete and fitly seruing for the actions that they are appointed for, but also to beare the chiefe office in governing the life of man, and that not onely about the duties in this earthly life, but also to stir vs vp to the seruice of God. Although this latter point in this corruption is not plainly perceiued, yet euen in the vices themselves there remaine imprinted some leauings thereof For whence commeth it but of shame, that men haue so great care what be reported of them? And whence commeth shame, but of regard of honestie? Wherof the beginning and cause is, that they vnderstand that they are naturally borne to obserue Iustice, in which perswasion is enclosed the seede of religion. For as without all controuersie man was made to meditation of the heavenly life : so is it certaine, that the knowledge thereof was engrauen in his soule. And surely man should want the principall vse of his vnderstanding, if he should be ignorant of his owne felicitie, whereof the perfection is, that he be ioyned with God, and therefore it is the chiefe action of the soule to aspire thereunto. And so the more that every man studieth to approach vnto God, the more he thereby proneth himselfe to be endued with reason. As for them that would haue diuers soules in man, that is, a feeling soule, and a reasonable soule, although they seeme to say some, what by reason proueeable, yet because there is no stedfast certantie in their reasons, we must reiect them, vnles we list to accomber our selues in things trifling and vnprofitable. A great disagreement say they, there is betwene the instrumentall motions & the part of the soule endued with reason. As though reason it selfe did not also dissent from it selfe, and some deuses of it do striue with other some, as they were armies of enemies. But forasmuch as that troublesome proceedeth of the corruption of nature, it were amisse to gather thereby, that there are two soules, because the powers of the soule doe not agree together, in such well framed order as they ought. But as for more subtle disputation of the powers themselves, I leaue that to the Philosophers. A simple definition shall suffice vs for edification of godlines. I graunt that the things that they teach are true, and not onely pleasant but also profitable to be known, and well gathered of them, and I forbid not such as are desirous to learne to study them. First therefore I admit that there are five senses, which *Plato* better liked to call instruments, whereby al obiectes are powred into Common sense, as into a place of receit: then followeth Phantasie, which iudgeth those things one from other that Common sense hath conceiued, next is Reason, to which belongeth the vniuersall iudgement of things: last, is the Vnderstanding minde, which with earnestly bent and quiet viewing beholdeth all those things, that Reason is wont to discourse vpon, and consider. And to the Vnderstanding minde, Reason and Phansie, which are the three powers of the soule, that rest in knowledge, there doe answere three other that do rest in Appetite, that is to say, Will, the parts wherof are to couer those things that the Vnderstanding minde and Reason doe lay before it: the power of Anger, which catcheth those things that Reason and Phansie do minister vnto it. The power of Desiring, which taketh holde of these things that Phansie and Sense presenteth it. Although these things be true, or at the least likely to be true, yet bicause I feare that they shall more entangle vs with obscurenes, than further vs, I thinke it best to ouerpasse them. If any man list otherwise to diuide the powers of the soule, and to cal the one the power of Appetite, which although it be without reason it selfe, yet doth obey reason, if it be by other meane directed, and to call the other the power of Vnderstanding, which is by it selfe partaker of Reason, I am not much against it, neither will I confute this opinion, that there are three beginnings of doing: that is to say, Sense, Vnderstanding, and Appetite. But let vs rather choose a diuision,

*Philosophie b
Pleasant & p^t*

In Thz Gto.

Arist.
Ethucorum li. 1.
ca. vii.
Item li. 6. ca. 2.

that is within the capacitie of all men, which cannot be had of the Philosophers. For they when they meane to speake most plainly, do diuide the soule into Appetite and Vnderstanding, but either of these they make of two sorts. Vnderstanding, they say, is sometime contemplatiue, which being contented with onely knowledge, hath no moouing of action, which thing *Cicero* thinketh to be expressed by this word *ingenium*, wit. Sometime they say it is practicall, which by conceiuing of good or euill doth diuersly mooueth the will. And appetite they do diuide into Will and Lust. Will they call that, when Appetite which they call *horme* obaieth to reason, and Lust they call that, when the appetite shaking off the yoke of reason, runneth out to intemperance. So alway they imagine reason to be that in man, whereby man may rightly gouerne himselfe.

Themist. de anima li. 3. ca. 49.
De duplici intel. de simib. lib. 3.

Two principall parts of the soule, vnderstanding, and will.

17 But we are constrained somewhat to swarue from this maner of teaching, because the Philosophers which knew not the corruption of mans nature, which came for punishment of his fall, do wrongfully confound the two very diuers states of man. Let vs therefore thus thinke of it, that there are in the soule of man two parts, which shall serue at this time for our present purpose, that is to say, Vnderstanding and Will. And let it be the office of Vnderstanding, to discern betweene obiects, or things set before it, as each of them shall seeme worthie to be liked or disliked: and the office of Will, to choose and follow that which vnderstanding saith to be good, & to refuse and shie that which vnderstanding shall disallow. Let vs not heere be staid at all with the nice subtleties of *Aristotle*, that the mind hath of it selfe no moouing, but that it is choise which mooueth it, which choise he calleth the desiring vnderstanding. But to the end we be not intangled with superfluous questions, let this suffice vs, that the Vnderstanding is as it were the guide and gouernor of the soule, and that Will hath alwaies regard to the appointment of Vnderstanding, and abideth the iudgement thereof in her desires. According whereunto, *Aristotle* himselfe hath truly said, that fleeing or following is in Appetite such a like thing, as in the vnderstanding mind is affirming and denying. Now howe certaine the gouernement of Vnderstanding is to direct the Will: that we will consider in another place. Here we meane only to shew that there can be found no power in the soule but that may well be said to belong to the one of these two members. And in this sort vnder Vnderstanding we comprehend Sense, which other do so distinguish, that they say Sense is inclined to pleasure, for which Vnderstanding followeth that which is good: and that so it commeth to passe, that the appetite of sense is Concupiscence and Lust, the affection of vnderstanding is Will. Again, in steed of the name of Appetite, which they better like, I set the name of Will, which is more commonly vsed.

Eth. lib. ca. 2.

The perfection of mans vnderstanding and will, in his first creation.

8 God therefore hath furnished the soule of man with an vnderstanding minde, whereby he might discern good from euill, and right from wrong, and hauing the light of reason going before him, might see what is to be followed or forsaken. 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 gifts the first state of man excelled, so that he not only had enough of reason, vnderstanding, wisdom, and iudgement, for the gouernement of this earthly life, but also to clime vp euen to God and to eternall felicitie. Then to haue choise added vnto it, which might direct the appetites, and order all the instrumentall motions, and that so the Will might be altogether agreeable to the gouernement of reason. In this integritie, man had freewill, whereby if he would he might haue attained eternall life. For here it is out of place to mooue question of the secret predestination of God: because we are not now about to discuss what might haue chanced or not, but what at that time was the nature of man. *Adam* therefore might haue stand if he would, because he fell not but by his owne will. But because his will was pliable to either side, and there was not giuen him constancie to continue, therefore he so easily fell. Yet his choise

choise of good and euill was free. And not that onely, but also in his vnderstanding minde, and in his will was most great vprightnesse, and all his instrumentall parts orderly framed to obedience, vntill by destroying himself he corrupted the good things that were in him. From hence commeth it that all the Philosophers were so blinded, for that in aruine they sought for an vpright building, and for strong iouints in an vnoyented ouerthrow. This principle they held, that man could not be a liuing creature, endued with reason, vnlesse there were in him a free choise of good and euill: and they considered, that otherwise all the difference should be taken away between vertues and vices, vnlesse man did order his owne life by his owne aduse. Thus farre had they said well if there had beene no change in man, which change because they knew not of, it is no maruell though they confound heauen and earth together. But as for them which professing themselves to be the disciples of Christ, do yet seeke for free will in man, that hath bin lost & drowned in spirituall destruction, they in going meane betweene the Philosophers opinions and heauenly doctrine are plainly deceiued, so that they touch neither heauen nor earth. But of these things we shall better speake in place fit for them: now onely this we haue to hold in minde, that man at his first creation was farre other than his posteritie euer since, which taking their beginning from him being corrupted, hath from him receiued an infection deriued to them as it were by inheritance. For then all the parts of his soule were framed to right order, then stood safe the soundnesse of his vnderstanding minde, and his will free to choose the good. If any do obiekt that it stood but in slipprie state, because his power was but weak, I answer that that state was yet such as sufficed to take from him all excuse, neither was it reasonable to restraine God to this point, to make man such a one as either could not or would not sinne at all. I grant such a nature had beene better, but therefore precisely to quarrell with God, as though it had bin his dutie to haue giuen that vnto man, is too much vniustice, forasmuch as it was in his own choise to giue how much pleased him. But why he did not vphold him with the strength of stedfast continuance, that resteth hidden in his own secret counsell: it is our part onely to be so farre wise as with sobrietie we may. Man receiued in deed to be able if he would, but he had not to will that he might be able. For of this will should haue followed stedfast continuance. Yet is he not excusable, which receiued so much that of his owne will he hath wrought his owne destruction. And there was no necessitie to compell God to giue him any other than a meane wil and a fraile will, that of mans fall he might gather matter for his owne glorie.

August.
Gen. li. 1. cap.
7. 8. 9.

De corrup. &
grat. ad Valen-
tin. ca. 12.

The xvj. Chapter.

That God by his power doth nourish and maintaine the world, which himselfe hath created, and by his providence doth gouerne all the parts thereof.

BVt it were verie sond and bare to make God a creatour for a moment, which doth nothing since he hath once made an end of his worke. And in this point 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 beginning of it. For though the minds of the verie wicked in onely beholding of the heauen and earth, are compelled to rise vp vnto the Creator, yet liath faith a certaine peculiar manner by it selfe, whereby it giueth to God the whole praise of creation. And therefore serueth that saying of the Apostle, which we before alleaged, that we doe not vnderstande but by faith, that the worlde was made by the worde of God. For vnlesse wee passe forwarde euen vnto his providence, wee doe not yet rightlie conceine what this meaneth, that GOD is the Creator, howsoeuer wee doe seeme to comprehend it in minde, and confesse it with toong. When the

Men naturally by sense are brought to confesse God the Creator, we by faith acknowledge him to be the gouernour, not in general of the world, but of euery particular thing in the world.

sense

Cap. 16. Of the knowledge of

sense of the flesh hath once set before it the power of God in the verie creation, it resteth there, and when it proceedeth furthest of all, it doth nothing but wey and consider the wisdomed, power, and goodnesse of the workeman in making such a peece of worke (which things doe of themselues offer and thrust themselues in sight of men whether they will or no) and a certaine generall dooing in preferring and governing the same, vpon which dependeth the power of moouing. Finally it thinketh that the liuely force at the beginning put into all things by God, doth suffice to susteine them. But faith ought to pierce deeper, that is to say, whom he hath learned to be the creator of all things, by and by to gather that the same is the perpetuall governour and preseruer of them: and that not by stirring with an vniuersall motion as well the whole frame of the worlde, as all the parts thereof, but by susteyning, cherishing and caring for, with singular providence euerie one of those things that he hath created euen to the least sparrow. So *Dauid* after he had first saide that the worlde was created by God, by and by descendeth to the continuall course of his prouidence. By the word of the Lorde (saith he) the heauens were stablished, and all the power thereof by the spirit of his mouth. By and by he addeth. The Lorde looked downe vpon the sonnes of men, and so the rest that he saith farther to the same effect. For although they doe not all reason so orderly, yet because it were not likely to bee beleueed, that God had care of mens matters, vnlesse hee were the maker of the worlde, nor any man doth earnestly beleuee that God made the world, vnlesse he be perswaded that God hath also care of his woikes: therefore not without cause *Dauid* doth by good order conuay vs from the one to the other. Generally in deed both the Philosophers do teach, and mens mindes doe conceiue that all parts of the worlde are quickened with the secret inspiration of God. But yet they attaine not so farre as *Dauid* both himselfe proceedeth and carrieth al the godly with him, saying all things waite vpon thee, that thou maist giue them foode in due season. Thou giuest 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 wroubled. If thou take away their breath, they die and returne to their dust. Againe, if thou send forth thy spirit, 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 liue in God, yet are they farre from that earnest feeling of grace which he commendeth vnto vs: because they taste not of Gods speciall care whereby alone his fatherly fauour is known.

Psal. 33. 6.

Psal. 104. 27.

Act. 17. 28.

We do iniury vnto God when we ascribe the workes of his prouidence vnto fortune, as also when we speake of nature working without the hand of God guiding her in aery worke.

2 That this difference may the better appeere, it is to be known, that the prouidence of God, such as it is taught in the Scripture, is in comparison set as contrary to fortune and chaunces that happen by aduenture. Nowe forasmuch as it hath bene commonly beleueed in all ages, and the same opinion is at this day also in a manner in all men, that all things happen by fortune, it is certaine, that that which ought to haue bene beleueed concerning Prouidence, is by that wrong opinion not onely darkened but also in manner buried. If a man light among theeues or wilde beastes, if by wind sodainly rising he suffer shipwracke on the sea, if hee be killed with the fall of a house or of a tree, if another wandering in desert places finde remedy for his pouertie, if hauing bene tossed with the waues, he attaine to the hauen, if miraculously he escape but a finger breadth from death, all these chaunces as well of prosperitie as of aduersitie the reason of the flesh doth ascribe to fortune. But whoso euer is taught by the mouth of Christ, that all the haire of his head are numbered, will seeke for a cause further off, and will firmly beleuee that all chaunces are governed by the secret countsell of God. And as concerning things without life, this is to be thought, that although euery one of them haue his owne propertie naturallic put into it, yet doe they not put forth their power but onely so farre as they be directed by the present hand of God. They are therefore nothing else but instruments,

Matt. 10. 28.

whereby

whereby God continually powreth in so much effect as pleaseth him, and at his will boweth and turneth them to this or that dooing. Of no creature is the power more maruellous or more glorious than of the sunne. For besides that it giueth light to the whole worlde with his brightnes, howe great a thing is this that he cherissheth and quickneth all liuing creatures with his heat? that he breatheth fruitfulnessse into the earth with his beames? that out of seedes warmed in the bosome of the ground, he draweth a budding greennessse, and susteining the same with new nourishments doth encrease and strengthen it, till it rise vp in stalkes? That he seedeth it with continuall vapour till it growe to a flower, and from a flower to fruite? That then also with baking it, he bringeth it to ripenes? That trees likewise & vines being warmed by him, do first bud & shoote forth branches; and after send out a flower, and of a flower do engender fruite? But the Lord, because he would claime the whole glorie of all these things to himselfe, made the light first to be, and the earth to bee furnished with all kinds of hearbs and fruits before that he created the Sunne. A godly man therefore will not make the Sunne to be either a principall or a necessarie cause of those things which were before the creation of the Sunne, but onely an instrument which God vseth because it so pleaseth him, whereas he might leaue it and do all things as easily by himselfe. Then when we read that the sunne stood still two daies in one degree at the prair of *Iosua*, and that the shadow thereof went backe ten degrees for *Ezechias* his sake, by those few miracles God hath declared that the Sunne doth not daile so rise and go downe by blinde instinct of nature, but that he to ienue the remembrance of his fatherly fauour towards vs, doth gouerne the course thereof. Nothing is more naturall than spring tide to come immediately after winter, Sommer after spring, and haruest in course after Sommer. But in this orderly course is plainly seene so great & so vnequall diuersitie, that it may easily appeere that euery yeere, moneth and day, is gouerned by a new and speciall prouidence of God.

Gen. 1. 3.

Ios. 10. 13.
2. King 20. 11.

3 And truly God doth claime and will haue vs giue vnto him an almightines, not such as the Sophisters do imagine, vaine, idle, and as it were sleeping, but waking, effectually working and busied in continuall doing. Nor such a one as is onely a generall beginning of a confused motion, as if he would command a riuer to flowe by his appointed chanel, but such a one as is bent and readie at all his particular mouings. For he is therefore called almightie, not because he can doe and yet sitteth still and doth nothing, or by generall instinct onely continueth the order of nature that hee hath before appointed: but because he gouerning both heauen and earth by his prouidence so ordereth all things that nothing chaunceth but by his aduised purpose. For whereas it is said in the Psalm, that he doth whatsoever he will, therein is meant his certaine & determined will. For it were very fond to expound the Prophets words after the Philosophers manner, that God is the first Agent or dooer, because he is the beginning and cause of all mouing: whereas the faithfull ought rather in aduersitie to ease themselves with this comfort, that they suffer nothing but by the ordinance and commandement of God, because they are vnder his hand. If then the gouernment of God do so extend to all his works, it is a very childish caillation to enclose it within the influence of nature. And yet they do no more defraud God of his glory than themselves of a most profitable doctrine, whoeuer do restrain the prouidence of God within so narrow boundes, as if he suffered all things to be caried with an vngouerned course; according to a perpetuall lawe of nature. For nothing were more miserable than man if he should be left subiect to euerie motion of the heauen, the aire, the earth, & the waters. Beside that by that meane the singular goodnes of God towards euery man is too much vnhonourably diminished. *Dauid* crieth out that babes yet hanging on their mothers breasts are eloquent enough to magnifie the glorie of God, because euen so soone as they be come out of the wombe, they finde food prepared for them by his heauenly care. This is in deede generallie

They which do not acknowledge that God directeth the working of euery particular thing, doe not onely rob him of his honour, but themselves of a double benefite, hope of good things, and deliuerance from feare of euill.

1. sal. 115. 3.

Psal. 8. 3.

true, so that yet our eyes and senses ouerpasse not that vnmarked which experience plainly sheweth, that some mothers haue full and plentifull breastes, some other almost drie, as it pleaseth God to feede one more liberally, and another more scarcely. But they which giue the due praise to the almightinesse of God, doe receiue double profite thereby, the one that he hath sufficiently large abilitie to doe them good, in whose possession are both heauen and earth, and to whose becke all creatures doe attend vpon; to yeeld themselues to his obedience: the other that they may safely rest in his protection, to whose will are subiect all these hurtfull things that may any way be feared, by whose authoritie as with a bridle Satan is restrained with all his furies and all his preparation, vpon whose backe doth hang all that euer is against our safetie. And no other way but this can the immeasurable and superstitious feares be corrected or appeased, which we oftentimes conceiue by dangers happening vnto vs. Superstitiously fearfull I say we be, if where creatures do threaten vs or giue vs any cause of feare, we be so afraid thereof, as if they had of themselues any force or power to doe vs harme, or did vnforeseene or by chaunce hurt vs, or as if against the hurtes that they doe, there were not sufficient helpe in God. As for example. The Prophet forbiddeh the children of God that they should not feare the starres and signes of the heauen, as the vnbeleuers are wont to doe. He condemneth not euery kinde of feare. But when the vnbeleuers to giue away the government of the world from God vnto Planets, doe faine that their felicitie or miserie doth hang on the decrees and foreshewings of the starres, and not of the will of God, so commeth it to passe, that their feare is withdrawn away from that onely one, whom they ought to haue regarded, vnto the starres and comets. Whofo therefore will beware of this vnfaithfulnesse, let him keepe alwaies in remembrance that there is not in creatures a wandering power, working or motion, but that they are gouerned by the secret counsell of God, so that nothiug can chaunce but that which is decreed by him both witting and willing it so to be.

Hier. 10. 2.

That God doth not onely behold what is done, but order and dispose she doing of things both aboue & beneath.
Gen. 20. 8.

4 First therefore let the readers learne, that prouidence is called that, not, wherewith God idly beholdeth from heauen what is done in the worlde, but wherewith as guiding the sterne he setteth and ordereth all things that come to passe. So doth it no lesse belong to his handes than to his eyes. For when *Abraham* saide vnto his sonne, God shall prouide, he meant not onely, that God did foreknowe the successe them to come, but that he did cast the care of a thing to him vnknown vpon the will of God, which is wont to bring things doubtfull and confused to a certaine ende. Whereby followeth, that prouidence consisteth in doing: for too much fondly doe many trifle in talking of bare foreknowledge. Their error is not altogether so grosse which giue vnto God a government but disordered, and without aduised choise, (as I haue before saide,) that is to say, such as whiche and driueth about with a generall motion the frame of the worlde with all the partes thereof, but doth not peculiarly direct the doing of euery creature. Yet is this error not tolerable. For as they teach, it may be (notwithstanding this Prouidence which they call vniuersall) that all creatures may be moued by chaunce, or man may turne himselfe hither or thither by free choise of his will. And so doe they part the government betwene God and man, that God by his power inspireth into man a motion whereby he may worke according to the nature planted in him, and man ordereth his owne doings by his owne voluntarie aduise: Briefely they meane that the worlde, mens matters, and men themselues are gouerned by the power, but not by the appointment of God. I speake not of the Epicurians (which pestilence the world hath alwaies been filled with) which dreame of an idle and slothfull God: and other as mad as they, which in olde time imagined that God did so rule about the middle region of the aire, that he left things beneath to Fortune: For against so euident madnesse, the dumme creatures themselues doe sufficiently crie out. For,

now my purpose is to confute that opinion that is in a manner commonly beleued, which giuing to God a certaine blind, and I wot not what vncertaine motion, taketh from him the principal thing, that is, by his incomprehensible wisdom to direct and dispose all things to their end: and so in name onely and not in deed it maketh God ruler of the world, because it taketh from him the gouernment of it. For what (I beseech you) is it else to gouerne, but so to be ouer them that are vnder thee, that thou maicst rule them by appointed order? Yet doe I not altogether reiect that which is spoken of the vniuersall prouidence: so that they will againe graunt me this, that the world is ruled by God, not onely because he maintaineth the order of nature which himselfe hath set, but also because he hath a peculiar care of euerie one of his works. True it is, that all sorts of things are moued by a secret instinct of nature, as if they did obey the eternal commandement of God, and that which God hath once determined doth of it selfe proceede forwarde. And heereunto may that be applied which Christ saith, that he and his Father were euen from the beginning alwayes working. And that which *Paul* teacheth that in him we liue, are moued and haue our being, and that which the Authour of the Epistle to the Hebrues, meaning to prooue the Godhead of Christ, saith, that by his mightie commandement all things are susteined. But they do wrong which by this colour do hide and darken the speciall prouidence, which is confirmed by so certaine and plaine testimonies of Scripture, that it is maruell that any man could doubt of it. And surely they themselues that draw the same veile which I speake of to hide it, are compelled by way of correction to adde, that many things are done by the peculiar care of God, but then they do wrongfully restraine the same only to peculiar dooings. Wherefore we must prooue that God doth so giue heed to the gouernment of the successes of all things, and that they all do so proceede from his determinate counsell, that nothing happeneth by chaunce.

Act. 17. 28.
Heb. 1. 3.

5 If we grant that the beginning of motion belongeth to God, but that all things are either of themselues or by chaunce carried whither the inclination of nature driueth them, the mutual succceeding by turnes of daies and nights, of Winter and Summer, shall be the worke of God, in so much as hee appointing to euerie one their duties, hath set them a certaine law, that is, if they shoulde alway keepe one measure in equall proportion, as wel the daies that come after the nights, the moneths after moneths, & yeeres after yeeres. But when sometimes immoderate heates with drines do burne vp all the graine, sometime vnseasonable raines doe marre the corne, when sudden harme commeth by haile & tempests: that shal not be the worke of God, vnllesse perhaps it be because the cloudes or faire weather, or cold or heat haue their beginning of the meeting of the planets or other naturall causes. But by this meane is there no roome left, neither for the fatherly fauour, nor for the iudgements of God. If they say that God is beneficiall enough to mankind because he powreth into the heauen and earth an ordinarie power, whereby they do finde him nourishment: that is too vaine and prophane an inuention, as though the fruitfulnessse of one yeere were not the singular blessing of God, and dearth and famine were not his curse & vengeance? But because it were too long to gather together all the reasons that serue for this purpose, let the authoritie of God himselfe suffice vs. In the lawe and in the Prophts he doth oftentimes pronounce, that so oft as he watereth the earth with dew and rain, he declareth his fauour; and that when by his commandement the heauen is hardened like yron, when corne is consumed with blasting and other harmes, when the fieldes are stricken with haile and tempests, it is a token of his certaine and speciall vengeance. If we grant these things, then is it assured that there falleth not a drop of raine but by the certaine commandement of God. *Dauid* praiseth the generall prouidence of God, that hee giueth meate to the Rauens birdes that call vpon him: but when God himselfe threatneth famine to liuing creatures,

The particular appointments of God appeereth in the diuers alterations of things naturall, & extendeth to euery drop of raine, to euerie accident which befallith the least bird.

Psa. 146. 9.

doth

doth he not sufficiently declare that he feedeth all liuing things sometime with scarce, and sometime with more plentiful portion as he thinketh good? It is a childish thing, as I saide before, to restraine this to particular doings, whereas Christ speaketh without exception, that not a sparowe of neuer so small a price doth fall to the ground without the will of his Father. Surely, if the flying of birdes be ruled by the purpose of God, then must we needs confesse with the Prophet, that hee so dwelleth on hie, that yet he humbleth himselfe to looke vpon all things that chaunce in heauen and earth.

Mat. 10. 29.

Psal. 12. 5.

The prouidence of
God in disposing
the estates of men.
Hier. 10. 23.
Pro. 20. 24.

6 But bicause we know that the world was made principally for mankindes sake, we must therefore consider this end in the gouernance of man. The Prophet *Hieremie* crieth out: I know, Lord, that the way of man is not his owne, neither belongeth it to man to direct his owne steps. And *Salomon* saith, the steppes of man are ruled by the Lorde, and how shall a man dispose his owne way? Now let them say that man is moued by God according to the inclination of his owne nature, but that man himselfe doth turne that mouing whither it pleaseth him. But if that were truly said, then should man haue the free choise of his owne waies. Peraduenture they will denie that, because he can do nothing without the power of God. But seeing it is certaine that the Prophet and *Salomon* do giue vnto God, not onely power but also choise and appointment, they cannot so escape away. But *Salomon* in another place doth finely rebuke this rashnes of men, that appoint vnto themselues another end without respect of God, as though they were not led by his hand. The preparations (saith he) of the hart are in man, but the answer of the toong is of the Lord. It is a fond madnesse that men will take vpon them to do things without God, which cannot so much as speake but what he will. And the scripture to expresse more plainly that nothing at all is done in the world but by his appointment, the weth that those things which seem most happening by chance are subiect to him. For what can you more ascribe to chance, then when a broken bough falling from a tree killeth a wayfaring man passing by it? But the Lord saith far other wise, which confesseth that he hath deliuered him into the hand of the slayer. Likewise, who doth not leaue the happening of lots to the blindness of fortune? But the Lord suffereth it not, which claimeth the iudgement of them to himselfe: for he saith that it commeth not to passe by a mans owne power that stones are cast into the lap and drawn out againe, but that thing which onely might be saide to come of chaunce he testifieth to come from himselfe. For the same purpose maketh that saying of *Salomon*, The poore man and the vsurer meet together, God lighteneth both their eyes. For although poore men and rich be mingled together in the world, while euery one hath his state assigned him from God, he admonisheth that God which giueth light to all men is not blind, and so he exhorteth the poore to patience, because whoso euer are not contented with their own state, they seek to shake off the burthen that God hath laid vpon them. So another Prophet rebuketh the vngodly men, which ascribe to the diligence of men or to Fortune, that some lye in miserie & some arise vp to honor. To come to preferment is neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South, for God is the iudge, he maketh low and he maketh high. Bicause God cannot put off the office of a Iudge, therupon the Prophet proueth that by his secret purpose, some are in honor, and other some remaine in contempt.

Pro. 16. 1.

Exod. 21. 13.

Pro. 16. 33.

Psal. 75. 7.

Exod. 19. 13.

Jonas 1. 4.
The common
events which are
seene in the world
come from the spe-
ciall prouidence
of God.

7 And also I say that the verie particular successes are generally witnessers of Gods singular prouidence. God raised in the desert a south wind to bring the people plentie of fowles: when his pleasure was to haue *Jonas* throwen into the sea, he sent out a winde to raise vp a tempest. But they that thinke that God gouerneth not the world, will say that this chaunced beside common vse: But thereby I do gather that neuer any winde doth rise or increase but by the speciall commaundement of God. For other wise it should not be true, that he maketh the windes his messengers, and

hrie

ferie flames his ministers, that he maketh the cloudes his chariots, and rideth vpon the wings of the winde, vnlesse he did by his will driue about the cloudes and windes, and shew in them the singular presence of his power. So in another place we are taught that so oft as the sea swelleth with blast of windes, those violences doe testifie a singular presence of God. He commandeth and raiseth vp the stormie windes and iclisseth vp the waves thereof, and then he turneth the storme to calme, so that the waves thereof are still. As in another place he saith, that he scourged the people with burning windes. So whereas the power of engendring is naturally giuen to men, yet God willeth it to be imputed to his speciall grace, that he leaueh some in barrenesse, and vouchsafeth to grant issue to other some, the fruit of the wombe is his gift. Therefore said *Jacob* to his wife, am I as God that I can giue thee children? But to make an end: there is nothing more ordinary in nature thā that we be fed with bread. But the Holy Ghost pronounceth, that not onely the growing of the fruites of the earth is the speciall gift of God, but also that men liuenot by onely bread, because it is not the very full feeding that nourisheth, but the secret blessing of God: as on the other side he threateneth, that he will breake the stay of bread. Neither could we earnestly pray for our daily bread, vnlesse God did giue vs foode with his fatherly hand. Therefore the Prophet to perswade the faithful, that God in feeding them doth fulfill the office of a good father of household, doth put them in minde, that he giueth meate to all flesh. Finally when we haue on the one side: The eyes of the Lorde are vpon the righteous, and his cares bent to their praies: on the other side: The eie of the Lord is vpon the vngodly to destroy the memorie of them out of the earth: Let vs knowe that all creatures both above and beneath are readie to obedience, that he may apply them to what vsfocuer he will, whereupon is gathered, that not onely his generall providence remaineth in his creatures to continue the order of nature, but also by his maruellous counsell is applied to a certaine and proper end.

8 They which would bring this doctrine in hatred, doe caull that this is the learning that the Stoikes teach of *Fatum* or *Destinie*, which also was once laide for reproch to *Augustine*. As for vs, although we be loth to strue about wordes, yet we allow not this word *Fatum*, both because it is one of those whose prophane noueltie *Saint Paul* teacheth vs to flie, and because some men doe goe about with the odiousnesse thereof to bring Gods truth in hatred. As for the very opinion of the Stoikes, it is wrongfully laide to our charge. For we doe not as the Stoikes doe, imagine a necessitie by a certaine perpetuall knot and entangled order of causes which is contained in nature: but we make God the iudge and gouernour of all things, which according to his wisdom hath cuen from the furthest ende of eternitie decreed what he would doe, and now by his power putteth in execution that which he hath decreed. Whereupon we affirme that not onely the heauen and earth and other creatures without hfe, but also the purposes and wils of men are so gouerned by his Providence, that they be directly carried to the end that it appointeth. What then? will one say, doeth nothing happen by fortune or by chaunce? I answer that *Basilius Magnus* hath truly saide that fortune and chaunce are heathen mens wordes, with the signification whereof the mindes of the godly ought not to be occupied. For if euery good successe be the blessing of God, and euery calamitie and aduersitie be his curse, now is there in mens matters no place left for fortune or chaunce. We ought also to be moued with this saying of *Augustine*. In his booke against the *Academites* he saith: It doth displease me that I haue so oft named fortune, albeit my meaning was not to haue any goddesse meant thereby, but onely a chanceable happening in outward things either good or euill. Of which worde Fortune are deriued those wordes which no religion forbideth vs to vse, *forte, sorte, forsan, forstan, fortasse, fortuito*, that is, perhadventure, by fortune and by chaunce, which yet must all be applied to the providence of God. And that did I not leaue vnspoken when

Psal. 104. 4.

Psal. 107. 25.

Gen. 30. 2.

Esay. 3. 1.

Psal. 136.

Psal. 34. 16. 17.

The doctrine concerning Gods providence doth not establish Stoicall destinie, but excludeth heathenish fortune & chance Lib. 2. ad Bon. cap. 6.

Rect. lib. 1. ca. 15.

Cap. 16. Of the knowledge of

I said, for perchance euen the same that is commonly called Fortune is also ruled by secret order. And we call chance in things nothing else, but that whereof the reason and cause is vnknown. I saide this in deede, but it repenteth me that I did there so name Fortune. Forasmuch as I see that men haue a very euill custome, that where they ought to say, thus it pleased God, they say, thus it pleased Fortune. Finally, he doth commonly in his bookes teach, that the world should be vnorderly whirled about if any thing werē left vnto Fortune. And although in another place he determineth that all things are done partly by the free will of man, and partly by the providence of God; yet doth he a litle after sufficiently shew that men are subiect vnto and ruled by providence, taking this for a principle, that nothing is more against conuenience of reason, than to say, that anything chaunceth but by the ordinance of God, for else it should happen without cause or order, by which reason he also excludeth that happening that hangerh vpon the will of men: and by and by after he plainlier saith that we ought not to seeke a cause of the will of God. And so oft as he maketh mention of sufferance, how that is to be vnderstanded, shall very well appeere by one place where he proueth that the will of God is the soueraigne and first cause of all things, because nothing happeneth but by his commandement or sufferance. Surely he saith not God to sit still idle in a watch tower, when it is his pleasure to suffer any thing, whereas he vseth an actual will (as I may so call it) which otherwise could not be called a cause.

Quæst. lib. 83. de
Tri. lib. 3. cap. 4.

A thing may be termed chanceable, and be said to happen by fortune in respect of vs whose not the cause, when in respect of God who hath appointed it, it is a necessity, and though not in it owne nature, yet by reason of his appointment inescapable.

Io. 145.

9. But for as much as the dulnesse of our vnderstanding cannot by a great way attaine to the height of Gods providence, we must vse a distinction to helpe to lift it vp. I say therefore, howsoever all things are ordeined by the purpose and certaine disposition of God, yet to vs they are chanceable, not that we thinke that fortune ruleth the world and men, and vnadvisedly toseth all things vp and downe (for such beastlinesse ought to be far from a Christian hart) but because the order, meane, end, and necessitie of those things that happen, doth for the most part lie secret in the purpose of God, and is not comprehended with opinion of man, therefore those things are as it were chanceable, which yet it is certain to come to passe by the will of God. For they seeme no otherwise, whether we consider them in their own nature, or whether we esteeme them according to our knowledge and iudgement. As for an example, let vs put the case, that a marchant being entred into a wood in companie of true men, doth vnwisely stray away from his fellowes, and in his wandering chaunceth vpon a den of robbers, lighteth among theeucs, and is killed, his death was not onely foreseen with Gods eie, but also determined by his decree. For it is not said that he did foresee how farre each mans life should extend, but that he hath set and appointed markes which cannot be passed. And yet so farre as the capacitie of our minde conceiueth, all things herein seeme happening by chaunce. What shall a Christian here thinke? euen this, whatsoever happened in such a death, he will thinke it in nature chauncing by fortune as it is in deed, but yet he will not doubt that the providence of God did governe to direct fortune to her end. In like maner are the happenings of things to come. For as all things that be to come are vncertaine vnto vs, so we hang them in suspence, as if they might fall on either part, yet this remaineth settled in our harts, that nothing shall happen but that which God hath alreadie foreseene. In this meaning is the name of chance oft repeated in *Ecclesiastes*, because at the first sight men doe not attaine to see the first cause which is farre hidden from them. And yet that which is declared in the Scriptures concerning the secret providence of God, was neuer so blotted out of the harts of men, but that euen in the darknesse there alway shined some sparks thereof. So the soothsaiers of the *Pblishians*, although they wauer in doubtfulnesse, yet they ascribe aduersitie partly to God, partly to fortune. If (say they) the arke goe that way, we shall knowe that it is God that hath striken vs: but if it go the other way, then a chaunce hath light vpon vs. In

decede

deed they did foolishly, when their cunning of soothsaying deceived them, to flee to fortune, but in the meane while we see them constrained, so that they dare not think that the euill hap which chanced vnto them did come of fortune. But how God with the bridle of his prouidence turneth all successes whicher pleaseth him, may appeare by one notable example. Behold euen at one moment of time, when *Dauid* was found out and nere taken in the desert of *Mabon*, euen then the *Philistians* inuaded the land, and *Saul* was compelled to depart. If God meaning to prouide for the safetie of his seruant did cast this let in *Sauls* way, surely although the *Philistines* going to armes were sudden, and beside the expectation of men, yet may we not say that it came by chance. But those things that seeme to vs to happen by chance, faith will acknowledge to haue bene a secret moouing of God. I graunt there doth not alway appeare the like reason, but vndoubtedly we ought to beleuee, that whatsoeuer changes of things are seene in the world, they come by the secret stirring of the hand of God. But that which God purposeth is so of necessitie to come to passe, that yet it is not of necessitie precisely nor by the nature of it selfe. As there of is a familiar example in the bones of Christ. Forasmuch as he had put on a body like vnto ours, no wiseman will deny that his bones were naturally able to be broken, yet was it impossible that they should be broken: whereby we see againe that not without cause were in schooles inuented the distinctions of necessitie in respect, and necessitie absolute, of consequent and consequence, whereas God had subiect to bricklenesse the bones of his son, which he had exempted from being able to be broken, & so brought to necessitie by reason of his owne purpose, that that thing could not be, which naturally might haue bene.

1.Sam.6.9.

1.Sam.23.26.

The xvij. Chapter.

Whereto and to what end this doctrine is to be applyed, that we may be certaine of the profit thereof.

Now forasmuch as mens wits are bent to vaine curious futilities, it is scarcely possible but that they shall encombe themselves with entangled doubts, whofoeuer do not know the true and right vse of this doctrine. Therefore it shall be expedient here to touch thortly, to what ende the Scripture teacheth, that all things are ordered by God. And first of all is to be noted, that the prouidence of God ought to be considered as well for the tune to come as for the time past: secundarily, that the same is in such sort the gouernor of all things, that sometime it worketh by means, sometime without meanes, and sometime against all meanes. Last of all, that it tendeth to this end, that god may shew that he hath care of all mankind, but specially that he doth watch in ruling of his Church, which he vouchsafeth more neerly to looke vnto. And this is also to be added, that although either the fatherly fauour and bountifulnes of God, or oftentimes the seueritie of his iudgement do brightly appeare in the whole course of his prouidence: yet sometime the causes of those things that happen are secret, so that this thought creepeth into our mindes, that mens matters are turned & whirled about with the blind sway of fortune, or so that the flesh stirreth vs to murmur, as if God did to make himselfe pastime, tosse them like tennis balls. True it is, that if we were with quiet and stil mindes ready to learne, the very successe it selfe would at length plainly shew, that God hath an assured good reason of his purpose, either to traine them that be his to patience, or to correct their euill affections and tame their wantonnesse, or to bring them downe to the renouncing of themselves, or to awake their drowsinesse: on the other side to ouerthrowe the proude, to disappoint the futilitie of the wicked, to confound their deuises. But howsoeuer the causes be secret and vnknownen to vs: we must assuredly holde that they are laide vp

Fourre things in considering the prouidence of God do make the considerations thereof sweet and comfortable, that it serueth for things to come, as well as past: that it worketh by, with, and without meanes: that it respecteth principally the church of God: & that it worketh euen when the course of things each wayne to perswade the contrary

Psal. 40.

in hidden store with him, and therefore we ought to crie out with *David*, God, thou hast made thy wonderfull works so many, that none can count in order to thee thy thoughts toward vs. I would declare and speake of them, but they are more than I am able to expresse. For although alwaies in our miseries we ought to thinke vpon our sins, that the verie punishment may moue vs to repentance, yet do we see how Christ giueth more power to the secret purpose of his father, than to punish euerie one according to his deserting. For of him that was borne blinde he saith: neither hath this man sinned nor his parents, but that the glorie of God may be shewed in him. For here naturall sense murmureth when calamitie commeth euen before birth, as if God did vnmercifully so to punish the silly innocent, that had not deserued it. But Christ doth testifie that in this looking glasse the glorie of his father doth shine to our sight, if we haue cleere eyes to behold it. But we must keepe modestie, that we draw not God to yeelde cause of his doings, but let vs so reuerence his secret iudgements, that his will be vnto vs, a most iust cause of all things. When thick clouds do couer the heauen, and a violent tempest ariseth, then because both a heauisome mystinesse is cast before our eyes, and the thunder troubleth our eares, and all our senses are amafed with terrour, we thinke that all things are confounded and troubled together: and yet all the while there remaineth in the heauen the same quietnesse and calmnesse that was before. So must we thinke that while the troublesome state of things in the world taketh from vs abilitie to iudge, God by the pure light of his righteousnesse and wisdom, doeth in well framed order gouerne and dispose euen those verie troublesome motions themselves to a right end. And surely verie monstrous is the rage of many in this behalfe, which dare more boldly call the workes of God to account and examine his secret meanings, and to giue vnadvised sentence of things vnknown, than they will do of the deedes of mortall men. For what is more vnorderly than to vse such modestie towardes our egals, that we had rather suspend our iudgment than to incur the blame of rashnes, and on the other side proudly to triumph vpon the darke iudgements of God, which it became vs to regarde with reuerence?

As we are to yeeld obedience to the known reuealed will of his law, so reuerence is due to the secret will, according whereunto he ruleth by prouidence.

2 Therefore no man shall wel and profitably way the prouidence of God, but he that considering that he hath to do with his creator & the maker of the world, doth with such humilitie as he ought submit himselfe to feare & reuerence. Hereby it cometh to passe, that so many dogs at this day do with venimed bitings, or at least barking, assaile this doctrine, because they will haue no more to be lawfull for God, than their owne reason informeth them. And also they raile at vs with all the spitefulness that they are able, for that not contented with the commandements of the law, wherein the will of God is comprehended, we do further say, that the world is ruled by his secret counsels. As though the things that we teach were an inuention of our own braine, & as though it were not true that the holy Gh. st doth euery where expressly say the same, and repeateth it with innumerable formes of speech. But because some shame restrameth them, that they dare not vomit out their blasphemies against the heauen: they saine that they conend with vs, to the ende they may the more freely play the madmen. But if they do not graunt that what soeuer happeneth in the world, is gouerned by the incomprehensible purpose of God, let them answer, to what end the Scripture saith, that his iudgements are a deepe bottomlesse depth. For, whereas *Moses* crieth out that the will of God is not to be sought a farre of in the clouds, or in the depthes, because it is familiarly set forth in the law: it followeth, that his other hidden will is compared to a bottomlesse depth. Of the which *Paul* also saith: O depth of the riches and of the wisdom, and of the knowledge of God: how vnsearchable are his iudgements, and his waies past finding out? for who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath bene his counsellour? And it is in deede true, that in the Gospell and in the law are contained mysteries which

Psal. 36. 7.

Rom. 11. 33.

are

are far about the capacitie of our sense : but for asmuch as God for the comprehending of these misteries which he hath vouchsafed to open by his word, doth lighten the mindes of them that be his, with the spirite of vnderstanding : now is therein no bottomlesse deapth, but a way wherein we must safe walke, and a candle to guide our feete, and the light of life, and the schoole of certaine and plainly discernable truth. But his maruelous order of gouerning the world, is worthily called a bottomlesse deapth : because while it is hidden from vs, we ought reuerently to worship it. Right well hath *Moses* expressed them both in few words. The secret things (saith he) belong to the Lorde our God : but the thinges reueiled belong to vs and to our children for euer. We see how he biddeth vs not onely to study in meditation of the law, but also reuerently to looke vp vnto the secret prouidence of God. And in the booke of *Iob* is rehearsed one ticle of this deapth, that it humbleth our mindes. For after that the author of that booke in suuicyng vp and down the frame of the world, had honorably entreated of the workes of God, at length he addeth: Loe, these be part of his waies, but how little a portion heare we of him? According to which reason in another place he maketh difference betweene the wisdome that remayneth with God, and the measure of wisdome that he hath appoynted for men. For after he hath preached of the secrets of nature, he saith that wisdome is known to God onely, and is hidden from the eyes of all liuing creatures. But by and by after, he saith further, that it is published to the ende it should be searched out, because it is said vnto man : behold, the feare of God is wisdome. For this purpose maketh the saying of *Augustine* : Because we know not all things which God doth concerning vs in most good order, that therefore in onely good will we doe according to the law, because his prouidence is an vnchangeable law. Therefore, sith God doth claime vnto himselfe the power to rule the world, which is to vs vnknowne, let this be to vs a law of sobernesse and modestie, quietly to obey his soueraigne authority, that his will may be to vs the only rule of iustice, and the most iust cause of all things. I meane not that absolute will, of which the Sophisters doe babble, separating by wicked and prophane disagreement his iustice from his power, but I meane that prouidence, which is the gouernesse of all things, from which proceedeth nothing but right : although the causes thereof be hidden from vs.

Deut. 29. 29.

Iob. 26. 14.

Iob. 28. 12.

Lib. 83. quæst. cap. 3.

3 Whosocuer shall be framed to this modestie, they neither for the time past will murmure against God for their aduersities, nor lay vpon him the blame of wicked doings, as *Agamemnon* in *Homer* did, saying, I am not the cause, but *Iupiter* and destinie : nor yet againe, as carried away with destinies, they will by desperation throw themselves into destruction, as that yong man in *Plautus* which said : Vnstable is the chauce of things : the Destinies drue men at their pleasure, I will get me to some rocke there to make an ende of my goods and life together. Neither yet (as another did) they will pretend the name of God to couer their owne mischieuous doings : for so saith *Lycnides* in another comedie : God was the mouer. I belecue it was the will of the gods : for if it had not beene their will, I know it should not so come to passe. But rather they will search and learne out of the Scripture what pleaseth God, that by the guiding of the Holy Ghost, they may trauaile to attaine thereunto. And also being ready to follow God, whither soeuer he calleth, they shew indeede that nothing is more profitable than the knowledge of his doctrine. Verie foolishly doe prophane men turmoile with their fondnesses, so that they in manner confound heauen and earth together as the saying is : If God haue marked the point of our death, we cannot escape it : then it is labor vainely lost in taking heede to our selues. Therefore, whereas one man dareth not venture to goe the way that he heareth to be dangerous, lest he be murdered of theeues : another fendeth for Thistians, and wearieith himselfe with medicines to succour his life : another forbeareth grosse meates for feare of appairing his feeble health : another dreadeth to dwell

The leud collections which wicked men inferre vpon the doctrine of Gods prouidence because they doe not rightly and soberly discern of it.

in a ruinous house. Finally, whereas men deuise alwaies and endeouour with all diligence of minde whereby they may attaine that which they desire: either all these remedies are vaine, which are sought, 'as to reforme the will of God, or els life and death, health and sicknesse, peace and warre, and other things, which men as they couet or hate them, doe by their trauaile endeouour to obtaine or escape, are not determined by his certaine decree. And further they gather, that the prayers of the faithfull are disordered, or at the least superfluous, wherein petition is made that it will please the Lord to prouide for those things which he hath already decreed from eternitie. To be short, they destroy all counsels that men doe take for time to come as things against the prouidence of God, which hath determined what he would haue done, without calling them to counsaile. And then whatsoeuer is already happened, they so impute it to the prouidence of God, that they winke at the man whom they know to haue done it. As, hath a Ruffian staine an honest citizen? he hath executed (say they) the purpose of God. Hath one stolen, or committed fornication? because he hath done the thing that was foreseene and ordeined by the Lord, he is a minister of his prouidence. Hath the Sonne careleslie, neglecting all remedies, wayted for the death of his Father? he could not resist God that had so before appointed from eternitie. So al mischieuous doings they call vertues, because they obey the ordinance of God.

4 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 scorne their folly, which boldly doe enterprise any thing without the Lord, as though they were not ruled by his hand: so in another place he speaketh in this manner: The hart of man purposeth his way, but the Lord doth direct his steppes, meaning that we are not hindered by the eternall Decrees of God, but that vnder his will we may both prouide for our selues, and dispose of althings belonging to vs. And that is not without a manifest reason. For he that hath limited our life within appointed bounds, hath therewithall left with vs the care thereof, hath furnished vs with meanes and helps to preferue it, hath made vs to haue knowledge before hande of dangers, and that they should not oppresse vs vnware, he hath giuen vs prouisions and remedies. Now it is plaine to see what is our duetie, that is to say: If God hath committed to vs our owne life to defende, our dutie is to defend it. If he offer vs helps, our duetie is to vse them. If he shew vs dangers before, our duetie is not to runne rashlie into them. If he minister vs remedies, our duetie is not to neglect them. But no danger shall hurt, vnlesse it be fatall, which by all remedies cannot be overcome: But what if dangers be therefore not fatall, because God hath assigned the remedies to repulse and overcome them. See how thy maner of reasoning agreeth with the order of Gods disposition. Thou gatherest that danger is not to be taken heede of, because forasmuch as it is not fatall, we shall escape it without taking heed at all: but the Lord doth therefore enioyne thee to take heede of it, because he will not haue it fatall vnto thee. These made men doe not consider that which is plaine before their eyes, that the skill of taking counsell and heede is inspired into men by God, whereby they may serue his prouidence in preferuing of their own life: as on the other side by negligence and slouth they procure to themselves these euils that he hath appointed for them. For how commeth it to passe, that a circumspect man while he prouideth for himselfe, doth wind himselfe out of euils that hang ouer him, and the foole peripherth by vnaduised rashnes, but for that both folly and wisdom are the instruments of Gods disposition on both parts? Therefore it pleased God to hide from vs all things to come, to this end that we should meeete with them as things doubtfull, and not cease to set prepared remedies against them, till either they be overcome, or be past all helpe of care. And for this cause I haue before admonished, that the Prouidence of God doth not alway shew it selfe naked, but as

The prouidence of God doth not abolish but establish the meanes by leaving the end certain only to it selfe, so vs vn certaine, that we might take the waies which are likely to bring vnto that end which wee should purpose to our selues.

God by vsing of meanes doth in a certaine manner clothe it.

5 The same men doe vnorderly and vnaduisedly draw the chaunces of time past to the naked providence of God. For because vpon it doe hang all things whatsoever happen, therefore (say they) neither robberies, nor adulteries, nor manslaughters, are committed without the will of God. Why then (say they) shall a theefe be punished, for that he spoyled him whom the Lords will was to punish with pouerty? Why shall the murderer be punished which hath slaine him whose life the Lord had ended? If all such men doe serue the will of God, why shall they be punished? But I deny that they serue the wil of God. For we may not say, that he which is carried with an euill minde doth serue vnto God as commander of it, where indeed he doth but obey his owne wicked lust. He obeyeth God, which being enformed of his will doth labor to that ende, whereunto Gods will calleth him. But whereby are we enformed of his will, but by his word? Therefore in doing of things we must see that same will of God, which he declareth in this worde. God requireth of vs only that which he commandeth. If we doe any thing against his commandement, it is not obedience but obstinacie and transgression. But valesse he would, we should not doe it. I graunt. But doe we euill things to this end to obey him? But he doth not commaunde vs to doe them, but rather we runne on headlong, not minding what he willet, but so raging with the intemperance of our owne lust, that of set purpose we bende our trauaile against him. And by these meanes in euill doing we serue his iust ordinance, because according to the infinite greatnes of his wisdom he hath good skill to vse euill instruments to doe good. And see how foolish is their maner of arguing. They would haue the doers vnpunished for mischieuous acts, because they are not committed but by the disposition of God. I graunt more: that theeues and murdierers and other euill doers are the instruments of Gods providence, whom the Lord doth vse to execute those iudgements which he hath with himselfe determined. But I deny that their euill doings ought to haue any excuse thereby. For why? shall they either entangle God in the same wickednes with them, or shall they couer their naughtines with his righteousness? They can doe neither of both. 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 finde al the euil in theselues, and in him nothing but a lawfull vse of their euilnesse. But he worketh by them. And whence I pray you, commeth the stinke in a dead carion, which hath bene both rotted and disclosed by heate of the sunne? All men doe see that it is raised by the beames of the Sunne. Yet no man doth therefore say, that the sunbeames doe stinke. So when there resteth in an euill man, the matter and guiltinesse of euill, what cause is there why it should be thought that God is any thing defiled with it, if he vse their seruice at his pleasure? Away therefore with this doggish frowardnesse, which may indeede a farre off barke at the iustice of God, but cannot touch it.

6 But these cauillations or rather doting errors of phrentike men, shall easilie be shaken away, by godly and holy meditation of the providence, which the rule of godlinesse teacheth vs, so that thereof may grow vnto vs a good and most pleasant fruit. Therefore a Christian hart when it is most assuredly perswaded that all things come to passe by the disposition of God, and that nothing happeneth by chaunce, will alway bend his eyes to him as to the principall cause of things, and yet wil consider the inferior causes in their place. Then he will not doubt that the singular providence of God doth watch for his preseruacion, which providence will iuffer nothing to happen, but that which shall turne to his good and saluation. And because he hath to doe first of all with men, and then with the other creatures, he will assure himselfe that Gods providence doth reigne in both. As touching men, whether they be good or euill, he will acknowledge that all their counsels, wils, enterprises and powers

*The providence of
God doth not prouide
in a way that does vs
worthy of punishment.*

Pro. 6. 9.

*The sweete and
sober meditation
which a Christian
man ought to
haue of Gods
providence.*

powers are vnder the hand of God, so that it is in Gods will to bow them whither he list, and to restrain them so oft as pleaseth him. That the singular prouidence of God doth keepe watch for the safetie of the faithfull, there are many and most euident promises to witnes. Cast thy burden vpon the Lord, and he shall nourish thee, and shall not suffer the righteous to fall for euer, because he careth for vs. He that dwelleth in the help of the highest, shall abide in the protection of the God of heauen. He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye. I will be thy shield, a brasen wal: I will be enemy 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 teach that the Lord doth with such diligence keepe the waies of the Saints, that they do not so much as stumble against a stone. Therefore as a litle before we haue rightfully reiected their opinion which do imagine an vniuersall prouidence of God, that stoupeth not specially to the care of euerie creature: yet principally it shall be good to reknowledge the same special care toward our selues. Whereupon Christ after he had affirmed that not the sparow of least value, doth fall to the ground without the will of the father, doth by & by apply it to this end, that we should consider that how much we be more worth than sparowes, with so much more care doth God prouide for vs, and he extendeth that care so far that we may be bold to trust that the haies of our head are numbred. What can we wish our selues more, if not so much as a haire can fall from our head but by his wil? I speake not only of all mankind, but because God hath chosen his church for a dwelling house for himselfe, it is no doubt but that he doth by singular examples shew his care in governing of it.

7 The seruant of God being strengthened with these both, promises and examples, will ioine with them the testimonies which teach that all men are vnder Gods power, whether it be to winne their minds to good will, or to restrain their malice that it may do hurt. For it is the Lord that giueth 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 how by diuers waies to subdue it. For sometime he taketh away their witte from them, so that they can conceiue no sound or sober aduise, like as hee sent forth Saranto fill the mouthes of all the Prophets with lying to deceiue Achab. He made Rechabem made by the young mens counsell, that he might be spoiled of his kingdome by his owne follie. Many times when he graunteth them wit, yet he maketh them so afraide and astonished, that they cannot will or go about that which they haue conceiued. Sometime also when he hath suffered them to go about that which lust and rage did counsell them, he doth in conuenient time breake off their violences, and suffereth them not to proceede to the ende that they purposed. So did he before the time bring to nought the counsell of *Achitophel* that shoulde haue beene to *Dauids* destruction. So also he taketh care to gouerne all his creatures for the benefit and safetie of them that be his, yea, and to gouerne the diuell himselfe, which as we see durst enterprife nothing against *Iob* without his sufferance and commandement. Of this knowledge necessarily ensueth both a thankfulness of minde in prosperous successe of things, and also patience in aduersitie, and an incredible assurednes against the time to come. Whatsoeuer therefore shall betide vnto him prosperously and according to his harts desire, al that he will ascribe vnto God, whether he feele the bountie of God by the ministerie of men, or be holpen by liuelesse creatures. For thus he will thinke in his minde: Surely it is the Lord which hath inclined their minds to me, which hath ioyned them vnto me to be instruments of his goodnes towards me. In plentie of the fruits of the earth, thus he will thinke, that it is the Lord which heareth the heauen, that the heauen may heare the earth, that the earth also may heare her fruits. In other things he will not doubt that it is the only blessing of the Lord, whereby all things prosper, and being put in minde by so many causes he will not abide to be vnthankfull.

Psal. 55. 23.
1. Pet. 9. 5.

Psal. 91. 1.
Zac. 28.
Esa. 26. 2.

Mat. 10. 29.

The comfort which
reseth from the
consideration of
Gods disposing
Iob euil and good
Exod. 3. 21.

1 King. 22. 22.
1. Kin. 12. 10.

2. Sam. 17. 7.

Iob. 1. 12.

8 If any aduersitie happen, he will by and by therein also lift vp his mind to God, whose hand auaieth much to imprint in vs a patience and quiet moderation of hart. If *Ioseph* had still continued in recording the falsehoode of his brethren, he could neuer haue taken a brotherly minde toward them. But because he bowed his minde to the Lord, he forgate the iniurie, and inclined to meekenesse and clemencie, so satre forth that of his owne accord he comforted his brethren and said: It is not you that soulede me into *Ægypt*, but by the will of God I was sent before you to saue your liues. You indeed thought euill of me, but the Lord turned it to good. If *Iob* had had respect to the *Chaldees*, by whom he was troubled, he would foorthwith haue bene kindled to reuenge. But because he did therewithall acknowledge it to be the worke of God, he comforted himselfe with this most excellent saying: The Lord hath giuen, the Lord hath taken away, the Lords name be blessed. So *Darius*: when *Semei* had railed and cast stones at him, if he had looked vpon man, he would haue encouraged his souldiers to reacquite the iniurie. But because he vnderstoode that *Semei* did it not without the mouing of the Lord, he rather appeased them. Let him alone (saide he) for the Lord hath commanded him to curse. With the same bridle in another place doth he restrain the intemperance of sorow. I held my peace (saith he) and became as dumbe, because thou O Lord, didst it. If there be more effectuall remedie against wrath and impatience: surely he hath not a little profited which hath learned in this behalfe to thinke vpon the prouidence of God, that he may alway call backe his minde to this point. It is the Lords will, therefore it must be suffered, not onely because it is not lawfull to striue against it, but also because he willett nothing but that which is both iust and expedient. In summe this is the ende, that being wrongfully hurt by men, we leauing their malice (which would doe nothing but enforce our sorrow, and whet our minds to reuenge) should remember to climbe vp vnto God, and learne to beleeue assuredly, that whatsoever our enemy hath mischicuously done against vs, was both suffered and sent by Gods disposition. *Paul*, to refraine vs from recompensing of iniuries doth wisely put vs in minde, that we are not to wrastle with flesh and blood, but with the spirituall enimie the Diuell, that we may prepare our selues to striue with him. But this is the most profitable lesson for the appeasing of all rages of wrath, that God doth arme as well the Diuell as all wicked men to striue with vs, and that he sitteth as Iudge to exercise our patience. But if the misfortunes and miseries that oppresse vs, doe chaunce without the worke of men, let vs remember the doctrine of the Law: whatsoeuer is prosperous floweth from the fountaine of Gods blessing, and that all aduersities are his cursings: and let that most terrible warning make vs afraid: If ye walke stubbornly against me, I will also walke stubbornly against you. In which is rebuked our sluggishnesse, when according to the common sense of the flesh accounting all to be but chaunce that happeneth of both sorts, we are neither encouraged by the benefites of God to worship him, nor pricked forward with his scourges to repentance. This same is the reason, why *Hieremie* and *Amos* did so sharply rebuke the *Iewes*, because they thought that things as well good as euill came to passe without the commandement of God. To the same purpose serueth that sermon of *Esay*. I the God that create light, and fashion darkenesse, that make peace, and create euill: I God doe make all these things.

9 And yet in the meane time a godly man will not winke at the inferior causes. Neither will he, because he thinketh them the ministers of Gods goodnesse by whom he hath receiued benefite, therefore let them passe vnconsidered, as though they had deserued no thanke by their gentlenesse: but he will hartily thinke himselfe bound vnto them, and will willingly confesse his bonde, and trauell as he shall be able, and as occasion shall serue, to recompence it. Finally in benefites receiued hee will reuerence and praise God as the principall Author, but hee will honour men

To beholde the hand of God in all things which we suffer, maketh vs both patients and penitents. Gen. 43. 8.

Iob. 1. 1

2. Sa. 16. 10.

Psal. 38. 10.

Most excellent doctrine of grace

Eph. 6. 12.

Deut. 28.

I am. 3. 38.

Amo. 3. 6.

Esa. 45. 6.

The way to consider wisely of inferior and second causes, is hereby, they be of things past or things to come.

*e bound to
om god hath
beneficiall to vs*

as the ministers, and as the truth is indeed he will vnderstand that he is by the will of God bounde to them, by whose hand it was Gods will to be beneficiall vnto him. If he suffer any losse by negligence or want of foresight, hee will determine in his minde, that the same was done indeede with the will of God, but he will impute it also to himselfe. If any man be dead by sicknesse whom he hath negligently handled, whereas of duetie he should haue taken good heed vnto him, although he be not ignorant that the man was come to his appointed time beyond which he could not passe, yet will hee not therby lessen his offence, but bicause he had not faithfully discharged his duetie toward him, he will so take it as if he had perished by fault of his negligence. Much lesse when there is vsed any fraud, and conceiued malice of minde in committing either murder or theft, will hee excuse it vnder pretence of Gods prouidence, but he will in one selfe euill act feuerally behold both the righteousness of God, & the wickednes of man, as both doth manifestly shewe themselves. But principally in things to come he will haue consideration of such inferiour causes. For he will reckon it among the blessings of God if he be not disappointed of the helps of men which he may vse for his safetie. And so he neither will be negligent in taking of counsell, nor slothfull in crauing their helpe whom he seeth to haue sufficient whereof he may be succoured: but thinking that whatsoeuer creatures can any thing profit him, the same are offered into his hand by God, he will apply them to his vse as the lawfull instruments of Gods prouidence. And bicause he doth not certainly knowe what successe the busines will haue that he goeth about, (sauing that in all things he knoweth that the Lord will prouide for his benefit) he will with studie trauell to that which he shall thinke expedient for himselfe, so farre as he can conceiue in minde and vnderstanding. And yet in taking of counsels he will not be carried on by his owne wit, but will commit and yeelde himselfe to the wisdom of God, that by the guiding thereof he may be directed to the right end. But his confidence shall not so stay vpon outward helps, that if he haue them he wil carelessly rest vpon them, or if he want them he will be afrade as left destitute, for he will haue his minde alway fastened vpon the Prouidence of God, neither will he suffer himselfe to be drawn away from the stedfast beholding thereof, by consideration of present things. So though *Ioab* acknowledged that the successe of battell is in the will and hand of God, yet he gaue not himselfe to slothfulness but did diligently execute that which belonged to his calling, but he leaueth it vnto the Lord to gouerne the ende. We will stand valiant (saith he) for our nation, and for the cities of our God: But the Lord do what is good in his eyes. This knowledge shal despoile vs of rashnes and wrongfull confidence, and shall driue vs to continuall calling vpon God: and also shall vphold our minds with good hope, so as we may not doubt assuredly and boldly to despise those dangers that compasse vs about.

2. Sam. 10. 12.

*The feares which
euery moment of
our life bringeth,
if our minds be
not fixed in the
knowledge of
Gods prouidence.*

10 In this point doeth the inestimable felicitie of a godly minde shewe foorth it selfe. Innumerable are the cuils that doe beseege mans life, and doe threaten him so many deaths. As, not to go further than our selues: forasmuch as our bodie is a receptacle of a thousand diseases, yea, hath enclosed and doth nourish within it the causes of diseases, man can not carrie himselfe but he must needs also carie about with him many formes of his owne destruction, and draw forth a life as it were entangled with death. For what may it else be called, where he neither is cold, nor sweateth without perill? Now whether focuer thou turne thee, all things that are about thee are not onely vntrusting friends to thee, but doe in manner openly threaten and seeme to shew thee present death. Goe into a ship, there is but a foote thickenes betweene thee and death. Sit on horsebacke, in the slipping of one foot thy life is in danger. Goe through the streets of the citie: euen how many tiles are vpon the houises, to so many perils art thou subiect. If there be an iron toole in thy hand or thy friends, thy harme is readie prepared. How many wilde beastes thou seest, they are all armed

to thy destruction. If thou meane to shutte vp thy selfe, euen in a garden well fenced, where may appeare nothing but pleasantesse of aire and ground, there sometime lurketh a Serpent. The house which is continually subiect to fire, doeth in the day time threaten thee with pouertie, and in the night time with falling vpon thy head. Thy felde, forasmuch as it lyeth open to haile, frost, drowth and other tempestes, it warneth thee of barrennesse, and thereby famine. I speake not of prisonings, treasons, robberies, open violence, of which, part do beseege vs at home, and part doe followe vs abroad. In these streights must not man needes be most miserable, which euen in life half dead doth plainly draw forth a carefull & fainting breath, as if he had a sworde continually hanging ouer his necke? But thou wilt say, that these things chaunce seldome, or at the least not alwaies, nor to all men, and neuer all at once. I graunt, but seeing we are put in minde by the examples of other, that the same things may happen to our selues, and that our life ought of ductie no more to be free than theirs, it cannot be but that we must dread and feare them as things that may light vpon vs. Now what can a man imagine more miserable than such a fearfulness? besides that, it is not without dishonourable reproche of God to say, that he hath set open man the noblest of all his creatures to their blind and vnaduised strokes of fortune. But heere my purpose is to speake onely of the miserie of man, which he should feele if he should be brought subiect vnder Fortunes domination.

IF But when that light of Gods Prouidence hath once shined vpon a godly man: he is nowe releaced and deliuered not onely from the extreme anguish and feare wherewith he was before oppressed, but also from all care. For as iustly he feareth fortune, so he dare boldly commit himselfe to God, This is (I say) his comfort to vnderstande that the heavenly father doeth so holde in all things with his power, so ruleth them with his authority and countenance, so ordereth them with his wisdom, that nothing befalleth but by his appointment: and that he is receiued into Gods tuition, and committed to the charge of Angels, and cannot be touched with any hurt of water, nor fire, nor weapon, but so far as it shall please God the gouernor to giue them place. For so is it sung in the Psalme. For hee shall deliuer thee from the hunters snare, and from the noysome pestilence. He will couer thee vnder his wings, and thou shalt be sure vnder his feathers. His truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraide of the feare of the night, nor of the arrow that flyeth by day, nor of the pestilence that walketh in the darkenesse, nor of the plague that destroyeth at noone day. And from thence proceedeth that boldnesse of the Saints to glorie. The Lord is my helper, I will not feare what flesh may doe to mee. The Lorde is my protector, why shall I be afraide? If whole camps stande vp against mee, if I walke in the midst of the shadow of death, I will not cease to hope well. Whence, I pray you, haue they this that their assurednesse is neuer shaken away from them? but hereby, that where the world seemeth in shewe to be without order whirled about, they knowe that God worketh euerie where, whose worke they trust shall be for their preferuation. Nowe if their safetie be assailed either by the diuell or by wicked men, in that case if they were not strengthened with remembrance and meditation of Prouidence, they must needes by and by be discouraged. But when they call to minde, that the diuell and all the rout of the wicked, are so euery way holden in by the hande of God as with a bridle, that they can neither conceiue any mischiefe against vs, nor goe about it when they haue conceiued it, nor if they goe neuer so much about it, can stirre one finger to bring it to passe but so faire as he shall suffer, yea, so faire as he shall commaund, and that they are not onely holden fast bound with fetters, but also compelled with bridle to doe seruice: here haue they abundantly wherewith to comfort themselues. For as it is the Lordes worke to arme their furie and to turne and direct it whither it pleaseth

*What boldnes,
and quiernes of
minde the know-
ledge of the prou-
idence of God
worketh,*

Psal. 91. 3.

Psal. 118. 5.

him,

him, so is it his worke also to appoint a measure and end, that they doe not after their owne will licentiously triumph. With which persuasion *Paul* being established, did by the sufferance of God appoint his journey in another place which he saide was in one place hindered by Satan. If he had onely saide that he had bene stopped by Satan, he shoulde haue seemed to giue him too much power, as if it had bene in Satans hande to ouerthrowe the verie purposes of God: but when he maketh God the iudge, vpon whose sufferance all iourneies do hang: he doth therewithall shew, that Satan whatsoever he go about, can attaine nothing but by Gods will. For the same reason doth *Dauid*, because for the sundrie chaunges wherewith mans life is tossed and as it were whirled about, he doth flie to this sanctuarie, saith that his times are in the hande of God. He might haue saide either the course of his life, or time in the singular number. But by the worde Times, he meant to expresse that how-foeuer the state of man be visited, whatsoeuer alterations do now and then happen, they are gouerned by God. For which cause *Rafin*, and the king of *Israel*, when ioyning their powers to the destruction of *Iuda*, they seemed as firebrands kindled to waste and consume the laude, are called by the Prophet smoking brands, which can doe nothing but breath out a little smoke. So when *Pharao* was terrible to all men by reason of his riches, strength and number of men, he himselfe is compared to a beast of the Sea, and his armie to fishes. Therefore God saith that hee will take the Captaine and the armie with his hooke and drawe them whither hee list. Finallie, because I will not tarrie long vpon this point, if a man marke it hee shall easilie see that the extremitie of all miseries is the ignorance of Gods Providence, and the cheefe blessednesse standeth in the knowledge thereof.

12 Concerning the Providence of God, this that is saide were enough for so much as is profitable both for the perfect learning and comfort of the faithfull, (for to fill the vaine curiositie of men, nothing can be sufficient, neither is it to be wished that they be satisfied) were it not for certaine places, which seeme to meane otherwise than is aboue declared, that God hath not steadfast and stable purpose but changeable according to the disposition of inferior things. First, in some places is spoken of the repentance of God, as that he repented him of the creating of man, of the aduancing of *Saul* to the kingdome. And that hee will repent him of the cull that hee had determined to laie vpon his people, so soone as he perceiueth any conuersion of them. Againe, there are rehearsed diuerse repeales of his decrees. He had declared by *Ionas* to the *Nininites*, that after forty daies once past *Ninisse* should be destroyed, but by and by he was turned with their repentance to a more gentle sentence. He had by the mouth of *Esaie* pronounced death to *Ezechias*, which hee was moued by his teares and prayers to deferre. Heere vpon manie do make argument, that God hath not appointed mens matters by eternall decree, but yeerely, daily, and hourelie appointeth this or that, as euery mans desertings are, or as he thinketh it equitie and iustice. Concerning his repentance this we ought to holde, that the same can no more be in God, than ignorance, error and weakenesse. For if no man doe wittingly and willingly throw himselfe into the case that he neede to repent, wee can not saie that God doth repent, but that we must also saie, that God is ignorant what will come to passe, or that he cannot auoide it, or that he headlong and vnadvisedly runneth into a purpose whereof he by and by forethinketh him. But that it is so farre from the meaning of the holy Ghost, that in the verie mention making of repentance he denieth that God had any repenting at all, because he is not a man that may repent. And it is to be noted, that in the same Chapter they are both so ioyned together, that the comparison doth verie well bring 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* shall not be,

1. Thef. 1. 18.
1. Cor. 16 7.

Psal. 31. 16.

Esaie. 8. 4.

Ecc. 29. 4.

It disproueth not the setled purpose of God in appointing al things that hee saide to repent him, and th it plagues first denounced be afterwards recalled. Gen. 6 6.
1. Sam. 15. 11.
1er. 18. 8.

Ionas 3. 4.
Esaie. 35. 3. 5.
2 King. 20 5.

1. Sam. 15. 29.

nor shall be moued with repenting. Because he is not a man that he may repent. In which wordes his vncchangeablenesse is affirmed plainly without any figure. Therefore it is certaine that the ordinance of God in disposing the matters of men, is perpetual and about all repentance. And that his constancie should not be doubtful, his very aduerſaries haue been compelled to beare him witnes. For *Balaam* whether he would or no, could not choose but burst out into this saying, that he is not like a man to lie: nor as a sonne of man to be changed, and that it is not possible that he should nor doe that he hath said, and not fulfill whatsoever he hath spoken.

Num. 23. 19.

13 What meaneth then this name of repentance? euen in the same sort that all the other phrascs of speech which doe describe God vnto vs after the maner of men. For, because our weaknesse doth not reach to his highnesse, that description of him which is taught vs, was meete to be framed lowe to our capacitee, that we might vnderstand it. And this is the manner how to frame it lowe for vs, to paint out himselfe not such a one as he is in himselfe, but such a one as he is perceiued of vs. Whereas he himselfe is without all mouing of a troubled minde, he yet testifieth that he is angrie with sinners. Like as therefore when we heare that God is angrie, we ought not to imagine that there is any mouing at all in him, but rather to consider that this speech is borrowd of our cōmon sense, because God beareth a resemblance of one chafed and angrie so oft as he exerciseth iudgement: so ought we to vnderstand nothing else by this worde of Repentance but a changing of deedes, because men by changing of their deedes, are wont to declare that they mislike them. Because then euery change among men is an amendment of that which misliketh them, and amendment commeth of repentance; therefore by the name of repentance is meant that, that God chaungeth in his works. In the meane time yet neither is his purpose nor his will turned, nor his affection changed, but he followeth on with one conuall course that which he had from eternitie foreſetne, allowed and decreed, howsoeuer the alteration seeme sudden in the eyes of men.

God is said to repent himselfe, not because he changeth his purpose, but the euents which his vncchangeable purpose was to change.

14 Neither doth the holic historie shew that Gods decrees were repelled when it sheweth that the destruction was pardoned to the Ninuities which had bene before pronounced, and that the life of *Ezechias* was prolonged after warning giuen him of death. They that to construe it are deceiued in vnderstanding of the threatenings: which although they doe simply assume, yet by the successe it shall be perceiued that they contained a secreete condition in them. For why did God sende *Jonas* to the Ninuities to tell them aforehande of the ruine of their citie? Why did he by *Esay* giue *Ezechias* warning of death? For he might haue brought to naught both him and them without sending them any word of their destruction. He meant therefore another thing, than to make them by foreknowing of their death to see it comming a far off. Euen this he meant: not to haue them destroyed, but to haue them amended that they should not be destroyed. Therefore this that *Jonas* prophesied that *Ninive* should fall after fortie daies, was done to this ende that it should not fall. That hope of longer life was cut off from *Ezechias*, was done for this purpose that he might obtaine longer life. Nowe who doth not see that God meant by such threatenings to awake them to repentance, whome he made afraid to the ende that they might escape the iudgement which they had deserued by their sinnes? If that be so agreed, the nature of the things themselues doth leade vs to this, to vnderstande in the simple threatening a secreete implied condition, which is also confirmed by like examples. The Lorde rebuking the king *Abimelech* for that he had taken away *Abrahams* wife from him, vseth these wordes: Beholde thou shalt die for the woman that thou hast taken, for she hath a husbande. But after hee had excused himselfe, God saide thus: Restore the wife to her husband, for he is a Prophet and shall pray for thee that thou maist lue. If not: knowe that thou shalt die the death and all that thou hast. You see howe in his first sentence he vehemently

Jon. 3. 10.
Esay 35. 5.
Whensoever a thing denounced from God is recalled, it was denounced with condition, if not expected yet secret.

Gen. 16. 3.

strikerh his minde to bring him to be more heedfully bent to make amendes, and in the other doth plainly declare to him his will. Seeing the meaning of other places is like: do not gather of these that there was any thing withdrawn from the first purpose of God, by this that he made voide the thing which he had before pronounced. For God doth prepare the way for his eternall ordinance, when in giuing warning of the punishment he moueth those to repentance, whom his will is to spare, rather than varieth any thing in his will, no not in his word, sauing that he doth not expresse the same thing in syllables which is yet easie to vnderstand. For that saying of *Esaie* must needs remaine true: The Lord of Hostes hath determined, and who shall be able to vndo it? His hand is stretched out, and who shall turne it away?

Esaie. 14. 27.

The xvij. Chapter.

That God doth so vse the seruice of wicked men, and so boweth their minds to put his iudgements in execution, that yet still himselfe remaineth pure from all spot.

How God doth not onely permit but appoint the things to be done which wicked men do.

THere ariseth a harde question out of other places, where it is saide that God boweth and draweth at his will, Satan himselfe and all the reprobate. For the sense of the flesh scarcely conceiueth howe he working by them, shoulde not gather some spot of their fault, yea, in his common working be free from all fault, and iustlie condemne his ministers. Vpon this was deuised the distinction betweene Dooing and Suffering: because many haue thought this doubt vnpossible to bee dissolved: that both Satan and all the wicked are so vnder the hande and power of God, that hee directeth their malice, vnto what ende it pleaseth him, and vseth their wicked dooings to the executing of his iudgements. And their modestie were peraduenture excusable, whom the shewe of absurditie putteth in feare, if it were not so that they doe wrongfullie with a lying defence goe about to deliuer the iustice of God from all vnrightfull blame. It seemeth to them vnreasonable, that man should by the will and commandement of God be made blinde, and so by and by be punished for his blindnesse. Therefore they seeke to scape by this shifte, that this is done by the sufferance, but not by the will of God. But he himselfe plainly pronouncing that he doth it, doth reiect that shifte. As for this that men doe nothing but by the secret commandement of God, and do trouble themselves in vaine with deliberating, vnlesse hee doe by his secret direction stablish, that which hee hath before determined, it is prooued by innumerable and plaine testimonies. It is certaine that this which we before alleaged out of the Psalme, that God doth all things that he will, belongeth to all the dooings of men. If God be the certaine appointer of warre and peace, as it is there saide, and that without exception: who dare say that men are carried causeleslie with blinde motion while God knoweth not of it, and sitteth still? But in speciall examples will be more lightsome plainnesse. By the first Chapter of *Iob* we knowe, that Satan doth no lesse appere before God to receiue his commandements than doe the Angels which doe willingly obey. In dedee it is after a diuerse manner and for a diuerse ende: but yet so that hee cannot goe about any thing but with the will of God. Although these seeme afterwarde to be added a bare sufferance of him to afflict the holie man: yet because that saying is true: The Lorde hath giuen, the Lorde hath taken away, as it pleased God so is it come to passe: We gather that God was the author of that trial of *Iob*, whereof Satan and the wicked theues were ministers. Satan goeth about to driue the holy man by desperation to madnesse. The *Sabees* cruelly and wickedly do invade and rob his goods that were none of theirs. *Iob* knowledgeth that he was by God stripped of all his goods and made poore, because it so pleased God. Therefore whatsoever

Iob 1. 2.

men

men or Satan himselfe attempt, yet God holdeth the sterne to turne all their trauels to the executing of his iudgements. It was Gods will to haue the false king *Achab* deceiued: the diuell offered his seruice thereunto: he was sent with a certaine commandement: to be a lying spirite in the mouth of all the Prophets. If the blinding and madnesse of *Achab* be the iudgement of God, then the deuise of bare Sufferance is vaine. For it were a fond thing to saie, that the iudge doth onely suffer and not also decree what he will haue done, and command the ministers to put it in execution. It was the Iewes purpose to destroy Christ, *Pilate* and the souldiers to followe their raging lust, and yet in a solemne praiser the disciples do confesse, that all the wicked men did nothing else but that which the hande and counsell of God had determined: euen as *Peter* had before preached, that Christ was by the decreed purpose and foreknowledge of God deliuered to be slaine. As if he shoulde say: that God from whom nothing is hidden, from the beginning did wittingly and willingly appoint that which the Iewes did execute, as in another place hee rehearseth, that God which shewed before by all his Prophets that Christ should suffer, hath so fulfilled it. *Absolon* defiling his fathers bed with incestuous adulterie, committed detestable wickednesse. Yet God pronounceth that this was his owne worke. For the words are these: Thou hast done it secretly, but I will doe it openly, and before the sunne. *Hieremie* pronounceth that all the crueltie that the Chaldees vsed in Iurie, was the worke of God. For which cause *Nebucadnezar* is called the seruant of God, God euery where crieth out that with his hissing, with the sound of his trumpet, with his power & commandement the wicked are stirred vp to warre. He calleth the Assyrian the rod of his wrath, and the axe that he moueth with his hande. The destruction of the holy citie and ruine of the temple hee calleth his worke. *Dauid* not murmuring against God, but acknowledging him for a righteous iudge, yet confesse that the cursings of *Semei* proceeded of the commandement of God. The Lord (saith he) commanded him to curse. We often finde in the holy historie, that whatsoever happeneth it cometh of the Lord, as the departing of the ten tribes, the death of the sons of *Heb*, and very manie things of like sort. They that be meanly exercised in the scriptures do see, that for thornesse sake, I bring forth of many testimonies but a few, by which yet it appeereth plainly enough, that they doe trifle and talke fondly, that thrust in a bare Sufferance in place of the Prouidence of God, as though God sat in a watch Tower waiting for the chaunces of Fortune, and so his iudgements should hang vpon the will of men.

2 Now as concerning secret motions, that which *Salomon* speaketh of the hart of a king, that it is bowed hither or thither as pleaseth God, extendeth surelie to all mankinde, and is as much in effect as if he had saide: whatsoever wee conceiue in minde, is by the secret inspiration of God directed to his end. And truely if he did not worke in the mindes of men, it were not rightly said, that he taketh away the lip from the true speakers, and wisdom from aged men, that he taketh the hart from the Princes of the earth, that they may wander where is no beaten way. And heereto belongeth that which we oft read, that men are fearefull so farre forth as their harts be taken with his feare. So *Dauid* went out of the campe of *Saul* and none was ware of it, because the sleepe of God was come vpon them all. But nothing can be desired to be more plainly spoken, than when hee so oft pronounceth, that he blindeth the eyes of men, and slinketh them with giddinesse, that he maketh them drunke with the spinte of drowsinesse, casteth them into madnes, and hardneth their harts. These things also many do referre to sufferance, as if in forsaking the reprobate hee suffered them to be blinded by Satan. But that solution is too fond, forasmuch as the holie Ghost in plaine words expresseth, that they are stricken with blindness and madnes by the iust iudgement of God. It is said, that he hardened the hart of *Pharao*, also that he did make dull and strengthen it. Some doe with an vsuorie cauillation

2 King 22.20.

Act. 4.28.

Act. 2.23.

Act. 3.18.

2 Sam. 16.22.

2 Sam. 12.12.

Hier. 50.25.

Eesai 5.26.

Eesai 10.5.

Eesai 19.25.

2 Sam. 10.10.

1 King 11.30.

1 Sam. 2.34.

Pro. 21.1.

The prouidence of god is a governess which directeth al the inclinations of the minde of man whether they be ad vno good or euill.

Ezc. 7.26.

Leu. 26.36.

1 Sam. 26.

Eccle. 7.3.

Rom. 7.21.

Exod. 8.15.

mocke

mocke out these phraſes of ſpeech, becauſe in another place it is ſaide, *Pharao* did harden his owne heart, there is his owne will ſet for the cauſe of his hardning. As though theſe things did not very well agree together, although in diuers maners, that man while he is moued in working by God, doth alſo worke himſelfe. And I doe turne backe their obiection againſt themſelues. For, if to harden do ſignifie but a bare ſufferance, then the verie motion of obſtinacie ſhall not be properly in *Pharao*. Nowe how weake and fooliſh were it ſo to expound, as if *Pharao* did onely ſuffer himſelfe to be hardned? Moreouer the Scripture cutteth off all occasions from ſuch cauillations. For God ſaith, I will holde his heart. So of the inhabitants of the lande of *Canaan*, *Mofes* ſaith, that they went forth to battell, becauſe the Lorde had hardened their hearts. Which ſame thing is repeated by another Prophet, ſaying: Hee turned their harts that they ſhould hate his people. Againe in *Eſaie* he ſaith, that he will ſend the *Aſſyrians* againſt the deceitfull nation, and will commaund them to carrie away the ſpoiles, and violently take the praie, not meaning that hee will teach wicked and obſtinate men to obey willingly, but that he will bowe them to execute his iudgements as if they did beare his commandements grauen in their mindes. Whereby appeereth that they were moued by the certaine appointment of God. I graunt that God doth oftentimes worke in the reprobate by Satans ſeruce as a meane, but yet ſo that Satan doth his office by Gods moouing, and proceedeth ſo farre as is giuen him. The euill Spirit troubled *Saul*, but it is ſaid that it was of God, that we may know that the madnes of *Saul*, came of the iuſt vengeance of God. It is alſo ſaid, that the ſame Satan doth blinde the mindes of the vnfaithfull: but how ſo, but onely becauſe the effectuall working of errour commeth from God himſelfe, to make them beleue lies that reſuſe to obey they truth? After the firſt maner of ſpeaking it is ſaid, If any Prophet ſhal ſpeake lyingly, I God haue deceiued him. According to the other maner of ſpeech it is ſaide, that he giueth men into a reprobate minde: and to caſt them into filthie deſires, becauſe he is the chiefe authour of his owne iuſt vengeance, and Satan is but onely a miniſter thereof. But becauſe we muſt entreat of this matter againe in the ſecond booke, where we ſhall diſcourſe of free or bond will of man, I thinke I haue already ſhortly ſpoken ſo much as this place required. Let this be the ſumme of all, that for aſmuch as the will of God is ſaide to be the cauſe of all things, his Providence is thought the gouerneſſe in all purpoſes and workes of men, ſo as it ſheweth forth her force not onely in the elect, which are governed by the holy Spirit, but alſo compelleth the reprobate to obedience.

*There are not con-
trarie wills in God,
although he forbid
the doing of euill,
and yet bee willing
to haue it done: but
our blindnes wher-
by we diſcerne not
how theſe two doe
agree, maketh vs
to imagine that
they diſagree when
in truth they doe
not.*

*Pſal. 51. 6.
3. Iohn. 5. 4.*

3 For aſmuch as hitherto I haue recited onely ſuch things as are written in the Scriptures, plainly and not doubtfully, let them that feare not wrongfully to ſlaunder the heavenly oracles, take heed what manner of iudgement they take vpon them. For if by fained pretending of ignorance they ſeek a praife of modeſty, what can be imagined more proudly done, then to ſet one ſmall worde 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 ſpitting againſt the heauen? But this is no newe example of waywardneſſe, becauſe there haue bene in all ages wicked and vngodly men, that with raging mouth barked againſt this point of doctrine. But they ſhall feele that thing indeed 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 vnbrideled licentiousneſſe, that of their owne filthineſſe they doe not onely argue againſt God, but alſo take vpon them power to condemne him. In the meane time he ſhortly admoniſteth, that the blaſphemies which they vomit vpon againſt the heauen doe not reach vnto God, but that he driuing away the clouds of cauillations, doth brightly ſhewe forth his righteouſneſſe, and alſo our faith (becauſe being grounded vpon the worde of God, it is aboute all the worlde) doth from her high place contemptuouſly looke downe vpon theſe myſtes. For fiſt, where they object,

object, that if nothing happen but by the will of God, then are there in him two contrarie wils, because he decreeth those things by secreete purpose, which he hath openly forbidden by his lawe, that is easily wiped away. But before I answer it, I will once againe giue the readers warning that this cauilation is thrown out not against me, but against the Holy Ghost, which taught the holy man *Iob* this confession: as it pleased God, so it came to pass. When he was spoiled by the euils, he acknowledged in the iniurie and hurt that they did him, the iust seourge of God. What saith the Scripture in other places? The sonnes of *Hely* obeyed not their Father, because it was Gods will to kill them. Also another Prophet crieth out, that God which sitteth in heauen doth whatsoever he will. And now I haue shewed plainly ynough that God is the author of all those things which these iudges would haue to happen only by his idle sufferance. He testifieth that he createth light and darknesse, that he formeth good and euill, that no euill happeneth which he himselfe hath not made. Let them tell me, I beseech them, whether he doe willingly or against his will execute his owne iudgements? But as *Moses* teacheth, that he which is slaine by the falling of an axe by chance, is deliuered by God into the hand of the striker: so the whole Church saith in *Luke*, that *Herod* and *Pilate* conspired to doe those things, which the hand and purpose of God had decreed. And truly if Christ were not crucified with the will of God, whence came redemption to vs? And yet the will of God neither doth striue with it selfe, nor is changed, nor is contrary to that which he willet not the thing that he will: but where it is but one and simple in him, it seemeth to vs manifolde, because according to the weakenesse of our wit we conceiue not howe God in diuers maner willet and willet not one selfe thing. *Paul*, after that he hath saide, that the calling of the Gentiles is a hidden mysterie, within a little after saith further, that in it was manifestly shewed the manifold wisedome of God: because for the dulnesse of our wit the wisedome of God seemeth to vs manifolde, or (as the olde interpreter hath translated it) of many fashions: shall we therefore dreame that there is any varietie in God himselfe, as though he either changeth his purpose, or dissenteth from himselfe? Rather when we conceiue not how God will haue the thing to be done, which he forbiddeth to doe, let vs call to minde our owne weakenesse, and therewithall consider that the light wherein he dwelleth, is not without cause called inaccessible, because it is covered with darknesse. Therefore all godly and sober men will easily agree to this sentence of *Augustine*, that sometime man with good will willet that which God willet not. As if a good sonne willet to haue his father to liue, whom God will haue to die. Againe it may come to passe, that man may will the same thing with an euill will, 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. Now the first of these two sonnes willet that which God willet not, and the other sonne willet that which God also willet, and yet the naturalnesse of the first sonne doth better agree with the will of God, although he willet a contrarie thing, than the vnnaturalnesse of the other sonne that willet the same thing. So great a difference is there what to will doth belong to man, and what to God, and to what ende the will of euerie one is to be applied, to haue it either allowed or disallowed. For those things which God willet well he bringeth to passe by the euill wils of euill men. But a little before he had saide, that the Angels apostataes in their falling away, and all the reprobate, in as much as concerneth themselves, did that which God would not, but in respect of the omnipotencie of God, they could by no meanes so doe, because while they did against the will of God, the will of God was done vpon them. Whereupon he crieth out. Great are the works of God, and ought to be sought out of all them that loue them: that in marvellous maner the same thing is not done without his will which is also done against his will, because it could not be done if he did not suffer it: and yet he doth it not against his will, but willingly: and he being good,

Iob. 1. 27.
1 *Sam*. 2. 25.
Psal. 115. 3.

Esaï. 45. 7.

Amos. 3. 6.

Deut. 19. 5.

*Act*s. 4. 28.

Eph. 3. 10.

1. *Tim*. 6. 16.
Encherid. ad
Laur. ca. 103.

Psal. 112. 2.

would not suffer a thing to be done euill, vnlesse for that he is omnipotent, he coulde of euill make good.

*Wicked men are
iustly condemned
for the euill which
they do, although
God haue appoin-
ted it to be done.
2.Sam.16.22.*

4 In the same manner is assoiled or rather vanitheth away the other obiection: that if God doe not onely vse the seruice of wicked men, but also gouerneth their counsels and affections, he is the authour of all wicked dooings, and therefore men are vnwoorthily condemned, if they execute that which God hath decreed, because they obey his will: for it is done amisse to confounde his will and commandement together, which it appeereth by innumerable examples to differ farre asunder. For though when *Absalon* abused his fathers wiues, it was Gods will to punish *Dauid's* adulterie with that dishonour: yet he did not therefore command the wicked sonne to commit incest, vnlesse perhaps you meane it in respect of *Dauid*, as he speaketh of the railings of *Semei*. For when he confesseth that *Semei* raileth at him by the commandement of God, he doth not therein commend his obedience, as if that froward dogge did obey the commandement of God, but acknowledging his tooong to be the scourge of God, he patiently suffreth to bee corrected. And this is to bee holden in minde, that when God performeth by the wicked that thing which he decreed by his secret iudgement, they are not to be excused, as though they disobey his commandement, which in deede of their owne euill lust they do purposely breake. Now how that thing is of God, and is ruled by his secret prouidence, which men doe wickedlie, the election of king *Iarobeam* is a plaine example, in which the rashnesse and madnesse of the people is severely condemned, for that they peruerted the order appointed by God, and falsely fell from the house of *Dauid*, and yet we know it was his will that he should be annointed. Whereupon in the verie wordes of *Osee* there appeereth a certaine shewe of repugnancie, that where God complained that that kingdome was erected without his knowledge, and against his will, in another place he saith, that hee gaue the kingdome to *Iarobeam* in his rage. Howe shall these sayings agree? that *Iarobeam* reigned not by God, and that he was made king by the same God? Euen thus, because neither coulde the people fall from the house of *Dauid*, but that they must shake off the yoke which God hath laide vpon them: neither yet had God his libertie taken away, but that he might so punish the vnthankfulness of *Salomon*. We see therefore how god in not willing false breach of alleagiance, yet to another ende iustlie willet a falling away from their Prince, whereupon *Iarobeam* beside all hope was by holie annointing driuen to be king. After this manner doth the holie historie saie, that there was an enimie raised vp to spoyle *Salomons* sonne of part of his kingdome. Let the Readers diligently vnder both these things, because it hath pleased God to haue the people gouerned vnder the hand of one king. Therefore when it was diuided in two parts, it was *Jon* against his will. And yet the diuision tooke beginning of his will. For surely whereas the Prophet both by words and ceremonie of annointing did moue *Iarobeam* when hee thought of no such thing, to hope of the kingdome, this was not done without the knowledge or against the will of God, which commanded it so to be done: and yet is the rebellion of the people iustly condemned, for that as it were against the will of God, they fell from the posteritie of *Dauid*. In this manner it is also afterwarde further saide, that where *Rebabeam* proudly despised the request of the people, this was done by God, to confirme the worde which he had spoken by the hand of *Ahitha* his seruant. Lo how against Gods will the sacred vnitie is tome in sunder, and yet with the will of the same God ten tribes doe forsake *Salomons* sonne. Let vs adde another like example. Where the people consenting, yea laying their hands vnto it, the sons of *Ahab* were slaine, and all his offspring rooted out. *Iehu* said in deed truely, that nothing of the words of God were fallen to the grounde, but that he had done all that hee had spoken by the hande of his seruant *Elias*. And yet not vnjustly hee rebuketh the citizens of *Samaria*, for that they had put their hands vnto it. Are yee righte-
teous,

1.King.12.20.

Ofce.8.4.
Ofce.13.11.

1.King.11.23.

2.King.10.7.

teous, saith he? If I have conspired against my Lord, who hath killed all these? I haue before (as I thinke) already declared plainly, how in one selfe worke both the fault of man doth bewray it selfe, and also the righteousness of God gloriously appeareth. And for modest wits this answer of *Augustine* shall alway suffice: whereas the father deliuered the sonne, and Christ deliuered his bodie, and *Iudas* deliuered the Lord: why in this deliuering is God righteous, and man faultie? because in the same one thing which they did, the cause was not one, for which they did it. If any be more combered with this that we now say, that there is no content of God with man, where man by the righteous mouing of God doth that which is not lawfull, let them remember that which *Augustine* saith in another place: Who shall not tremble at these iudgements, where God worketh euen in the hearts of euill men whatsoever he will, and yet rendereth to them according to their deseruings? And truly in the falsehood of *Iudas*, it shall be no more lawfull to lay the blame of the wicked deede to God, because he himselfe willed him to be deliuered, and did deliuer him to death, than it shall be to giue away the praise of our redemption to *Iudas*. Therefore the same writer doth in an other place truly tell vs, that in this examination God doth not inquire what men might haue done, or what they haue done, but what their will was to do, that purpose and will may come into the accompt. They that thinke this hard, let them a little while consider, how tolerable their owne waywardnesse is, while they refuse a thing witnessed by playne testimonies of Scripture, because it exceedeth their capacitie, and do find fault that those things are vttered, which God, vnlesse he had knowen them profitable to be knowen, would neuer haue commanded to be taught by his Prophets and Apostles. For our being wise ought to be no more but to embrace with meek willingnes to learne, and that without exception whatsoever is taught in the holy scriptures. As for them that do more stowardly outrage in prating against it, such it is euident that they babble against God, they are not worthie of a longer confutation.

Epist. 48. ad
Vincen.

De gratia & libe-
ro arbitrio ad
Valent. cap. 20.

The end of the first booke.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, which entreateth of the knowledge of

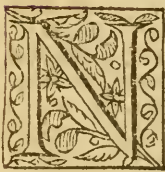
God the redeemer in Christ which

knowledge was first opened to the
Fathers in the time of the
Lawe, and then to vs
in the Gospell.

The first Chapter.

That by Adams sin and falling away, mankind became accursed, and did degenerate from his first estate: wherem is intreated of Originall sin.

*We must learne
thoroughly to know
our selues: that the
consideration of
the graces of God
may make vs
shankefull, and the
beholding of our
miseries, humble
vs.*



WITHOUT CAUSE hath the knowledge of himselfe bene in the old Prouerbe so much commended to man. For if it be thought a shame to be ignorant of all things that pertaine to the course of mans life, then much more shamefull is the not knowing of our selues: whereby it commeth to passe, that in taking counsell of any thing necessarie, we be miserably daseled, yea, altogether blinded. But how much more profitable this lesson is, so much more diligently must we take heed, that we do not disorderly vse it, as we see some of the Philosopher haue done. For they in exhorting man to knowe himselfe, doe withall appoint this to be the ende, why he should knowe himselfe, that he should not be ignorant of his owne dignitie and excellencie: and nothing els do they will him to beholde in himselfe, but that whereby he may swell with vaine confidence, and be puffed vp with pride. But the knowledge of our selues, first standeth in this point, that considering what was giuen vs in creation, and how bountifullly God continueth his gracious fauour toward vs, we may know how great had been the excellencie of our nature, if it continued vncorrupted: and we may withall thinke vpon this, that there is nothing in vs of our owne, but that we haue as it were gotten by borrowing al that God hath bestowed vpon vs, that we may alwaies hang vpon him. Then, that we call to minde our miserable estate after the fall of Adam, the feeling whereof may throw downe all glorying and trust of our selues, ouerwhelme vs with shame, and truly humble vs. For as God at the beginning fashioned vs like his own image, to the end to raise vp our mindes both to the studie of vertue and to the meditation of eternall life, so least the so great noblenes of our kind, which maketh vs different from brute beasts, should be drowned with our slothfulness, it is good for vs to know, that we are therefore endued with reason & vnderstanding, that in keeping a holy & honest life, we should proceed on forward to the appointed ende of blessed immortalitie. But the first dignitie cannot come in our mind, but by and by on the other side the heauie sight of our filchines, and sharpe doth thrust it selfe in preience, since we in the person of the first man are fallen from our first estate, wherupon groweth the hatred & loathing of our selues, and true humilitie, & there is kindled a new desire to seeke for God, in whom cuery of vs may recover those good things, wherewith we are found altogether void and empty.

*Men are giuen to
heare, and hurt by*

2. This thing surely the truth of God appointeth to be sought in examining of our selues, I meane, it requireth such a knowledge as may both call vs away from

all confidence of our owne power, and making vs destitute of all matter to glorie vpon, may bring vs to submission. Which rule it behooueth vs to keepe, if we will attaine to the true marke both of right knowledge and well doing. Neither yet am I ignorant how much more pleasant is that other opinion that allureth vs rather to consider our good things, than to looke vpon our miserable needinesse and dishonor, which ought to ouerwhelme vs with shame. For there is nothing that mans nature more coueteth, than to be stroked with flatterie: and therefore when he heareth the giftes that are in him to be magnified, he leaneth to that side with ouermuch lightnesse of beleefe: whereby it is so much the lesse to be marueiled, that herein the greatest part of men haue perniciously erred. For sith there is naturally planted in all mortall men a more than blinde loue of themselues, they doe most willingly perswade themselues, that there is nothing in them that they ought worthily to hate. So without any maintenance of other, this most vaine opinion doth ech wheie get credit, that man is abundantly sufficient of himselfe to make himselfe lue well and blessedly. But if there be any that are content to thinke more modestly, how focuer they graunt somewhat to God, least they should seeme arrogantly to take all to themselues, yet they so part it, that the principall matter of glory and confidence alway remaineth with themselues. Nowe if there come talke, that with hir allurements tickleth the pride that already of it selfe itcheth within the bones, there is nothing that may more delite them. Therefore as any hath with his extolling most fauourably aduanced the excellency of mans nature, so hath he bene excepted with the well liking reioycement in manner of all ages. But whatsoeuer such commendation there be of mans excellencie that teacheth man to rest in himselfe, it doth nothing but delite with that her sweetnesse, and indeede so deceiueth, that it bringeth to most wretched destruction all them that assent vnto it. For to what purpose auaieth it for vs, standing vpon all vaine confidence to deuise, appoint, attempt and goe about those things that we thinke to be for our behoofe, and in our first beginning of enterprise to be forsaken and destitute of sound vnderstanding and true strength, and yet to goe on boldly till we fall downe into destruction? But it cannot otherwise happen to them that haue affiance that they can doe any thing by their owne power. Therefore if any man giue heede to such teachers that hold vs in considering onely our owne good things, he shall not profite in learning to know himselfe, but shall be carried violently away into the worse kinde of ignorance.

3 Therefore, whereas in this point the truth of God doth agree with the common naturall meaning of all men, that the second part of wisdom consisteth in the knowledge of our selues, yet in the very manner of knowing there is much disagreement. For by the iudgement of the flesh, a man thinketh that he hath then well searched himselfe, when trusting vpon his owne vnderstanding and integriety, hee taketh boldnesse, and encourageth himselfe to doing the duties of vertue, and bidding battle to vices, trauaileth with all his study to bende himselfe to that which is comely and honest. But he that looketh vpon and trieth himselfe by the rule of Gods iudgement, findeth nothing that may raise vp his minde to good affiance: and the more inwardly that he hath examined himselfe, the more he is discouraged, till being altogether spoyled of all confidence, he leaneth to himselfe nothing toward the well ordering of his life. And yet would not God haue vs to forget the first noblenes that he gaue to our Father *Adam*, which ought of good right to awakes vs to the studie of righteousnes and goodnesse. For we cannot consider either our own first estate, or to what ende we are created, but we shall be pricked forward to study vpon immortallitie, and to desire the Kingdome of God. But that consideration is so farre from putting vs in courage, that rather discouraging vs, it throweth vs downe to humblenesse. For what is that first estate of ours? euen that from whence we are fallen. What is that ende of our creation? euen the same from which

hearing their excellency ouer much aduanced.

The true knowledge of our selues emboldeneth not, but casteth downe: it teacheth vs what our dutie is, and how vnable we are to performe it.

Cap. I. Of the knowledge of

we are altogether turned away: so that loathing our owne miserable estate, we may grone for sorrow, and in groaning may also sigh for the losse of that dignitie. But now when we say that man ought to beholde nothing in himselfe that may make him of bold courage: we meane that there is nothing in him, vpon affiance wherof he ought to be proud. Wherefore, if any list to heare what knowledge man ought to haue of himselfe, let vs thus diuide it, that first he consider to what end he is created, and endued with gifts that are not to be despised, by which thought he may be stirred vp to the meditation of the hearing of God and of the life to come. Then let him wey his owne strength, or rather needie want of strength, by perceiuing wherof he may lye in extreme confusion, as one viterly brought to naught. The first of these considerations tendeth to this end, that he may know what is his duetie: and the other, how much he is able to do towards the performing of it. We will entreat of them both, as the order of teaching shall require.

4 But because it must needs be that it was not a light negligence, but a detestable wicked act which God so severely punished, we must consider the very forme of the same in the fall of *Adam*, that kindled the horrible vengeance of God vpon all mankind. It is a childish opinion that hath commonly bene receiued, concerning the intemperance of gluttony, as though the sum and head of all vertues consisted in the for bearing of one onely fruit, when there flowed one euerie side store of all sortes of demities that were to be desired, and when in that blessed fruitfulness of the earth, there was not onely plentie, but also varietie to make fare for pleasure. Therefore we must looke further, because the forbidding him from the tree of the knowledge of good and euill, was the triall of obedience, that *Adam* in obeying might proue that he was willingly subiect to the gouernement of God. And the name of the tree it selfe sheweth, that that commaundement was giuen for none other end, than for this, that he contented with his owne estate should not with wicked lust aduance himselfe higher. But the promise whereby hee was bidden to hope for eternall life, so long as he did not eate of the tree of life, and againe, the horrible threatning of Death so soone as hee should tast of the tree of knowledge of good and euill, serued to prouee and exercise his Faith. Hereof it is not harde to gather, by what meanes *Adam* prouoked the wrath of God against himselfe. *Augustine* in deede saith not amisse, when he saith, that pride was the beginning of all euils. For if ambition had not lifted vp man higher than was lawfull and than was permitted him, he might haue continued in his estate: but we must fetch a more full definition from the manner of the tentation that *Moses* describeth. For sith the woman was with the decete of the Serpent led away by infidelitie, new it appeareth that disobedience was the beginning of the fall. Which thing *Paul* confirmeth, teaching that all men were lost 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 onely was taken with the entisements of *Satan*, but also despising the truth, did turne out of the way to lying. And surely Gods word being once despised, all reuerence of God is shaken off. Because his maestie doth no other waies abide in honour among vs, nor the worship of him remaine inuiolate, but while we hang vpon his mouth. Therefore infidelitie was the roote of that falling away. But thereupon arose ambition and pride, to which was adioyned vnthankfulness, for that *Adam* in coueting more than was graunted, did vnreuerently despise the so great liberalitie of God wherewith he was enriched. And this was a monstrous v. irkednesse, that the sonne of the earth thought it a small thing that he was made after the likeness of God, vnlesse he might also be made equall with God. If Apostasie be a filthy and detestable offence, whereby man draweth himselfe from the allegiance of his Creator, yea, outragiously shaketh off his yoke: then it is but vaine to extenuate the sinne of *Adam*. Albeit it was no simple Apostasie, but royned with shamefull reproches against God, while they

Adams transgression proceeding from insublie ioyne with pride and vnthankfulness, ended with reprochfull Apostasie from God.

Rom. 5. 19.

*troubled by sinne
in the way to God*

they assented to the sleaunders of Satan, wherein he accused God of lying, enuie, and niggardly grudging, Finally, infidelitie opened the gate to ambition, ambition was the mother of obstinate rebellion, to make men cast away the feare of God, and throw themselves whither their lust carried them. Therefore *Bernard* doth rightly teach that the gate of saluation is opened vnto vs, when at this day we receive the Gospell by our eares: euen as by the same windowes, when they stood open to Satan, death was let in. For *Adam* would neuer haue bene so bold, as to doe against the commandement of God, but for this, that he did not beleeuie his worde. Truly this was the best bridle for the right keeping of all affections in good order, to thinke that there is nothing better than to keepe righteoufnesse in obeying the commandments of God, and then that the chiefe ende of happy life is to be beloued of him. He therefore being carried away with the blasphemies of the diuell, did (asmuch as in him lay) extinguisht the whole glory of God.

5 As the spirituall life of *Adam* was, to abide ioyned and bounde to his Creator, so his alienation from him was the death of his soule. Neither is it maruile if he by his falling away, destroyed all his owne posteritie, which peruerted the whole order of nature in heauen and in earth. All the creatures doe grone, saith *Paule*, being made subiect to corruption against their will. If one should aske the cause: no doubt it is for that they beare part of that punishment that man deserued, for whose vse they were created. Sith then the curse that goeth throughout al the coastes of the world, proceeded from his fault both vpward and downwarde, it is nothing against reason, if it spread abroad into all his 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 which ornaments he had bene clothed) there came in the most horrible pestilences, blindnesse, weaknesse, filthinesse, falshood, and iniustice, but also he entangled and drowned his whole offspring in the same miseries. This is the corruption that commeth by inheritance, which the olde writers called originall sinne, meaning by this worde sinne, the corruption of nature, which before was good and pure. About which matter they haue had much contention, because there is nothing further off from common reason, than all men to be made guiltie of one mans fault, and so the sinne to become common. Which seemeth to haue bene the cause why the oldest Doctors of the Church did but darkely touch this point, or at the least did not set it out so plainly as was conuenient. And yet that fearetulnesse could not bring to passe, but that *Pelagius* arose, whose prophane inuention was that *Adam* sinned onely to his owne losse, and hurted not his posteritie. So through this suttlerie, Satan went about by hiding the disease, to make it incurable. But when it was proued by manifest testimony of Scripture, that sinne passed from the first man into all his posteritie, hee brought this cauillation, that it passed by imitation, but not by propagation. Therefore good men trauielled in this point, and aboue all other *Augustine*, to shew that we are corrupted not by foreine wickednesse, but that we bring with vs from the wombe of our mother a vicioufnesse planted in our begetting, which to deny was too great shamelesnesse. But the rashnes of the *Pelagians* and *Celestians* will not seeme maruclous to him, which by the writings of the holy man shall perceiue, how shamelesse beastes they were in all other things. Surely it is not doubtfully spoken that *David* confesseth that he was begotten in iniquities, and by his mother conceiued in sinne. He doth not there accuse the sinnes of his father or mother, but the better to set forth the goodnesse of God toward him, he beginneth the confession of his owne wickednesse at his very begetting. Forasmuch as it is euident that that was not peculiar to *David* alone, it followeth that the common estate of all mankind is noted vnder his example. All we therefore that descende of vnclane seede, are borne infected with the contagion of sinne, yea, before that we see the

Rom. 8.

All Adams offspring through his sinne are made sinfull, not by imitation only as Pelagius saught, but by propagation, receiving the contagion of sinne and vnclannes before they behold the light of this life.

Psal. 51. 7.

Iohn 14. 4.

light of this life, we be in the sight of God filthy and spotted. For who could giue cleane of the vncleannesse? not one: as it is in the booke of *Iob*.

In Adam our nature being corrupted cometh vnto vs such as he by sin had made it: whereupon it followeth, that we are dead because he was dead of whom we are: sonnes of wrath because they were so that begate vs: flesh because we are borne of flesh.

Rom. 5. 12.

1. Cor. 15. 22.

Rom. 8. 10.

Eph. 1. 3.

Ioha. 3. 6.

Whether we haue our soules or no, by derivation from our parents, as we haue our bodies, is a needfull question in this case. It sufficeth vs to know

6 Wee heare that the vncleannesse of the parents so passeth into the children, that all without any exception at their beginning are defiled. But of this defiling we shall not finde the beginning vnclesse we go vp to the first parent of all vs, to the well head. Thus it is therefore, that *Adam* was not onely the progenitor, but also the roote of mans nature, and therefore in his corruption was all mankind worthily corrupted: which the Apostle maketh plaine by comparing of him and Christ. As (saith he) by one man sinne entred into the whole worlde, and death by sinne, and so death went ouer all men, forasmuch as all haue sinned: so by the grace of Christ, righteousnesse and life is restored vnto vs. What will the *Pelagians* heere prate? that *Adams* sinne was spread abroad by imitation? Then haue wee no other profite by the righteousnesse of Christ, but that hee is an example set before vs to followe? Who can abide such robberie of Gods honour? If it be out of question that Christes righteousnesse is ours by communication, and thereby life: it followeth also that they both were so lost in *Adam*, as they be recovered in Christ: and that sinne and death so crept in by *Adam*, as they are abolished by Christ. The words are plaine, that many are made righteous by the obedience of Christ, as by the disobedience of *Adam* they were made sinners: and that therefore betwene them two is this relation, that *Adam* wrapping vs in his destruction, destroyed vs with him; and Christ with his grace restored vs to saluation. In so cleere light of truth, I thinke we neede not a longer or more laborous prooffe. So also in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, when he goeth about to stablish the godly in the trust of the resurrection, he sheweth that the life is recovered in Christ, that was lost in *Adam*, he that pronounceth that we all are dead in *Adam*, doth also therewithall plainly testifie, that we were infected with the filth of sinne. For damnation could not reach vnto them that were touched with no guiltinesse of iniquitie. But it can be no way plainlier vnderstanded what hee meaneth then by relation of the other member of the sentence, where he teacheth that hope of life is restored in Christ. But it is well enough known that the same is done no other way, than when by naturall manner of communicating, Christ powreth into vs the force of his righteousnes. As it is written in another place, that the spirite is life vnto vs, for righteousnesse sake. Therefore we may not otherwise expound that which is said that we are dead in *Adam*, but thus, that he in sinning did not onely purchase mischief and ruine to himselfe, but also threw downe our nature headlong into like destruction. And that not onely to the corruption of himselfe, which pertaineth nothing to vs, but because he infected all his seed with the same corruption whereinto he was fallen. For otherwise the saying of *Paule* could not stand true, that all are by nature the sonnes of wrath, if they were not already accursed in the wombe. And it is easily gathered that nature is there meant not such as it was created by God, but such as it was corrupted in *Adam*. For it were not conuenient, thit God should be made the author of death. *Adam* therefore so corrupted himselfe, that the infection passed from him into all his offspring. And the heauenly iudge himselfe Christ, doth also plainly enough pronounce, that all are borne euill and corrupted, where he teacheth, that whatsoever is borne of flesh, is flesh, and that therefore the gate of life is closed against all men, vntill they be begotten againe.

7 Neither for the vnderstanding thereof is any curious disputation needfull, which not a little combed the old writers, whether the soule of the sonne doe proceede by derivation from the soule of the father, because in it the infection principally resteth. Wee must be content with this, that such giftes as it pleased the Lorde to haue bestowed vpon the nature of man, he left them with *Adam*, and therefore when *Adam* lost them after he had receiued them, he lost them not onely

from.

from himselfe, but also from vs all. Who shall be carefull of a conueyance from soule to soule, when he shall heare that *Adam* receiued these ornaments which he lost, no lesse for vs than for himselfe? that they were not giuen to one man onely, but assigned to the whole nature of man? Therefore it is not against reason, if he being spoiled, nature be left naked and poore: if he being infected with sinne, the infection creepeth into nature. Therefore from a rotten roote arose vp rotten branches, which sent their rottennesse into the other twiggues that sprong out of them. For so were the children corrupted in the father, that they also were infectiue to their children: that is to say, so was the beginning of corruption in *Adam*, that by continuall flowing from one to another, it is conueyed from the ancestors into the posteritie. For the infection hath not her cause in the substance of the flesh or of the soule, but because it was so ordeined of God, that such giftes as he had giuen to the first man, man should both haue them, and lose them as well for himselfe as for his. As for this that the *Pelagians* doe cauill, that it is not likely that the children doe take corruption from godly parents, sith they ought rather to be sanctified by their cleanness, that is easily confuted. For they descend not of their spirituall regeneration, but of their carnall generation. Therefore as *Augustine* saith, whether the vnbeleuer be condemned as guiltie, and the beleuer quite as innocent, they both doe beget not innocents, but guiltie, because they beget of the corrupted nature. Now where as they doe in manner partake of the parents holiness, that is the speciall blessing of the people of God, which proueth not but that the first and vniuersall curse of mankind went before. For of nature is guiltinesse, and sanctification is of supernaturall grace.

8 And to the ende that these things be not spoken of a thing vncertaine and vknownen, let vs define Originall sinne. But yet I meane not to examine all the definitions that are made by writers, but I will bring forth one onely, which I thinke to be most agreeable with truth. Originall sinne therefore seemeth to be the inheritably descending peruersenesse and corruption of our nature, powred abroad into all the partes of the soule, which first maketh vs guiltie of the wrath of God, and then also bringeth forth these workes in vs, which the Scripture calleth the workes of the flesh: and that is it properly that *Paul* oftentimes calleth sinne. And these workes that arise out of it, as are adulteries, fornications, theftes, hatreds, murders, banquetings, after the same manner he calleth the suites of sinne, albeit they are likewise called sinnes both commonly in the Scriptures, and also by the same *Paul* himselfe. Therefore these two things are distinctly to be noted: that is, that being so in all partes of our nature corrupted and peruered, we are now euen for such corruption onely holden worthyly damned and conuicted before God, to whome is nothing acceptable but righteousnesse, innocencie and purenesse. And yet is not that bonde in respect of anothers fault. For where it is said, that by the sinne of *Adam* we are made subiect to the iudgement of God, it is not so to be taken, as if we innocent and vnderferuing did beare the blame of his fault. But because of his offending we are all clothed with the curse, therefore is it saide that hee hath bounde vs. Neuertheless, from him not the punishment onely came vpon vs, but also the infection distilled from him, abideth in vs, to the which the punishment is iustly due. Wherefore how so euer *Augustine* doth oftentimes call it an others sinne, (to shew the more plainly, that it is conueyed into vs by propagation) yet doth he also affirme withall that it is proper to euery one. And the Apostle himselfe expressly witnesseth, that therefore death came vpon all men, because all men haue sinned, and are wrapped in Originall sinne, and defiled with the spoutes thereof. And therefore the very infantes themselues, while they bring with them their owne damnation from their mothers wombe, are bounde, not by anothers, but by their owne fault. For though they haue not as yet brought

that what God bestowed vpon Adam, it was to hold, or to lose, for, or from, both himselfe and his. That the children of faithfull men are sanctified, v no disproofe of their originall corruption.

Cont. Pelag. & Celst.

What originall sin is, and that we are not onely subiect to the punishment which our first fathers fault deserued, but the infection of his faultnesse is also in vs.

Gal. 5. 19.

Rom. 5. 12.

foorth the fruits of their owne iniquitie, yet they haue the seede thereof enclosed within them: yea, their whole nature is a certaine seed of sinne: therefore it cannot be but hatefull and abhominable to God. Whereupon followeth, that it is properly accounted sinne before God: for there could be no guiltines without sin. The other point is, that this peruerfnesse neuer ceaseth in vs, but continually bringeth foorth new fruits, euen the same workes of the flesh that we haue before described: like as a burning furnace bloweth out flame and sparkles, or as a spring doth without ceasing cast out water. Therefore they which haue defined Originall sinne, to be a lacking of Originall righteousnes which ought to haue beene in vs, although in deed they comprehend all that is in the thing it selfe: yet they haue not fully enough expressed the force and efficacie thereof. For our nature is not onely bare and emptie of goodnesse, but also is so plenteous and fruitfull of all euils, that it cannot be idle. They that haue saide, that it is a concupiscence, haue vsed a worde not very far from the matter, if this were added, which is not granted by the most part, that whatsoever is in man, euen from the vnderstanding to the will, from the soule to the flesh, is corrupted and stuffed full with this concupiscence: or, to end it shorter, that whole man is of himselfe nothing else but concupiscence.

The verie vnderstanding of man is corrupted & not the sensuall or inferior part onely.

9 Wherefore, I haue saide that all the parts of the soule are possessed of sinne, sith *Adam* fell away from the fountaine of righteousnesse. For not onely the inferior appetite allured him, but wicked impetrie possessed the very castle of his mind, and pride peared to the innermost part of his heart. So that it is a sonde and foolish thing, to restraints the corruption that proceeded from thence, only to the sensuall motions as they call them, or to call it a certaine nouiture that allureth, stureth and draweth to sinne onely that part, which among them is called Sensualitie. Wherein *Peter Lombard* hath disclosed his grosse ignorance, which seeking & searching for the place of it, saith that it is in the flesh, as *Paul* witnesseth, not properly in deede, but because it more appeareth in the flesh, as though *Paul* did meane onely a part of the soule, and not the whole nature which is in comparison set against supernaturall grace. And *Paul* there taketh away all doubt: teaching that corruption resteth not in one part alone, but that nothing is pure and cleane from the deadly infection thereof. For entreating of corrupted nature, he doth not onely condemne the inordinate motions of appetites that appeare, but specially trauelleth to prouue that the vnderstanding minde is subiect to blindnes, and the hart to peruerfnesse. And the same third Chapter to the *Romanes* is nothing else but a description of originall sinne. That appeareth more plainly by the renewing. For the spirit which is compared with the old man and the flesh, doth not onely signifie the grace whereby the inferior or sensuall part of the soule is amended, but also containeth a full reformation of all the parts. And therefore *Paul* doth commaund, not onely that our grosse appetites be brought to naught, but also that we our selues be renewed in the spirit of our minde, as likewise in another place he biddeth vs to be transformed in newnesse of minde. Whereupon followeth, that the same part, wherin most of all shineth the excellencie and noblenesse of the soule, is not onely wounded, but also so corrupted, that it needeth not onely to be healed, but in manner to put on a new nature. How farre sinne possideth both the vnderstanding minde and the heart, we will see hereafter. Here I onely purposed shortly to touch that the whole man from the head to the foot is so ouerwhelmed as with an ouerflowing of water, that no part of him is free from sinne, and that therefore whatsoever proceedeth from him is accounted for sinne, as *Paul* saith, that all the affections of the flesh or thoughts are enemies against God, and therefore death.

Though we be naturally sinfull yet is not God the author of our sin.

10 Now let them go, that presume to make God author of their sinnes, because we say that men are naturally sinfull. They doe wrongfully seeke the worke of God in their owne filthines, which they ought rather to haue sought in the nature of

Adam, while it was yet sound and vncorrupted. Therefore our destruction commeth of the fault of our owne flesh and not of God, forasmuch as we perished by no other meane but by this, that we degreded from our first estate. But yet let not any man heere murmure and saie, that God might haue better foreseene for our saluation, if he had prouided that *Adam* shoulde not haue fallen. For this obiection both is to be abhorred of all godlie mindes, for the too much presumptuous curiositie of it, and also pertaineth to the secret of predestination, which shall after bee entreated of in place conuenient. Wherefore let vs remember that our fall is to be imputed to the corruption of nature, that we accuse not God himselfe the author of nature. True in deede it is, that the same deadly wounde sticketh fast in nature: but it is much matteriall to know, whether it came into nature from elsewhere, or from the beginning hath rested in it. But it is euident that the wounde was given by sinne. Therefore there is no cause why wee shoulde complaine but of our selues: which thing the Scripture hath diligently noted. For *Ecclesiastes* saith: This haue I founde, that God hath made man righteous, but they haue sought manie inuentions. It appeareth that the destruction of man is to be imputed onely to himselfe, forasmuch as hauing gotten vprightnesse by the goodnesse of God, he by his owne madnesse is fallen into vanitie.

Ecc. 7. 13.

¶ We say therefore that man is corrupted with faultinesse naturall, but such as proceeded not from nature. We denie that it proceeded from nature, to make it appeere that it is rather a qualitie come from some other thing, which is happened to a man, than a substantiall proprietie that hath bene put into him from the beginning. Yet we call it Naturall, that no man shoulde thinke that euery man getteth it by euill custome, whereas it holdeth all men bounde by inheritably descending right. And this we do not of our owne heads without authoritie. For, for the same cause the Apostle teacheth, that we are all by nature the children of wrath, Howe could God, whom all his meanest workes do please, be wrathfull against the noblest of all his creatures? But he is rather wrathfull against the corruption of his worke, than against his worke it selfe. Therefore if, for that mans nature is corrupted, man is not vntruly saide to be by nature abominable to God, it shall bee also not vnaptly called naturally peruerse and corrupted. As *Augustine* feareth not in respect of nature corrupted, to call the finnes naturall, which doe necessarily raigne in our flesh where the grace of God is absent. So vanisheth away the foolish trifling deuise of the *Machieues*, which when they imagined an euilnesse hauing substance in man, presumed to forge for him a new Creator, lest they should seeme to assigne to the righteous god the cause and beginning of euill.

We are termed corrupt by nature not because God hath put corruption on as a naturall qualitie in vs, but because together with our nature it is deriued into vs and not gotten by custome.
Eph. 2. 3.

The second Chapter.

That man is now spoiled of the Freedome of will, and made subject to miserable bondage.

¶ **S**ith we haue scene, that the dominion of sinne, since the time that it held the first man bound vnto it, doth not onely reigne in all mankinde, but also wholly possesseth euery soule: now must we more neerely examine, since we are brought into that bondage, whether we be spoiled of all freedome or no: and if yet there remaine anie parcell, how farre the force thereof proceedeth. But to the ende that the truth of this question may more easily appeere vnto vs, I will by the waye set vp a marke, wherunto the whole summe may be directed. And this shall be the best waie to auoide errour, if the dangers be considered that are like to fall on both sides. For when man is put from all vprightnesse, by and by he thereby taketh occasion of slouthfulness: and because it is saide, that by himselfe he can doe nothing to the studie of righteoussnes,

The doctrine which concerneth the bondage of our will, must not make vs slothfull vnto good things, as if they did not appertaine vnto vs, but rather hinde and carefull, that knowing our owne weaknes, we presume not so trust vnto our selues.

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teousnes, soorthwith hee neglecteth it wholly, as if it pertained nothing vnto him. Again, he can presume to take nothing vpon himself, be it neuer so litle, but that both Gods honour shall be thereby taken from him, and man himselfe be ouerthrowne with rash confidence. Therefore to the ende we strike not vpon these rockes, this course is to be kept, that man being enformed that there remaineth in him no goodnes, and being on every side compassed about with most miserable necessitie, may yet be taught to aspire to the goodnes whereof he is voide, and to the libertie whereof he is deprived, and may be more sharply stirred vp from slouthfulness, than if it were fained that he is furnished with greatest power. How necessarie this second point is, euery man seeth. The first, I see is doubted of by moe than it ought to be. For thus being set out of controuersie, it ought then plainly to stand for truth, that nothing is to be taken away from man of his owne, as farre as it behouoeth that he be thrown downe from false boasting of himselfe. For if it were not graunted to man to glory in himselfe euen at that time, when by the bountifullnes of God he was garnished with most singular ornaments, how much ought he now to be humbled, sith for his vnthankfulness he is thrust downe from his glorie into extreme shame? At that time (I saie) when he was advanced to the highest degree of honour, the Scripture attributeth nothing else vnto him, but that he was created after the image of God, whereby it secretly teacheth, that man was blessed, not by his owne good things, but by the partaking of God. What therefore remaineth now, but that he being naked and destitute of all glorie, do acknowledge God, to whose liberalitie he could not be thankful when he flowed full of the riches of his grace: and that now at length with confession of his owne pouertie he glorifie him, whom in the acknowledging of his good gifts, he did not glorifie? Also it is as much for our profit, that all praise of wisdom and strength be taken from vs, as it pertaineth to the glorie of God that they ioyne our ruine with the robbrie of God, that giue vnto vs any thing more than that which is true. For what is else done when we are taught to fight of our owne force, but that we be listd vp on hie on a staffe of a reede, that it may by and by breake, and we fall to the ground? Albeit, our forces are yet too much commended when they are compared to the staffe of a reede. For it is but smoke all that vaine men haue imagined and doe babble of them. Wherefore not without cause is this excellent sentence oft repeated by *Augustine*, that free will is rather throwne downe headlong, than stablished by them that defende it. This I thought needfull to speake before, as by waie of Preface for manie mens sakes, which when they heare mans power ouerthrowne from the ground, that the power of God may bee builded in man, doe much hate this manner of disputing as dangerous, much more superfluous, which yet appeereth to be both in religion necessarie, and for vs most profitable.

2 Whereas we haue a litle before said, that in the vnderstanding minde, and in the hart are placed the powers of the soule, nowe let vs consider what they both are able to do. The Philosophers indeed with great consent do imagine that in the vnderstanding minde sitteth reason, which like a lampe giueth light to all counsels, and like a Queene governeth the will, for they say that it is endued with diuine light, that it can giue good counsell, and so excelleth in liuely force that it is able well to gouerne. On the other side, that sense is dull and bleare eyed, that it alway creepeth on the ground, and walloweth in grosse objects, and neuer listeth vp it selfe to true insight. That the appetite, if it can abide to obey reason, and do not yeelde it selfe to sense to be subdued, is carried on to the studie of vertues, holdeth on the right way, & is transformed into will: but if it giue it selfe subiect into the bondage of sense, it is by it corrupted and peruerted, so that it degendeth into lust. And whereas by their opinion there do sit in the soule those powers that I haue spoken of before, vnderstanding, sense, appetite or will, which worde will is now more commonly vsed, they

*The opinion of
Philosophers con-
cerning the free-
dom of mans will.*

say that vnderstanding is endued with reason, the best gouernesse towarde good and blessed life, so that it doe hold it selfe within his owne excellencie, and shew fourth the force that is naturally giuen it. But that inferior motion of it, which is called sense, wherewith man is drawne to error and deceit, they say to be such, that it may be tamed with the rod of reason, and by litle & litle be vanquished. They place will in the middt between reason and sense, as a thing at her owne ordering, & hauing libertie whether it list to obey to reason, or giue foorth it selfe to be rauished by sense.

3 Sometime in deede they doe not denie, being ouercome by very experience, how hardly man stablisheth reason to raigne as Queene within himselfe, while sometime he is tickled with entisements of pleasure, sometime deceiued with false semblance of good things, sometimes importunately striken with immoderate affecti- ons, and violently haled out of the way as it were with ropes or strings of sinewes, as *Plato* saith. For which reason *Cicero* saith, that these spakes giuen by nature, are with peruerse opinions and euill manners by and by quenched: But when such diseases haue once gotten places in the mindes of men, they graunt that they do more ou- rragiously ouerflow, than that they easily may be restrained: and they steeke not to compare them to wilde hoises which throwing away reason as it were casting the Chariot driuen, doe range vnruledly and without measure. But thus they make no question of, that vertues and vices are in our owne power. For if (say they) it be in our choise to doe this or that, then is it also in our choise not to doe. Now if it lie in our choise not to doe, then is it also to doe, but of free choise we seeme to do those things that we doe, and to forbear those things that we forbear. Therefore if we doe any good thing when we list, we may likewise leaue it vndone: if we doe any euill, we may also eschew the same. Yet some of them haue burst forth into so great licenti- oufnes, that they haue boasted that it is in deede Gods gift that we liue, but our owne that we liue well and holily. And thence commeth that saying of *Cicero* in the person of *Cotta*: because euery man himselfe getteth vertue to himselfe, therefore neuer any of the wise men did thanke God for it. For (saith he) for vertue we be praised, and in vertue we glorie, which should not be if it were the gift of God, and not of our selues. And a litle after: This is the iudgement of all men that fortune is to be asked of God, but wise dome to be taken of himselfe. This therefore is the summe of the opi- nion of all the Philosophers: that the reason of mans vnderstanding is sufficient for a right gouernance: that Will being subiect to it, is in deede moued by Sense to euill things. But euen as it hath free election, so can it not be stopped, but that it follow reason for her guide in all things.

4 Among the Ecclesiasticall writers, albeit there haue bene none that did not acknowledge both that the foundnesse of reason in man hath bene sore wounded by sinne, and his will exceedingly entangled with peruerse desires, yet many of them haue too much assented to the Philosophers, of which the auncient, as I thinke, did so much aduance the strength of man vpon this consideration, least if they should haue expressly confessed his weakenesse, first they should haue made the Philoso- phers, with whom they then contended, to laugh at them: and then least they should giue to the flesh, which of it selfe was dull to goodnesse, a new occasion of slothful- nesse. Therefore because they would not teach any thing that were an absurditie in the common iudgement of men, their studie was to make the doctrine of the Scrip- ture halfe to agree with the teachings of the Philosophers. But that they principally regarded that seconde point, not to make place for slothfulnesse, appeereth by their owne wordes. *Chrysostome* hath in one place: Because God hath put both good and euill things in our owne power, hee hath giuen vs Freedome of election, and he withholdeth not the vnwilling, but embraceth the willing. Againe, oftentimes he th it is euill, if hee will, is turned into good, and hee that is good by slothfulnesse falleth and becommeth euill, because God made our nature to haue free will, and

Philosophers ima- gin that man hath in and of himselfe habitus as to be vicious, so to make himselfe virtuou- s. l. c. leg. 16. lib. 1. Tuf. quest. lib. 3.

Arist. eth lib. 3. cap. 5.

Seneca.

De nat. Deor. li. 3.

The auncient fa- thers for feare of couradieting the common receiued opinion of Philoso- phers, and least they should norse men in flesh haue too much aduanc- ed the strength of man both rea- son and will.

Hom. de prodi- tionc.

Chrylost. in Gen. hom. 18.

Cap. 2. Of the knowledge of

Hom. 52.

Dialog. 3. contra Pelagium.

he layeth not necessitie vpon vs, but giuing conuenient remedies, suffreth all to lie in the minde of the patient. Againe, As vnlesse we be holpen by the grace of God, we can neuer doe any thing well : so vnlesse we bring that which is our owne, we cannot obtaine the fauour of God. And he had saide before, that it should not be all of Gods helpe, but wee must also bring somewhat. And this is commonly a familiar worde with him, let vs bring that which is ours, God will supply the rest. Wherewith agreeth that which *Hierom* saith, that it is our part to begin, but Gods to make an ende : our part to offer what we can, his to fulfill what we cannot. You see now that in these sayings they gaue to man towarde the studie of vertue more than was meete, because they thought that they could not otherwise awake the dullnesse that was naturally in vs. But if they did prooue that in it onely we sinned, with what apt handeling they haue done the same, we shall after see. Surely that the sayings which we haue rehearsed are most false, shall by and by appeere. Now although the Grecians more than other and among them principally *Chrysostome* haue passed measure in aduancing the power of mans will, yet all the olde writers, except *Augustine*, doe in this point so either varie, or wauer, or speake doubtfully, that in manner no certaintie can be gathered of their writings. Therefore wee will not tarrie vpon exact reckoning of euerie one of their sayings, but here and there wee will touch out of euerie one of them so much as the plaine declaration of the matter shall seeme to require. As for them that followed after, while euerie one for himselfe sought praise of wit, in defending of mans nature, they fell continually by little and little one after another into worse and worse, till it came so farre, that man was commonly thought to be corrupted onely in his sensuall part, and to haue reason altogether, and will for the more part vncorrupted. In the meane time this flew about in all mens mouthes, that the naturall giftes were corrupted in man, and the supernaturall were taken away. But to what meaning that tended, scarcely the hundredth man did euen slightly vnderstand. As for my part, if I would plainly shewe of what sort is the corruption of nature, I could be easily contented with these wordes. But it is much materiall that it be heedefully weyed what a man, being in all partes of his nature corrupted and spoyled of his supernaturall giftes, is able to doe. They therefore which boasted themselues to be the disciples of Christ, spake of this matter too much like Philosophers. For the name of Free will stil remained among the Latines, as if man had still abiden in vncorrupted state. And the Grecians were not ashamed to vse the word much more arrogantly : For they called it *Autexousion*, that is to say, of her owne power, as if a man had the power himselfe. Because therefore all, euen to the common people, had receiued this principle, that man was endued with Free will, and many of them that would seeme excellent, cannot tell how farre it extendeth : first let vs search out the force of the word it selfe, and then let vs proceede on by the simplicitie of the Scripture, to shew what man is able to doe of his owne nature, toward good or euill. What Free wil is, whereas it is a word commonly found in all mens writings, yet fewe haue defined. Yet it seemeth that *Origen* rehearsed that thing whereof they were all agreed, when he saide, that it is a power of reason to discern good or euill, and a power of will to choosē either of them. And *Augustine* varieth not from him, when he teacheth, that it is a power of reason and will, whereby good is chosen while grace assisteth, and euill when grace ceaseth. *Bernard*, while he meaneth to speake more subtely, speaketh more darkly, which saith, that it is a consent by reason of the libertie of will that cannot be lost, and the iudgement of reason that cannot be auoyded. And the definition of *Anselmus* is not familiar ynough, which saith that it is a power to keepe vprightnesse for it selfe. Therefore *Peter Lombard* and the other Schoolemen, haue rather embraced *Augustines* definition, because it both was plainer and did not exclude the grace of God, without the which they sawe that will was not sufficient for it selfe. But they bring also

Lib. 3.
Dei ap. 107.

Lib. 2.
Dist. 24.

of their owne such things as they thought either to be better, or to serue for plainer declaration. First, they agree that the name of *Arbitrium*, that is free choise, is rather to be referred to reason, whose part is to discern betweene good and euill things: and the adiectiue Free, pertaineth properly to will, which may be turned to either of both. Wherefore, such Freedome properly belongeth to will, *Thomas* saith, that it would verie well agree, if Free will be called a power of choosing, which being mixt of vnderstanding and appetite, doth more encline to appetite. Nowe haue wee in what things they teach that the power of Free will consisteth, that is to saie, in reason and will. Now remaineth that we shortly see how much they giue to either part.

Par. 1. quæst. 83. art. 3.

5 They are commonly wont to make subiect to the free determination of man, things meane, that is, which belong not to the kingdome of God: but they do referre true righteousness to the speciall grace of God and spirituall regeneration. Which thing while the authour of the booke Of the calling of the Gentiles meaneth to shewe, he reckoneth vp three sorts of Willes, the first Sensitiue, the second Naturall, the third Spirituall, of which he saith, that man hath the first two at his owne liberty, the last is the worke of the holie Ghost in man. Which whether it be true or not, shall be entreated in place fit for it, for now my purpose is but shortly to rehearse the opinions of other, and not to confute them. Hereby it commeth to passe, that when writers speake of free will they principally seeke not what it is able to do to ciuill or outward doings, but what it can doe to the obedience of the law of God. Which later point I thinke so to be the principall, that yet I thinke the other is not to be neglected. Of which meaning I trust, I shall shew a good reason. There hath beene a distinction receiued in Schooles, that reckoneth vp three sorts of freedomes, the first, from necessitie, the second from sinne, the third from miserie. Of which the first so naturally sticketh fast in man, that it can by no meane be taken away: the other two are lost by sinne. This distinction I willingly receiue, sauing that there necessitie is wrongfully confounded with compulsion: betweene which two how much difference there is, and how necessitie that difference is to be considered, shall appeere in another place.

Diuers kinds of spirituall freedome.

Amb. lib. 1. cap. 2.

6 If this be receiued, then shall it be out of controuersie that man hath not free will to do good workes, vnlesse he bee holpen by grace, and that by speciall grace, which is giuen to the onely elect by regeneration. For I doe not passe vpon these phrantike men, which babble that grace is offered generally and without difference. But this is not yet made plaine, whether he be altogether deuiued of power to doe well, or whether he haue yet some power, although it be but little and weake, which by it selfe in deede can doe nothing, but by helpe of grace doth also her part. While the Master of the Sentences goeth about to make that plaine, he saith there are two sorts of grace necessarie for vs, whereby wee may be made meete to doe a good worke: the one they call a working grace, whereby we effectually will to do good: the other a Together working grace, which followeth good will in helping it. In which diuision this I mislike, that while he giueth to the grace of God an effectuall desire of good, he secretly sheweth his meaning that man already of his owne nature, after a certaine manner, desireth good though vneffectually. As *Bernard* affirming that good will is indeede the worke of God, yet this he graunteth to man, that of his owne motion he desireth that good will. But this is farre from the meaning of *Augustine*, from whom yet *Bernard* would seeme to haue borrowed this diuision. In the second part of the diuision, the doubtfulness of speech offendeth me, which hath bred a wrong exposition. For they thought that we do therefore worke together with the second grace of God, because it lieth in our power, either to make void the first grace by refusing it, or to confirme it by obediently following it. Whereas the authour of the booke, Of the calling of the Gentiles, doth thus expresse it, that it is free for them that vse the iudgement of reason, to depart from grace, that it

The schoolemens opinion touching free will.

Lib. 2. dist. 26.

Amb. lib. 2. cap. 4.

may be woorthie reward not to haue departed, and that the thing which coulde not be done but by the working together of the holy Ghost, may be imputed to their merits, by whose will it was possible to haue not bene done. These two things I had wil to note by the way, that nowe, Reader, thou maist see howe much I dissent from the soundest sort of the schoolemen. For I doe much farther differ from the later Sopliflers, euen so much as they be farther gone from the ancient time. But yet somewhat, after such a sort as it is, they perceiue by this diuision, after what manner they haue giuen free will to man. For at length *Lombard* saith, that we haue not free will therefore, because we are alike able either to do or to thinke good and euill, but only that we are free from compulsion: which freedom is not hindered, although we be peruerse and the bondmen of sinne, and can do nothing but sinne.

Lib. 2. dist. 25.

The danger of using the name of free will though we take it in a harmlesse meaning.

7 Therefore, man shall be saide to haue free will after this sort, not because he hath a free choise as well of good as of euill, but because he doth euill by Will, and not by compulsion. That is very well said: but to what purpose was it to garnish so small a matter with so proud a title? A goodly libertie forsooth, if man be not compelled to serue sinne: so is he yet a willing seruant that his will is holden fast bound with the fetters of sinne. Truly I do abhorre struiuing about words wherewith the church is vainly wearied, but I thinke that such words are with great religious carefullnesse to be taken heed of, which sound of any absurditie, specially where the error is hurtfull. How few I pray you, are there, which when they heare that free will is assigned to man, do not by and by conceiue, that he is Lord both of his own munde & wil, & that he is able of himselfe to turne himselfe to whether part he will? But some one wil say; that peril shall be taken away, if the people be diligently warned of the meaning of it. But rather forasmuch as the wit of man is naturally bent to falsitie, he wil sooner conceiue an error of one little worde, than a truth out of a long tale. Of which thing we haue a more certaine experience in this very word, than is to be wished. For omitting that exposition of the old writers, all they in manner that came after, while they stickke vpon the naturall signification of the worde, haue been carried into a trust of themselves that bringeth them to destruction.

apt man is to deuce error

S. Augustines meaning when he useth the name of free will is sounde and good.

8 But if the authoritie of the fathers do mooue vs, they haue indeed continually the word in their mouth: but they doe without declare, how much they esteeme the vse of it. First of all *Augustine*, which sticketh not to call it Bond will. In one place he is angry with them that denie free will: but he declareth his chiefe reason why, when he saith onely, Let not any man be so bold to denie the freedome of will, that he go about to excuse sinne. But surely in another place he confesseth, that the will of man is not free without the holy Ghost, forasmuch as it is subiect to lustes that do binde and conquer it. Again, that when will was ouercome with sinne, whereinto it fell, nature began to want freedome. Again, that man hauing ill vsed his free will, lost both himselfe and it. Again, free will is become captiue, that it can doe nothing towarde righteousnesse. Again, that it cannot be free, which the grace of God hath not made free. Again, that the iustice of God is not fulfilled when the law commandeth, and man doth of his owne strength, but when the holy Ghost helpeth, and mans will not free, but made free by God, obeyeth. And of all these things he shortly rendreth a cause, when in another place he writeth, that man receiued great force of free will when he was created, but he lost it by sinning. Therefore in another place, after that hee had shewed that free will is established by grace, he shapely inueyeth against them that take it vpon them without grace. Why therfore (saith he) dare wretched men either be proude of free will before that they bee made free, or of their owne strength if they be already made free? And they marke not that in the verie name of free will, is mention of freedome. But where the spirite of the Lorde is, there is freedome. If then they be the bondmen of sinne, why do they boast them of free will? For of whom a man is overcome, to him he is made bond. But if they

Lib. 7. cont. Iul.
Hom. 53. in Ioan.
Ad Anat. cap. 44.
De perfec. iustic.
Enchir. ad Laur.
cap. 30.
Ad Bonif. li. 3. c. 8.
Ibid. cap. 7.
Ad Bonif. li. 1. c. 3.
Ad bonif. li. 3. c. 7.
De verb. Apost.
sermone. 3.
De spiritu & litera. cap. 30.

2. Cor. 3. 8.

be made free, why doe they boast them as of their owne worke? Are they so free, that they will not be his bondseruants, which saith: Without me yee can doe nothing? Beside that also in another place he seemeth sportingly to mocke at the vse of that worde, when he saide, that will was in deede free, but not made free, free to righteousnesse, but the bondseruant of sinne. Which saying in another place he repeateth and expoundeth, that man is not free from righteousnesse, but by choise of will, and from sinne he is not free but by grace of the Saviour. Hee that doeth resist, that the freedome of man is nothing else but a freemaking or manumission from righteousnesse, seemeth trimly to mocke at the vaine name thereof. Therefore if any man will permit the vse of this worde with no euill signification, he shall not be troubled by me for so doing. But because I thinke it cannot be kept without great perill, and that it should turne to a great benefite to the Church, if it were abolished: neither will I my selfe vse it, and I would wish other, if they aske me counsell, to forbear it.

9 I may seeme to haue brought a great prejudice against my selfe, which haue confessed, that all the ecclesiasticall writers, except *Augustine*, haue spoken so doubtfully or diuersly in this matter, that no certieintie can be had out of their writings. For some will to construe this, that I meant therefore to thrust them from giuing any voice herein, because they are all against me. As for me, I meant it to no other ende but this, that I simply and in good faith would haue godly wits prouided for, which if they waite vpon those mens opinions in this point, they shall alway wauer vncertaine. In such sort doe they sometime teach, man being spoiled of all strength of free will, to flee to grace onely: sometime they furnish or seeme to furnish him with his owne armour. But it is not hard to make appeere, that in such doubtfulnesse of speech, they nothing, or very little esteeming mans strength, haue giuen the praise of all good things to the holy Ghost, if I here recite certaine sentences of theirs, whereby that is plainly taught. For what meaneth that saying of *Cyprian*, which *Augustine* so often repeated, that we ought to glorie of nothing, because we haue nothing of our owne, but that man wholly despoyled in himselfe, may learne to hang all vpon God? What meaneth that saying of *Augustine* and *Eucherius*, when they expound, that Christ is the tree of life, to whome he that reacheth his hand, shall liue? and that the tree of knowledge of good and euill, is the free choise of will, whereof who so tasteth, forsaking the grace of God, he shall die? What meaneth that of *Crysostom*, that euery man is naturally not onely a sinner, but also altogether sinne? If we haue no good thing of our owne: If man from top to toe be altogether sinne: if it be not lawfull to attempt how much the power of free will is able to doe, how then may it be lawfull to part the praise of a good worke betwene God and man? I could rehearse of this sort very many sayings out of other, but least any man should caull, that I choose out those things onely that make for my purpose, and doe craftily leaue out such things as make against me, therefore I doe forbear such rehearsall. Yet this I dare affirme, howsoeuer they be sometime too busie in aduancing free will, that this yet was their purposed marke, to teach man being altogether turned away from trust of his owne power, to haue his strength reposed in God alone. Now come I to the simple setting forth of the truth, in considering the nature of man.

10. But I am here constrained to reapeate that, which in the beginning of this Chapter, I spake by way of preface. As any man is most discouraged and thrown downe with conscience of his owne miserie, needinesse, nakednesse and shame, so hath he best profited in knowledge of himselfe. For there is no danger to be feared, least man will take too much from himselfe, so that he learne, that what hee wanteth is to be recovered in God, but to himselfe he can take nothing more than his owne right, be it neuer so little, but that he shall destroy himselfe with vaine confidence, and conueying the honour of God to himselfe, become guiltie of hainous sacrilege.

And

Iohn. 15. 5.
De conceptione
& gratia. cap. 13.

That the fathers who in considerations before alleged Session 4. seeme sometimes to furnish man with his owne armour, do notwithstanding giue the praise of all good things to the holy ghost.

De prædeterminatione sanctorum lib. 4.
August. in Gen.

Homilia in aduent.

A dangerous thing for man to haue an opinion of his owne strength, a blessed thing to mourne with the sense and feeling of his owne powerlesse and inward weaknesse.

Cap. 2. Of the knowledge of

And truly so oft as this lust inuadeth our minde, that we desire to haue somewhat of our owne, which may rest in our selues rather than in God, let vs knowe that this thought is ministred vs by no other counsellor, but by him that perswaded our first parents, to haue a will to be like vnto Gods, knowing both good and euill. If it be the word of the diuell that raiseth vp man in himselfe, let vs giue no place vnto it, vnlesse we list to take counsell of our enemy. It is pleasant in deede, for a man to haue so much strength of his owne, that he may rest in himselfe. But that we be not allured to this vaine assurance, let so many sore sentences make vs afraide, by which we be throwen downe: as are, Cursed is he which trusteth in man, and setteth flesh to be his arme. Againe, that God hath not pleasure in the strength of a horse, neither deli- teth in the legs of man, but deli- teth in them that feare him, and attend vpon his mercie. Againe, that it is he which giueth strength vnto him that fainteth, and vnto him that hath no strength, he increaseth power, euen the yoong men shall faint and be wearie, and the yoong men shall stumble and fall, but they that waite vpon the Lord, shall renew their strength. All which sayings tend to this end, that we leane not vpon any opinion of our owne strength, be it neuer so little, if we meane to haue God fauourable vnto vs, which resisteth the proud, and giueth grace to the humble. And then againe, let these promises come into our remembrance. I will poure out water vpon the thirstie, and Floods vpon the drie ground. Againe, all ye that thirst, come vnto the waters. Which promises doe testifie, that none are admitted to receiue the blessings of God, but they that pine away with feeling of their owne pouertie. And such promises are not to be passed ouer, as is that of *Esaie*: Thou shalt haue no more sunne to shine by day, neither shall the brightnesse of the Moone shine vnto thee: for the Lord shall be thine euermore light, and the God thy glorie. The Lorde in deede doth not take away the shining of the Sunne or Moone from his seruants, but because he will himselfe alone appeere glorious in them, he calleth their confidence far away, euen from those things, that are counted in their opinion most excellent.

11 Truly, that saying of *Chrysostome* hath alway exceedingly well pleased me, that the foundation of our Wisedome is humilitie: but yet more that saying of *Augustine*, as (saith he) that same Rhetorician being asked, what was the first thing in the rules of eloquence, answered Pronunciation: and what was the seconde, he answered Pronunciation: and what was the third, he answered Pronunciation: so if one aske me of the rules of Christian religion, the First, the Second, and Thirde time, and alwaies I would answer Humilitie. But he meaneth not humilitie, when a man knowing some little vertue to be in himselfe, abstaineth from pride and ha- winess of minde, but when he truly feeleth himselfe to be such a one, as hath no refuge but in humilitie: as in another place he declareth. Let no man (saith he) batter himselfe: of his owne he is a diuell. That thing whereby he is blessed, he hath of God onely. For what hast thou of thine owne, but sinne? Take away from thee sinne which is thine owne, for righteousnesse is Gods. Againe, why is the possibilitie of nature so presumed on? it is wounded, maimed, troubled and lost, it needeth a true confession, and not a false defence. Againe, when euery man knoweth that in himselfe he is nothing, and of himselfe he hath no helpe, his weapons in himselfe are broken, the wars are ceased. But it is needefull, that all the weapons of wickednesse be broken in sunder, shiuered in peeces and burnt, that thou remaine vnarmed and haue no helpe in thy selfe. How much more weake thou art in thy selfe, so much the more the Lorde receiue thee. So vpon the threescore and ten Psalmes he forbiddeth vs to remember our owne righteousnesse, that we may acknowledge the righteousnesse of God: and he sheweth that God doth so commend his grace vnto vs, that we may knowe our selues to be nothing, that we stande onely by the mercie of God, when of our selues we are nothing but euill. Let vs not therefore strue heere with God for our right, as if that were withdrawn from our saluation which is giuen to him. For as

Hier. 17. 5.
Psal. 147. 10.

Psal. 10. 29.

Iac. 4. 6.

Esaie. 44. 3.
Esaie. 55. 1.

*Humilitie there-
fore a precious
vertue, because in
acknowledging
mans businesse,
Gods highnesse is
aduanced.*
Hom. de perf.
euangel.
Epist. 56. ad
Diof.
In Ioan. hom. 49.

Lib. de Nat &
gratia, cap. 52. in
Psal. 45.

our humblenes is his highnes, so the confession of our humblenes hath his mercie readie for remedie. Neither yet do I require that man not conuincd should willingly yeeld himselfe: nor if he hath any power, that he should turne his minde from it, to be subdued vnto true humilitie. But that laying away the discafe of selfeloue and desire of victorie, wherewith being blinded, he thinketh too highly of himself, he should well consider himselfe in the true looking glasse of the Scripture.

12. And the common saying which they haue borrowed out of *Augustine* pleaseth me well, that the naturall giftes were corrupted in man by sinne, and of the supernaturall he was made emptie. For in this latter part of supernaturall giftes, they vnderstand as well the light of faith as of righteousnesse, which were sufficient to the attaining of heauenly life and eternall felicitie. Therefore banishing himselfe from the kingdome of God, he was also deprivued of the spirituall giftes, wherewith he had been furnished to the hope of eternall saluation. Whereupon followeth, that he is so banished from the kingdome of God, that all things that belong to the blessed life of the soule, are extinguished in him, vntill by grace of regeneration he recover them. Of that sort are faith, the loue of God, charitie towarde our neighbours, the studie of holinesse and righteousnesse. All these things, because Christ restoreth them vnto vs, are counted things comming from another to vs, and beside nature, and therefore we gather that they were once taken away. Againe, soundnes of the vnderstanding minde and vprightnes of hart were then taken away together, and this is the corruption of naturall giftes. For though there remaine somewhat left of vnderstanding and iudgement together with will, yet can we not say, that our vnderstanding is sound and perfect, which is both feeble and drowned in many darkeneses. And as for our will, the peruersnes thereof is more than sufficiently known. Sith therefore reason, whereby a man discerneth betweene good and euill, whereby he vnderstandeth and iudgeth, is a naturall gift, it could not be altogether destroyed, but it was partly weakened, partly corrupted, so that soule ruines thereof appeare. In this sense doth *Iohn* say, that the light shineth yet in darkenesse; but the darkenesse comprehended it not. In which wordes both things are plainly expressed, that in the peruented and degendred nature of man, there shine yet some some sparks: that shew that he is a creature hauing reason, and that he differeth from bruite beasts, because he is indued with vnderstanding: and yet that this light is choked with great thicknes of ignorance, that it cannot effectually get abroad. So will, because it is vnseparable from the nature of man, perished not, but was bounde to peruerse desires, that it can couer no good thing. This in deede is a full definition, but yet such as needeth to be made plaine with more wordes. Therefore, that the order of our talke may proceede according to that first distinction, wherein we deuided the soule of man into vnderstanding and will: let vs first examine the force of vnderstanding. So to condemne it of perpetuall blindness, that a man leaue vnto it no maner of skill in any kind of things, is not onely against the word of God, but also against the experience of common reason. For wee see that there is planted in man a certaine desire to search out truth, to which he would not aspire at all, but hauing felt some fauour thereof before. This therefore is some sight of mans vnderstanding, that he is naturally drawn with loue of truth, the neglecting whereof, in bruite beasts prooueth a grosse sense without reason, albeit, this little desire, such as it is, fainteth before it enter the beginning of her race, because it by and by falleth into vanitie. For the witte of man cannot for dulnesse keepe the right way to search out truth, but strayeth in diuers errors, and as it were groping in darkenesse, oftentimes stumbleth, till at length it wander and vanish away, so in seeking truth, it doeth bewray howe vnfit it is to seeke and find truth. And then it is sore troubled with another vanitie, that oftentimes it discerneth not those things, to the true knowledge whereof it were expedient to

Man through sinne was made emptie of supernaturall giftes, as faith, loue, righteousnes: naturall, as both vnderstanding and will, though they be not quite taken away, yet the soundnesse of them is lost: the vnfoundnesse of his vnderstanding may be seene both by his owne straying in that which he seeketh, and his not seeking that which belongeth most vnto him.

Iohn. 1. 5.

bend it selfe, and therefore it tormenteth it selfe with sonde curiositie, in searching out things superfluous and nothing woorth: and to things most necessarie to bee known, it either taketh no heede, or negligently or seldome turneth, but surely scarce at any time applyeth her studie earnestly vnto them. Of which peruerfenceffe, whereas the prophane writers doe commonly complaine, it is founde, that all men haue entangled themselues with it. Wherefore *Salomon* in all his Ecclesiastes, when hee had gone through all these studies, in which men thinke themselves to bee verie wise, yet hee pronounceth that they are all vaine and trifling.

Mans natural capacite may attain to the knowledge of things belonging to this present life. As first there are in all mens mindes certaine seedes of vnderstanding those things whereon ciuill order & policie is grounded.

13 Yet doe not all trauailes of Witte so alway become voide, but that it attaineth somewhat, specially when it bendeth it selfe to these inferiour things. Yea, and it is not so blockish, but that it tasteth also some litle of the higher things, howsoeuer it more negligently apply the searching of them, but yet not that with like power of conceiuing. For when it is carried vp about the compasse of this present life, then is it principally conuincd of her owne weaknesse. Wherefore, that we may the better see howe farre according to the degrees of her abilitie, it proceedeth in euery thing, it is good that I put forth a distinction. Let this therefore be the distinction, that there is one vnderstanding of earthly things, an other of heavenly things. Earthly things I call those that doe not concerne God and his kingdome, true righteousnesse and the blessednesse of eternall life, but haue all their respect and relation to this present life; and are as it were contained within the boundes thereof. Heavenly things, I call the pure knowledge of God, the order of true righteousnesse, and the mysteries of the heavenly kingdome. Of the first sort are policie, gouernance of householde, all handie crafts, and liberall Sciences. Of the second sort are the knowledge of God and Gods will, and the rule to frame our life according to it. Concerning the first, this we must confesse, because man is a creature by nature giuen to liue in companies together: he is also by naturall instinct bent to cherish and to preserue the fellowshippe of these companies, therefore wee see that there are in the mindes of all men vniuersall impressions of a certaine ciuill honestie and order. Heereby it commeth to passe, that there is found no man that vnderstandeth not; that all companies of men ought to be kept in order with lawes, and that conceiue not in his minde the principles of these lawes. Heereof commeth that same perpetuall consent, as well of all nations as of all men vnto lawes, because the seedes thereof are naturally planted in all men without any teacher or lawmaker. And I weye not the dissensions and fightings that afterward arise while some desire to peruert lawe and right, the loose absolute gouernement of Kings, that lust strayeth abroade in steede of right, as theeues and robbers, some (which is a fault more than common) thinke that to be vniust, which other haue stablished for iust: and on the other side stiffely say, that to be laudable, which other haue forbidden. For these men do not therefore hate lawes; because they doe not knowe that lawes are good and holy, but for that they raging with headie lust, doe fight against manifest reason, and for their fanfic doe abhorre that, which in vnderstanding of minde they allowe. The later sort of it striuing in such, that taketh not away the first conceiuing of equitie. For when men do stiuie among themselves, concerning the points of lawes, they agree together in a certaine summe of equitie. Wherein is proued the weaknesse of mans wit, which euen then when it seemeth to followe the right way, yet halteth and staggeth, but still this remaineth true, that there is sown in all men a certaine seede of politike order. And that is a large prooffe, that in the ordering of this life, no man is voide of the light of reason.

Men haue naturally a power and facultie to learne

14 Nowe do followe the artes, both the liberall, and the handie crafts, in learning whereof, because there is in vs all a certaine aptnesse, in them also doeth appeare

peare the force of mans witte: but albeit, all men be not apt to learne them all, yet is this a token certaine enough of the common naturall power, that there is almost no man found, whose conceite of witte doth not in some arte or other shew foorth it selfe. Neither haue they onely a power or facilitie to learne, but also to deuise in euery arte some new thing, either to amplifie or make perfecter that which hath been learned of an other that went before, which thing, as it moued *Plato* tronioullie to teach, that such conceiuing is nothing else, but a calling to remembrance, so by good reason it ought to compell vs to confesse, that the beginning thereof is naturally planted in the witte of man. These pointes therefore doe plainly testifie, that there is giuen to men naturally an vniuersall conceiuing of reason and of vnderstanding. Yet is it so an vniuersall benefit, that therein euery man ought for himselfe to acknowledge the peculiar grace of God. To which thankesfullie the creator himselfe doth sufficiently awake vs, when he createth naturall fooles, in whom he maketh vs to see with what giftes mans soule excellet, if it be not endued with his light, which is so naturall in all men, that it is yet altogether a free gift of his liberalitie towards euery man. But the inuention and orderly teaching of the same artes, or a more inwarde and excellent knowledge of them which is proper but to a few, is no perfect argument of the common conceiuing of witte, yet because without difference it happeneth to the godly and vngodly, it is rightfully reckened among naturall giftes.

15 So oft therefore as we light vpon prophane writers, let vs be put in minde by that maruellous light of truth that shineth in them, that the wit of man, how much soeuer it be peruerted and fallen from the first integriue, is yet still clothed and garnished with excellent giftes of God. If we consider that the spirite of God is the onely fountaine of truth, we will neither refuse nor despise the truth it selfe, wheresoeuer it shall appeare, except we will dishonorably vse the spirite of God: for the giftes of the holy Ghost cannot be set light by, without contempt and reproch of himselfe; And what? shall we denie that the truth shined to the olde Lawyers, which haue set foorth Ciuill order and Discipline with so great equitie? Shall we say that the Philosophers were blinde both in that exquisite contemplation, and cunning description of nature? Shall we say that they had no witte, which by setting in order the arte of speech, haue taught vs to speake with reason? Shall we say that they were madde, which in setting foorth Phisicke; haue employed their diligence for vs? What of all the Mathematicall sciences? shall we thinke them dotting errours of madde men? no, rather we cannot reade the writings of the olde men; concerning these things, without great admiration of their witte. But shall wee thinke any thing praise worthie or excellent, which we doe not reknowledge to come of God? Let vs be ashamed of so great vnthankfulnessse into which, the heathen Poets fell nor, which confessed that both Philosophie and Lawes, and all good Artes, were the inuentions of Gods. Sith then it appeareth that these men whom the Scripture calleth naturall men, were of so sharpe and deepe sight in searching out of inferiour things, let vs learne by such examples, how many good thinges the Lorde hath left to the nature of man, after that it hath beene spoyled of the true God.

16 But in the meane time yet let vs not forget, that these are the most excellent good gifts of the spirite of God, which for the common benefite of mankind he dealeth abroad to whom it pleaseth him. For if it behooued, that the vnderstanding and skill that was required for the framing of the tabernacle, should be powred into *Beseleel* and *Oliab* by the spirite of God, it is no maruell if the knowledge of those things which are most excellent in mans life, be said to be communicated vnto vs by the spirite of God. Neither is there cause why any man should aske, what haue the wicked to doe with Gods spirite, which are altogether estranged from God.

and find out artes: wherein notwithstanding the liberallie of God kineth: without which all would be as some are euen more naturals.

The skill which Philosophers had in sundry arts and sciences, sheweth what good God hath still left the nature of man enriched withall, although he hath robbed and stripped himselfe of the choicest giftes wherewith God endued him.

The knowledge of artes and sciences is the gift of the spirite of God: whether it is to be neglected although bejre God it be but a vanishing transitory thing Exod. 31.2. & 35. 30.

Cap. 2. Of the knowledge of

For where it is said that the spirite of God dwelleth in the faithfull onely : that is to be vnderstanded of the spirite of sanctification, by the which we are consecrate to God himselfe, to be his temples : yet doth he neuertheless fill, moue and quicken all things with the vertue of the same spirite, and that according to the proprietie of euerie kinde which he hath giuen to it by law of creation. If it haue been the Lords will that we should be holpen by the trauell and seruite of the wicked in naturall Philosophy, Dialectike, the Mathematicall knowledges, and other : let vs vse it, least if we neglect the giftes of God, willingly offered in them, we suffer iust punishment for our slothfulness. But lest any should thinke a man to be blessed, when vnder the elements of this world there is graunted vnto him so great an abilitie to conceiue truth, it is also to be added that all this power to vnderstand, and the vnderstanding that followeth thereof, is a vanishing and transitorie thing before God, where is not a stedfast foundation of truth. For *Augustine* teacheth most truly, whom (as we haue said) the Master of the Sentences, and the other Schoolemen are compelled to assent vnto, as the free giftes were taken from man after his fall, so these naturall giftes which remained, were corrupted. Not that they be defiled of themselues in asmuch as they come from God, but because they cease to be pure to a defiled man, that he should haue no praise of them.

Lib. 2. dist. 25.

As God hath in
common indued
men with reason,
so he doth parti-
cularly for speciall
purposes power
speciall motions
into them.

17th Let this be the summe : that it is seene that in all mankinde is reason which is proper to our nature, which maketh vs to differ from brute beastes, as brute beastes doe differ in sense from things without life. For whereas there bee borne certaine naturall foolles and idiots, that default obscureth not the generall grace of God : but rather by such sight we are put in minde, that what is left vnto our selues, ought iustly to be ascribed to the kindenesse of God, because if he had not spared vs, our rebellion had drawne with it the destruction of our whole nature. But whereas some doe excell in sharpnesse of conceiuing, some other doe passe in iudgement, some haue a quicker wit to learne this or that arte : in this varietie God setteth forth his grace vnto vs, that no man should claime to himselfe as his owne, that which floweth from Gods meere liberalitie. For how becommeth one more excellent than another, but that in common nature might appeare aboue other the speciall grace of God, which in omitting many, saith openly that it is bound to none. Beside that, God powreth in singular motions, according to the calling of euerie man. Of which thing we meete with many examples in the booke of the Iudges, where it is said, that the spirite of the Lord clad them, whom he called to rule the people. Finally, in euery noble act there is a speciall instruction. By which reason the strong men followed *Saul*, whose harts the Lorde had touched. And when his ministring in the kingdome was propheticed of, *Samuel* said thus : The spirite of the Lord shall come vpon thee, and thou shalt be another man. And this was continued to the whole course of government : as after it is spoken of *Dauid*, that the spirite of the Lorde came vpon him from that day forward. But the same is spoken in another place as touching particular motions : yea, in *Homer* men are said to excell in witte, not onely as *Iupiter* hath dealt to euery man, but also as the time required. And truly experience teacheth, while many times such men stand amazed as were most sharpe and deepe witted, that the wittes of men are in the hand and will of God to rule them at euery moment : for which reason it is said, that he taketh wit from the wise, that they may wander out of the way. But yet in this diuersitie we see remaining some markes of the Image of God, which doe make difference betweene all mankinde and other creatures.

Iudg 6. 34.

1. Sam. 10. 6.

1. Sam. 10. 13.

Psal. 107. 40.

Touching heauenly
things, as the
knowledge of
God, of his fauour
towards vs, and

18 Now is to be declared what mans reason seeth, when it commeth to the kingdome of God and to that spirituall insight, which consisteth chiefly in three things : to know God, and his fatherly fauour toward vs, wherein our saluation standeth : and the way to frame our life according to the rule of his law. Both in the

first two, and in the second properly they that are most wittie, are blinder than moles. I denie not that there be here and there read in Philosphers, concerning God, many things well and aptly spoken, but yet such as doe alway fauour of a certaine giddie imagination. The Lord gaue them in deede, as is aboue said, a little taste of his godhead, that they should not pretend ignorance to colour their vngodlinesse: and many times he moued them to speake many things, by confession whereof themselves might be conuincd: But they so saue the things that they saue, that by such seeing they were not directed to the truth, much lesse did attain vnto it, like as a way-faring man in the midst of the field, for a sudden moment, seeth farre and wide the glistering of lightning in the night time, but with such a quickly vanishing sight, that he is sooner covered againe with the darknesse of the night, than he can stirre his foote, so farre is it off that he can be brought into his way by such a helpe. Beside that, those small drops of truth, wherewith as it were by chaunce, they sprinkle their bookes, with how many and how monstrous lies are they defiled? Finally, they neuer so much as smelled that assurednesse of Gods good wil toward vs, without which mans wit must needes be filled with infinite confusion. Therefore mans reason neither approacheth, nor goeth toward, nor once directeth sight vnto this truth, to vnderstand who is the true God, or what a one he will be toward vs.

19 But because we being drunke with a false persuasion of our owne deepe insight, doe very hardly suffer our senses to be persuaded, that in matters of God it is vterly blinde and dull: I thinke it shall be better to confirme it by testimonies of Scripture, than by reasons. This doeth *Iohn* very well teach in that place which I euen now alleaged, when he writeth, that life was in God from the beginning, and the same life which should be the light of men, and that the light did shine in darknesse, and the darknesse comprehended it not. He sheweth in deede, that mans soule is lightened with the brightnesse of Gods light, so that it is neuer altogether without some small flame, or at least some sparkle of it, but yet, that with such a light hee comprehendeth not God. And why so? because mans quicknesse of wit, as toward the knowledge of God, is but meere darknesse. For when the holy ghost calleth men darknes, he at once spoileth them of all abilitie of spirituall vnderstanding. Therefore he affirmeth, that the faithfull which embrace Christ, are borne not of bloud, or of the will of the flesh, or of man, but of God. As if he should say: flesh is not capable of so high wisdom to conceiue God and that which is Gods, vnlesse it be lightened with the spirit of God. As Christ testified, that this was a speciall reuelation of the father, that *Peter* did know him.

20 If we were persuaded of this which ought to be out of all controuersie, that our nature wanteth all that, which our heauenly father giueth to his elect by the spirit of regeneration, then heere were no matter to doubt vpon. For thus speaketh the faithfull people in the Prophet: For with thee is the fountaine of life, and in thy light we shall see light. The Apostle testifieth the same thing when he saith, that no man can call Iesus the Lord, but in the holy Ghost. And *Iohn Baptist* seeing the dulnesse of his disciples, crieth out, that no man can receiue any thing, vnlesse it bee giuen him from aboue. And that he meaneth by gift a speciall illumination, and not a common gift of nature, appereth heereby, that he complaineth that in so manie wordes as he had spoken to commend Christ to his disciples, he preuailed nothing. I see (saith he) that wordes are nothing to informe mens mindes concerning diuine things, vnlesse the Lord giue vnderstanding by his spirit. Yea, and *Moses*, when hee reprocheth the people with their forgetfulnesse, yet noteth this withall, that they can by no meanes grow wise in the mysteries of God, but by the benefit of God. Thine eyes (saith he) haue seene those great tokens and wondrous, and, The Lord hath not giuen thee a hart to vnderstande, nor eares to heare, nor eyes to see. What shoulde hee expresse more, if hee called vs blockes in considering the workes of God?

*of the way to
frame our liues
after his will,
mans natural rea-
son conceiueb ve-
ry little in the first,
in the second no-
thing at all.*

*To know God is
the speciall gift
of God.
Iohn 1. 4.*

Iohn 1. 13.

Mat. 16. 7.

*It is the principall
illumination of
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openeth the eyes of
Gods elect and
the. is onely: to see
the things that are
of God.
Psal 34. 10.
1. Corinth. 12.
Iohn 3. 27.*

Deut. 29. 2.

Iere. 31. 7.

Wherupon the Lord by the Prophet promiset̄h for a great grace, that hee will giue the Israelites a heart, that they may know him: signifying thereby, that mans wit is onely so much spiritually wise, as it is lightened by him. And this Christ plainly confirmed with his owne mouth, when he saeth, that no man can come to him, but he to whom it shall be giuen from the Father. What is not he himselfe the liuely image of the Father in whom the whole brightnesse of his glorie is expressed vnto vs? Therefore he could not better shewe what our power is to know God, than when he saith, that we haue no eyes to see his image, where it is so openly set present before vs. What came he not into the earth for this purpose, to declare his Fathers will vnto men? And did he not faithfully do his office? Yes surely. But yet nothing is wrought by his preaching, vnlesse the inward schoolemaster, the holy Ghost, let open the way to our mindes. Therefore none come to him, but they that haue heard and bene taught of the Father. What manner way of learning and hearing is this? Euen, when the holy Ghost by maruellous and singular vertue formeth the eares to heare, and the mindes to vnderstand. And least that should seeme strange, he alleageth the prophesie of *Esay*, where when he promiset̄h the repairing of the Church, that they which shall be gathered together to saluation, shall be taught of the Lord. If God there foresheweth some peculiar thing concerning his elect, it is euident that he speaketh not of that kinde of learning that was also common to the wicked and vngodly. It remaineth therefore that wee must vnderstand 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 enlightning shall make a new mind. But *Paul* speaketh most plainly of all, which of purpose entering into discourse of this matter, after he had condemned all mens wisdom of folly and vanitie, and vtterly brought it to nought, at the last concludeth thus: that the naturall man cannot perceiue those things that are of the spirite of God: they are foolishnesse vnto him, and he cannot vnderstand them, because they are spiritually iudged. Whom doth he call naturall? euen him that stayeth vpon the light of nature. Hee I say comprehendeth nothing in the spirituall mysteries of God. Why so? is it because by stoutheinesse he neglecteth it? Nay, rather although he would trauell neuer so much, he can do nothing, because forsooth they are spiritually iudged. What meaneth that? because being vtterly hidden from the sight of man, they are opened by the onely reuelation of the spirite: so that they are reckened for folly where the spirite of God giueth not light. Before hee had auanced those things that God hath prepared for them that loue him, about the capacite of eyes, eares and mindes. Yea, he testifieth that mans wisdom was as a certaine veile, whereby mans minde was kept from seeing God. What meane we? The Apostle pronounceth, that the wisdom of this world is made folly by God: and shall we forsooth giue vnto it sharpnes of vnderstanding, whereby it may pearce to the secret places of the heavenly kingdome? Far be such beastlines from vs.

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Eph. 1. 13.

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2. Cor. 2. 14.

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1. Cor. 1. 28.

Wherupon the Lord by the Prophet promiset̄h for a great grace, that hee will giue the Israelites a heart, that they may know him: signifying thereby, that mans wit is onely so much spiritually wise, as it is lightened by him. And this Christ plainly confirmed with his owne mouth, when he saeth, that no man can come to him, but he to whom it shall be giuen from the Father. What is not he himselfe the liuely image of the Father in whom the whole brightnesse of his glorie is expressed vnto vs? Therefore he could not better shewe what our power is to know God, than when he saith, that we haue no eyes to see his image, where it is so openly set present before vs. What came he not into the earth for this purpose, to declare his Fathers will vnto men? And did he not faithfully do his office? Yes surely. But yet nothing is wrought by his preaching, vnlesse the inward schoolemaster, the holy Ghost, let open the way to our mindes. Therefore none come to him, but they that haue heard and bene taught of the Father. What manner way of learning and hearing is this? Euen, when the holy Ghost by maruellous and singular vertue formeth the eares to heare, and the mindes to vnderstand. And least that should seeme strange, he alleageth the prophesie of *Esay*, where when he promiset̄h the repairing of the Church, that they which shall be gathered together to saluation, shall be taught of the Lord. If God there foresheweth some peculiar thing concerning his elect, it is euident that he speaketh not of that kinde of learning that was also common to the wicked and vngodly. It remaineth therefore that wee must vnderstand 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 enlightning shall make a new mind. But *Paul* speaketh most plainly of all, which of purpose entering into discourse of this matter, after he had condemned all mens wisdom of folly and vanitie, and vtterly brought it to nought, at the last concludeth thus: that the naturall man cannot perceiue those things that are of the spirite of God: they are foolishnesse vnto him, and he cannot vnderstand them, because they are spiritually iudged. Whom doth he call naturall? euen him that stayeth vpon the light of nature. Hee I say comprehendeth nothing in the spirituall mysteries of God. Why so? is it because by stoutheinesse he neglecteth it? Nay, rather although he would trauell neuer so much, he can do nothing, because forsooth they are spiritually iudged. What meaneth that? because being vtterly hidden from the sight of man, they are opened by the onely reuelation of the spirite: so that they are reckened for folly where the spirite of God giueth not light. Before hee had auanced those things that God hath prepared for them that loue him, about the capacite of eyes, eares and mindes. Yea, he testifieth that mans wisdom was as a certaine veile, whereby mans minde was kept from seeing God. What meane we? The Apostle pronounceth, that the wisdom of this world is made folly by God: and shall we forsooth giue vnto it sharpnes of vnderstanding, whereby it may pearce to the secret places of the heavenly kingdome? Far be such beastlines from vs.

The word of God
can neuer enligh-
ten mens mindes
without his grace.
Eph. 1. 13.

21 And so that which here he taketh away from men, in another place in a prayer, he giueth it to God alone. God (saith he) and the father of glorie, giue to you the spirite of wisdom and reuelation. Now thou hearest that all wisdom and reuelation is the gift of God. What followeth? and lighten the eyes of your mind. Surely if they need a new reuelation, then are they blind of themselves. It followeth after: That ye may know what is the hope of your calling, &c. Therefore he confesseth, that the wits of men are not capable of so great vnderstanding, to know their owne calling. And let not some Pelagian babble here, that God doth remedie that dulnes or vnskilfulnesse, when by the doctrine of his worde he directeth mans vnderstanding, whither without a guide he could not haue attayned. For *Dauid* had a lawe, wherein was comprehended all the wisdom that may be desired, and yet not contented with that, he requireth to haue his eyes opened that he may consider the mysteries

mysteries of the same law. By which speech truly he secretly saith, that the Sunne riseth vpon the earth where the word of God shineth to men: but they get not much thereby, vntill he himselfe, that is therefore called the father of lightes, doe giue them or open their eyes, because wheresoeuer he shineth not with his spirite, all things are possessed with darkenes. So the Apostles were well and largely taught by the best schoolemaster: yet if they had not needed the spirit of truth to instruct their minds in that same doctrine which they had heard before, he would not haue bidden them looke for him. If the thing that we aske of God, we doe thereby confesse that wee want: and God in that that he promiseth it vs, doth argue our neede, let no man doubt to confesse that he is so much able to vnderstand the mysteries of God as hee is enlightened with his grace. He that giueth to himselfe more vnderstanding, is so much the more blinde, for that he doth not acknowledge his owne blindnes.

22 Now remaineth the third point, of knowing the rule of well framing of life, which we doe rightly call the knowledge of the workes of righteousnesse, wherein mans wit seemeth to be of somewhat more sharpe sight, than in the other two before. For the Apostle testifieth, that the Gentiles which haue no law, while they doe the workes of the law, are to themselves in steede of a Law, and doe shew the Law written in their harts, their consciences bearing them witnes, and their thoughtes accusing them within themselves or excusing them before the iudgement of God. If the Gentiles haue righteousnesse naturally grauen in their mindes, surely wee cannot say that we are altogether blinde in the order of life. And nothing is more common, than that man by the Law 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 knowledge of the law is planted in men: then it shall by and by appeare, how farre it bringeth them toward the marke of reason and truth. The same is also euiden by the wordes of *Paul*, if a man doe marke the placing of them. He had saide a litle before, that they which sinned in the Law, are iudged by the Law, they which haue sinned without Law doe perish without Law. Because this might seeme vnreasonable, that the Gentiles should perish without any iudgement going before, he by and by addeth, that their conscience is to them in steede of a Law, and therefore is sufficient for their iust damnation. Therefore the ende of the Law naturall is, that man may be made inexcusable. And it shall be defined not ill after this sort, that it is a knowledge of conscience, that sufficiently discerneth betweene iust and vniust, to take away from men the pretence of ignorance, while they are proued guiltie by their owne testimonie. Such is the tendernes of man toward himselfe, that in doing of euils, he alway turneth away his mind so much as hee may from the feeling of sinne. By which reason it seemeth that *Plato* was moued to thinke that there is no sinne done but by ignorance. That indeede were fitly said of him, if mens hypocrisie went so farre in bidding of vices, that the minde might not know it selfe guiltie before God. But when the sinner seeking to eschue the iudgement imprinted in him, is now and then drawne backe vnto it, and not suffered so to winke, but that he be compelled whether he will or no, sometime to open his eyes: it is falsely said that he sinneth onely by ignorance.

23 *Themistius* saith more truly, which teacheth that vnderstanding is seldom decieued in the generall defining of things, that it is blindnesse when it goeth any further, that is, when it commeth downe to the speciall case. Every man, if it be generally asked, will affirme, that manslaughter is euill: but he that conspireth to kill his enemies, deliberateth vpon it, as on a good thing. The adulterer generally will condemne adulterie, but in his owne, priuately he will flatter himselfe. This is ignorance, when a man comming to the speciall case forgetteth the rule, that he had lately agreed vpon in the generall question. Of which thing *Augustine* discourseth very finely in his exposition of the first verse of the *lvij. Psalme*: albeit the same thing

Psal. 139. 18.

Iac. 1. 17.

Iohn 14. 26.

There is in man some knowledge of that which serueth for the well framing of his life: namely a certaine conscience of good and euill.
Rom. 2. 14.

The vnderstanding of man.

In *Protagora*.

The minde which knoweth generally that euill must be shunned is notwithstanding blinde in discerning particularly what it should shun as euill, and carried sometimes willingly to embrace that euill which it knoweth.
Paraph. in lib. 3. de anima. cap. 46.

Cap. 2. Of the knowledge of

is not continuall. For sometime the shamefulness of the euill deede so presseth the conscience, that not deceiuing himselfe vnder false resemblance of a good thing, but wittingly and willingly he runneth into euill. Out of which affection came these sayings: I see the better and allow it, but I follow the worse. Wherefore, my thinke, Aristotle hath verie aply made distinction between Incontinence and intemperance. Where incontinence reigneth, he saith, that there by reason of troubled affection or passion, knowledge is taken away from the minde, that it marketh not the euill in his owne act, which it generally seeth in the like: and when the troubled affection is cooled, repentance immediately followeth. But intemperance is not extinguished or broken by feeling of sinne, but on the other side obstinately standeth still in her conceiued choise of euill.

24 Now when thou hearest iudgement vniuersally named in the difference of good and euill, thinke it not euery sound and perfect iudgement. For if mens harts are furnished with choise of iust and vniust, onely to this ende, that they should not pretende ignorance, it is not then needefull to see the truth in euery thing. But it is enough and more, that they vnderstand so farre that they cannot escape away, but being conuict by witness of their conscience, they euen now alreadie begin to tremble at the iudgement feare of God. And if we will trie our reason by the law of God, which is the exemplar of true righteoufnesse, we shall finde how many waies it is blinde. Truly it attaineth not at all to those that are the chief things in the first table, as of confidence in God, of giuing to him the praise of strength and righteoufnesse, of calling vpon his name, of the true keeping of Sabbath. What soule euer by naturall sense did smell out, that the lawfull worshipping of God consisteth in these and like things? For when prophane men will worship God, although they be called away an hundred times from their vaine trifles, yet they alway slide backe thither againe. They denie in deede that sacrifices do please God, vnlesse there be adioyned a purenesse of minde: whereby they declare, that they conceiue somewhat of the spirituall worshipping of God, which yet they by and by corrupt with false inuentions. For it can neuer be perswaded them, that all is true that the lawe prescribeth of it. Shall I say, that that wit excelleth in any sharp vnderstanding, which can neither of it selfe be wise, nor harken to teaching? In the commandements of the Second table it hath some more vnderstanding, by so much as they came neerer to the preferuention of ciuill fellowship among men. Albeit euen herein also it is found many times to faile. To euery excellent nature it seemeth most vnreasonable, to suffer an vniust, and too imperious a manner of gouerning over them, if by any meane he may put it away: and the iudgement of mans 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 borne hart, to shake it off. And reuenge of iniuries is reckened for no fault among the Philosophers. But the Lord condemning that too much noblenesse of courage, commandeth his to keepe the same patience that is so ill reported among men. And in all the keeping of the lawe, our vnderstanding marketh not concupiscence at all. For a naturall man suffereth not himselfe to be brought to this, to acknowledge the diseases of his desires. The light of nature is choaked vp, before that it come to the first entrie of this bottomlesse depth. For when the Philosophers note immoderate motions of minde for faultes, they meane those motions that appeare and shewe fourth themselues, by grosse tokens; but they make no account of those euill desires that doe gently tickle the minde.

25 Wherefore, as Plato was worthily found fault withall before, for that he imputed all sinnes to ignorance, so is their opinion to be reiected, which teach that purposed malice and frowardnesse is vsed in all sinnes. For we finde it too much by experience, how oft we fall with our good intent. Our reason is overwhelmed with so many sortes of being deceiued, is subiect to so many errors, stumbleth at so many

Medea apud
Ouidium.
Ethic. 7. cap. 3.

important and
substantive distinction of
first table.

The vnderstand-
ing attaineth
not at all to the
chiefest duties of
the first table of
the law of God:
in the second at
though it perceiue
more, yet in many
things it faileth
& neuer marketh
that the secret tick-
ling desire vnto
sinne is siane.

Our vnderstand-
ing is alsogether
impotent & blind,
except it be by
grace illuminated
not once but con-

staies, is entangled with so many straites, that it is farre from sure directing. But how little it is esteemed before the Lorde in all parts of our life, *Paul* sheweth when hee saith, that we are not sufficient to thinke any thing of our selues, as of our selues. He speaketh not of will or affection, but he taketh also this away from vs, that wee should not thinke that it can come in our mindes how any thing is to be done well. Is our diligence, insight, vnderstanding and heede so corrupted, that it can deuiſe or thinke vpon nothing that is right before the Lorde? that seemeth too hard to vs, that do vnwillingly suffer our selues to be spoiled of the sharpnesse of reason, which wee account a most precious gift. But to the holy Ghost it seemeth most full of equitie, which knoweth that all the thoughts of wise men are vaine: and which pronounceth plainly, that all the inuention of mans hart is onely euill. If all that our wit conceiueth, deuiseeth vpon, purposeth & goeth about, is alway euill, howe can it come in our mindes to purpose that which pleaseth God, to whom onely holines and righteousness is acceptable? So is it to be seene, that the reason of our minde, which waie soeuer it turne it selfe, is miserable subiect to vanitie. *Dauid* knewe this weakenesse in himselfe, when he praied to haue vnderstanding giuen him, to learne the Lords commandements aright. For he secretlie saith therein, that his own wit sufficeth him not, which desireth to haue a newe giuen him. And that not onely once, but almost ten times, in one Psalm, he repeateth the same praier. By which repeating he priuily declareth, with how great need he is driuen to praie it. And that which he prayeth for himselfe alone: *Paul* commonly vseth to praie for the Churches. Wee cease not (saith he) to praie for you, and to desire that yee may be filled with the knowledge of God in all wisdom and spirituall vnderstanding, that yee may walke woorthily of God, &c. But so oft 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 acknowledged this default of reason to vnderstand those things that are of God, that hee thinketh the grace of illumination to bee no lesse necessarie for our mindes, than the light of the sunne is for our eies. And not content with that, hee addeth a correction of that, saying, that we lift vp our eies to see the light: but the eies of our minde lie shut, vnlesse the Lord open them. And the Scripture teacheth that our mindes are not enlightened one day alone, that they may afterwarde see by themselves: for that which I euen now alleaged out of *Paul*, belongeth to continuall proceedings & encreasings. And this doth *Dauid* expressly set out in these words: With my whole hart haue I sought thee, make me not to straine from thy commandements. For when he had bene regenerated, and had not slenderly profited in true godlines, yet he confesseth, that for euery moment he needeth continuall direction, least hee should swaie from the knowledge wherewith he is endued. Therefore, in another place he praiech to haue the right spirit renewed, which he had lost by his owne fault, because it belongeth to the same God to restore vnto vs the same thing being lost for a time, which himselfe gaue at the beginning.

26 Nowe is will to be examined, wherein standeth the chiefe libertie of free choise, for it hath bene already seene, that choise doth rather belong to will, than to vnderstanding. First, that this thing which the Philosophers haue taught, and is receiued with common consent, that is, that all things by naturall instinction desire that which is good, may not seeme to belong to the vprightnes of mans will: Let vs marke that the force of free wil, is not to be considered in such appetite, as rather proceedeth of the inclination of the essence, than of the aduisement of the vnderstanding mind. For euen the schoolemen doe confesse, that free will hath no action, but when reason turneth it selfe to objects, whereby they meane that the object of appetite must be such as may be subiect to choise, and goe before deliberation, which prepareth the way for choise. And truly if a man consider what is the naturall desire of good in man, he shall finde that it is common to him with beastes. For they also desire

tinually in euerie diuine and heavenly thing which we haue to learne.
2. Cor. 3. 5.

Psal 94. 11.

Gen. 6. 3. & 8. 21.

Psal. 119. 34.

Phil. 1. 4.

Col. 1. 9.

Anglib. 2.
De peccat. mer.
& remis. ca. 5.

Psal. 119. 10.

Psal. 51. 12.

Touching the will of man, the general inclination which hath to that good wherof Philosophers do so much talke, proceedeth not any freedom or libertie of desiring and esteeming vnto vertue without the motion of the holie ghost.

to be well, and when any shewe of good appeereth that moueth their sense, they follow it. But man doth neither chose by reason, that he may follow with diligence that thing which is indeed good for him, according to the excellencie of his immortall nature, nor taketh reason to counsell, nor bendeth his minde, but without reason, without counsell, like a beast, followeth the inclination of nature. This therefore maketh nothing for the freedome of will, if a man by sense of nature be carried to desire that which is good: but this is requisite, that he discerne good by right reason, and when he hath knowne it, that he chuse it, & when he hath chosen it, that he follow it. But least any man should doubt, there is to be noted a double sophistical argument. For appetite is not here called the proper manner of will, but a naturall inclination: and good is called not as of vertue or iustice, but of estate, as we say: This man is well, or in good case. Finally, although a man do neuer so much desire to attaine that is good, yet he followeth it not. As there is no man to whom eternall blessednes is not pleasant, yet is there none that aspireth vnto it, but by the moouing of the holie Ghost. Wherefore sith the naturall desire in men to be well, maketh nothing to prooue the freedome of will, no more than in mettals and stones, doth the affection inclining to the perfection of their substance: let vs consider in other things, whether Will be so infected and corrupted in all partes, that it engendreth nothing but euill: or whether it keepeth still anie parcell vnhurt, from whence do growe good desires.

It is not sufficient to confesse that grace maketh the desires of our will effectiual, which otherwise woulde not be able to attaine any good thing which is wished for: but we must acknowledge that it is the grace of the holie ghost which worketh in vs the verie first beginning to think of wishing well.
Rom. 7. 15.
Gal. 5. 17.

27 They that doe attribute to the first grace of God, that wee will effectually, seeme on the other side to saie secretly, that there is in the soule a power of it selfe to aspire to good, but it is so weak, that it cannot grow to a perfect affection, or raise vp any endeavor. And there is no doubt that the schoulemen haue commonly embraced this opinion, or which was borrowed by *Origen* and certaine of the old writers: forasmuch as they are wont to consider man in pure naturall things, (as they terme it) such a one as the Apostle describeth him in these wordes: I do not the good that I woulde, but the euill that I woulde nor, that I doe. To will is present vnto mee, but to performe it I find not. But after this manner is the discourse that *Paul* there followeth, altogether wrongfully peruerted. For he enuereath of the Christian wrangling (which he shortly toucheth to the *Galathians*) which the faithfull continually feele within themselues, in the battell betwene the flesh and the spirite. But the spirite is not of nature, but of regeneration. And that the Apostle doth there speake of the regenerate, appeereth by this, that when he had said, that there dwelleth no goodnes in him, he addeth an exposition, that he meaneth it of his flesh. And therefore hee saith, that it is not he that doth the euill, but sinne that dwelleth in him. What meaneth this correction in me, that is, my flesh? Euen as much as if he had saide thus: God dwelleth not in me of my selfe, for there is no good to bee founde in my flesh. Hereupon followeth that maner of excuse: I my selfe do not the euill, but sinne that dwelleth in me. Which excuse belongeth onely to the regenerate, which doe with the chiefe part of their soule tende vnto good. Now, the conclusion that is adioyned after, declareth all this matter evidently. I am delited (saith he) with the law, according to the inward man: But I see another law in my members, fighting against the lawe of my minde. Who hath such a struing in himselfe, but he that being regenerate by the spirit of God, carieth the leauings of his flesh about with him? Therefore *Augustine*, where as once he had thought, that that had bene spoken of the nature of man, renoked his exposition as false, and ill agreeing together. And truly, if we allow this, that men without grace haue some motions to good, though they be but small, what shall we answer to the Apostle which saith, that we are not sufficient so much as to thinke any good? What shall wee answer to the Lorde that pronounceth by *Moses*, that euerie inuention of mans hart is onely euill? Wherefore sith they haue stumbled by false taking of one place, there is no cause why wee should stay

Rom. 7. 22.

Ad Bonif. li. 1.
ca. 10 Et in Re-
tra.

2. Cor. 3. 5.

Gen. 8. 21.

stay vpon their iudgement. Let rather this saying of Christ preuaile. He that doth sinne is the seruant of sinne. We are all sinners by nature, therefore we be all holden vnder the yoke of sinne. Nowe if whole man be subiect to the dominion of sinne, then must it needes bee, that the will it selfe which is the chiefe seate thereof, bee bounde fast with most strait bondes. For otherwise the saying of *Paul* woulde not stand together, that it is God which worketh will in vs, if any will did goe before the grace of the Holy Ghost. Away therefore with all that many haue triflingly spoken concerning preparation. For although sometime the faithfull doe pray to haue their hart formed to the obedience of the lawe, as *Dauid* doth in many places : yet it is to be noted, that euen that desire of praying is from God. Which we may gather of his wordes, for when he wisheth to haue a cleane hart created within him, surely hee taketh not on himselfe the beginning of creation. Therefore, let rather this saying of *Augustine* haue place with vs : God will preuent thee in all things : And sometime preuent thou his wrath. How ? Confesse that thou hast all these things of God, that whatsoever good thou hast, is of him : whatsoever euill, it is of thy selfe. And a little after : Nothing is ours but sinne.

Iohn. 8. 34.

Phil. 2. 13.

Psal. 51. 12.

*De verbis Apostoli
Serm. 10.*

The iij. Chapter.

*That out of the corrupt nature of man proceedeth
nothing but damnable.*

BUT man cannot be any way better knowne in either part of his soule, than if hee come forth with his titles wherewith the Scripture doth set him out. If he be painted whole in these wordes of Christ, That which is borne of flesh, is flesh: as it is easie to proue, then is he proued to bee a very miserable creature. For the affection of the flesh, as the Apostle witnesseth, is death, for as much as it is enimitie against God, and so is not subiect, nor can be subiect to the lawe of God. Is flesh so peruers, that with all her affection shee continually vseth enimitie against God? that she cannot agree with the righteousnesse of the lawe of God? Finally, that she can bring forth nothing but matter of death? Now, graunt that in the nature of man is nothing but flesh, and gather any good out of it if thou canst. But (they say) the name of flesh belongeth onely to the sensuall, and not the higher part of the soule. But that is sufficiently confuted by the wordes of Christ, and of the Apostle. It is the Lordes argument, that man must be borne againe, because he is flesh. Hee commandeth not to be borne againe according to the bodie. But in mind he is not borne againe, if a part of it be amended, but when it is all reuiewed. And that doth the comparison, set in both places, confirme. For the spirite is so compared against the flesh, that there is left no meane thing betweene them. Therefore whatsoever is not spirituall in man, is after the same reason called fleshly. But we haue nothing of the Spirite but by regeneration. It is therefore flesh whatsoever we haue of nature. But of that matter, if otherwise we could haue any doubt, that is taken away from vs by *Paul*, where after he had described the olde man, whome he had saide to be corrupt with concupiscences of error, hee biddeth vs to bee renewed in the spirite of our minde : you see he doth not place vnlawfull and euill lustes onely in the sensitiue part, but also in the very minde, and therefore requireth a renewing of it. And truly a little before he had painted out such an image of mans nature, as did shew that there was no part wherein we were not corrupted and peruerted: for whereas he writeth that all nations doe walke in the vanitie of their minde, are darkened in vnderstanding, estranged from the life of God, by reason of the ignorance that is in them, and the blindness of their hart: it is no doubt that this is spoken of all them whome the Lord hath not reformed to the vprightnesse both of his wisdom and iustice: which is also made more plaine by the comparison by and by adioyned,

*The whole minde
of man and not
only the sensuall
part is corrupted.
Iohn. 3. 6.*

Rom. 8. 6.

Iohn. 3. 6.

Eph. 4. 13.

Eph. 4. 17.

Cap. 3. Of the knowledge of

adioyned, where he putteth the faithfull in minde, that they haue not so learned Christ. For of these wordes we gather, that the grace of Christ, is the onely remedie whereby we be deliuered from that blindness, and the euils that ensue threof. For so had *Esay* also prophesied of the kingdome of Christ, when he promised, that the Lord should be an euerlasting light to his Church, when yet darkenesse couered the earth, and a mist the peoples. Whereas he testifieth, that the light of God shall arise onely in the Church, truly without the Church he leaueth nothing but darkenesse and blindness. I will not rehearse particularly such things as are written euery where, specially in the Psalmes and in the Prophets against the vanitie of man. It is a great thing that *Dauid* writeth, if he be weyed with vanitie, that he shall bee vainer than vanitie it selfe. His wit is wounded with a greuous weapon, when all the thoughtes that come out of it, are scorned as foolish, trifling, madde and peruerse.

Esaï. 60. 2.

Psal. 62. 10.

The manifold discases wherewith the soule either openly or covertly fixeth, reckned vp by the Apostle.
Iere 17. 9.
Rom. 3. 10.
Psal. 14. 53.
Esaï. 59. 7.

2 No easier is the condemnation of the hart, when it is called guilefull and peruerse aboue all things : but because I studie to be short, I will be content with one place alone, but such a one as shall be like a most bright looking glasse, wherein wee may beholde the whole image of our nature. For the Apostle, when he goeth about to throwe downe the arrogancie of mankinde, doth it by these testimonies : That there is not one righteous man, there is not one man that vnderstandeth or that seeth God, All are gone out of the way, they are made vnprofitable together, there is none that doth good, no not one : their throte is an open sepulcher, with their tongues they worke deceitfully, the poyson of Serpents is vnder their lips, whose mouth is full of cursing and bitternesse : whose secte are swift to shedde bloud, in whose waies is sorrow and vnhappinesse, which haue not the feare of God before their eyes. With these thunderboltes hee inuiceth, not against certaine men, but against the whole nation of the sonnes of *Adam*. Neither declaimeth he against the corrupt manners of one or two ages, but accuseth the continuall corruption of nature. For his purpose is in that place, not simply to chide men, to make them amende, but to teach rather that all men are oppressed with calamitie, impossible to bee ouercome, from which they cannot get vp againe, vnlesse they bee plucked out by the mercie of God. And because, that could not be prooued vnlesse it had bene by the ouerthrowe and destruction of nature, hee brought forth these testimonies whereby is prooued that our nature is more than destroyed. Let this therefore remaine agreed, that men are such as they be here described, not onely by fault of euill custome, but also by coriuptnesse of nature. For otherwise the Apostles argument cannot stande, that there is no saluation for man but by the mercie of God, because he is in himselfe vtterly lost and past hope. I will not here busie my selfe in proouing the applying of these testimonies that no man should thinke them vnfitly vsed. I will to take them as if they had bene first spoken by *Paul*, and not taken out of the Prophetes. First he taketh away from man righteoulnesse, that is integritie and purenesse, and then vnderstanding. The want of vnderstanding, hee prooueth by Apostasie or departing from God, whome to seeke is the first degree of wisdom. But that want must needs happen to them that are fallen away from God. He saith further, that all are gone out of the way and become as it were rotten, that there is none that doeth good, and then hee adioyneth the haynous faultes, wherewith they defile their members that are once let loose into wickednesse. Last of all he testifieth that they are voide of the feare of God, after whose rule our steppes should haue bene directed. If these be the inheritable gifts of mankinde, it is in vaine to seeke for any good thing in our nature. In deece I grant that not all these faultes doe appeere in euery man : yet can it not be denied that this *Hydra* lurketh in the harts of all men. For as the body while it already fofstreth enclosed within it, the cause and matter of disease, although the paine be not yet vehement,

cannot

cannot be called healthie: no more can the soule be reckoned sound, while it swar-
meth full of such diseases of vices, albeit the similitude doth not agree in all pointes.
For in the body be it neuer so much diseased, there remaineth a quicknes of life: but
the soule being drowned in this gulfe of destruction, is not onely troubled with vices,
but also altogether voide of all goodnesse.

3 The same question in a manner which hath beene before assoyled, now riseth
vp againe of newe. For in all ages there haue been some, which by guiding of nature
haue beene bent to vertue in all their life. And I regard it not, though many slippings
may be noted in their manners: yet by the verie studie of honestie they haue shewed
a prooffe, that there was some purenesse in their nature. What reward such vertues
haue before God, although we will more fully declare when we shal speak of the me-
rits of works, yet we must somewhat speake in this place: so far as is necessarie for mak-
ing plaine of this present argument. These examples therefore seeme to put vs in
minde, that we should not thinke mans nature altogether corrupt, for that by her in-
struction som men haue not onely excelled in some noble actes, but also in the whole
course of their life haue behaued themselues most honestly. But here we must thinke,
how in this corruption of nature there is some place for the grace of God, not to
cense it, but inwardly to restraîne it. For if the Lord would suffer the mindes of all
men as it were with loose réines to runne wildlie into all sorts of lustes, without doubt
there would be no man, but he woulde in plaine experience make vs beleue, that
all those euils wherewith *Paul* condemneth all nature, are most truly saide of
him. 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 throates like vnto open sepulchres, their tongs deceitful, their lips venomous, their
workes vnprofitable, wicked, rotten, deadly, whose minde is without God, whose
inwardes are peruerseness, whose eies are bent to entrappings, their hearts lift vp
dispiteouslie to triumph ouer other, and all the parts of them applied to infinite mis-
cheues. If euerie soule bee subiect to all such monsters, as the Apostle boldlie
pronounceth, truly we see what woulde come to passe, if the Lorde woulde suf-
fer the lust of man to wander after his owne inclination. There is no madde beast
that is so headlong carried away, there is no streame bee it neuer so swifte and
strong, wherof the ouerflowing is so violent. The Lorde healeth these diseases
in his elect by this meane that wee will by and by set foith. In some he onelie re-
straineth them with putting a bridle in their mouth, onely that they breake not
out, so faire as he foreseeeth to be expedient for preseruing of the vniuersitie of things.
Hereby some are holden in by shame, some by feare of lawes, that they burst not
forth into many sortes of filthinesse, howbeit they doe for a great part not hide
their vncleannesse. Some because they thinke that an honest trade of life is good,
doe after a certaine sort aspire towards it. Some rise vp about the common sort, that
by their maiestie they may keepe other in their dutie. So God by his prouidence
bridleth the peruerseness of nature, that it breake not forth into dooings, but he
clemeth it not within.

4 But yet the doubt is not dissolued. For either we must make *Camillus* like vn-
to *Catiline*, or else in *Camillus* we shall haue an example that nature, if it be framed by
diligence, is not altogether without goodnesse. I graunt indeede that those goodlie
gifts which were in *Camillus* both were the gifts of God and seeme woorthie to be
commended, if they be weyed by themselues, but how shall they be prooues of nat-
urall goodnesse in him? must we not returne to the minde, and frame our argu-
ment in this sort? If a naturall man excelled in such vprightnesse of manners, then
nature is vndoubtedly not without power towards the studie of vertue. But what
if the minde were peruerse and crooked, and following anie thing rather than
vpright straightnesse? And that it was such, there is no doubt, if you graunt
that

*The morall honestie of prophane men is no argument of puretie in nature, because it commeth not of them but of the grace of God working in them: not the grace that regenerateth the hart, but that bridleth onely and re-
straineth the peruersnesse of naturall inclination.*

Rom. 3. 10.

The vertues of vngodly men do neither come of naturall goodnesse and by naturall corruption: they are so polluted, that in the sight of God they are lost-lose.
Aug. lib. 4. cont. Iulianum.

Cap. 3. Of the knowledge of

that he was a naturall man. Now what power of mans nature to goodnesse will you rehearse vnto me in this behalfe, if in the greatest shew of purenesse it be founde that he is alway carried to corruption? Therefore, least yee commend a man for vertue, whose vices deceiue you vnder vertues Image, do not so giue vnto the will of man power to desire goodnesse, so long as it remaineth fast in her owne peruerfnesse. Albeit this is a most sure and easie solution of this question, that these are not common gifts of nature, but speciall graces of God, which he diuerslie and to a certaine measure dealeth among men that are otherwise vngodlie. For which reason wee feare not in common speech to call one man well natured, and another of euill nature, and yet we cease not to include them both vnder the vniuersall state of mans corruption, but we shewe what speciall grace God hath bestowed vpon the one, which he hath not vouchsafed to giue to the other. When his pleasure was to make *Saul* king; hee formed him as a new man. And that is the reason why *Plato* alluding to the fable of *Homer*, saith that Kings sonnes are created notable by some singular maïke, because God prouiding for mankind, furnisheth these with a princely nature whom he appointeth to beare government: & out of this storehouse came all the great Captaines that are renowned in histories. The same is also to be thought of priuate men. But because as euery man hath most excelled, so his ambition hath most moued him forwarde (with which spot all vertues are defiled; so that they loose all fauour before God) it is to be accounted nothing woorth, whatsoeuer seemeth praise woorthie in vngodly men, beside that the chiefe part of vprightness faileth, where there is no studie to aduance the glorie of God, which all they want whom hee hath not regenerate with his spirite. Neither is it vaine-lic spoken in *Esaie*, that vpon Christ resteth the spirite of the feare of God, whereby we are taught, that so manie as are strange from Christ are without the feare of God, which is the beginning of wisdome. As for the vertues that deceiue vs with vaine shewe, I grant they shall haue praise in the court of pollicie, and in the common fame of men, but before the heauenly iudgement seate, they shall be of no value to deserue righteousnes.

Essay 11.3.

The will of man being corrupt, is of necessitie yet without compulsion inclined vnto sinne.

Ierc. 31.18.

§ With such bondage of sinne therefore as Will is detained, it cannot once moue it selfe to goodnesse, much lesse applye it selfe. For such moouing is the beginning of turning to God, which in Scriptures is wholly imputed to the grace of God. As *Jeremie* praicheth to the Lord to turne him, if he will haue him turned. Whereupon the prophēt in the same Chapter, describing the spirituall redemption of the faithfull people, saith that they were redemed out of the hand of a stronger, meaning with how strait feters a sinner is bound so long as being forsaken of the Lord, he liueth vnder the yoke of the Diuell. Yet Will still remaineth, which with most bent affection is both enclined and hasteth to sinne. For man was not deprived of Will when he did cast himselfe into this necessitie, but of the soundnesse of Will. And *Bernard* saith not vnaptly, which teacheth that to Will is in vs all: but to Will good is a profiting, to Will ill is a default: and therefore simplicie to Will, is the worke of man: to Will euill of corrupt nature: to Will well of grace. Nowe, whereas I saie, that Will put from libertie is by necessitie drawne or led into euill, it is maruell if that should seem a hard speech vnto any man, which neither hath any absurditie in it, nor varieth from the vse of holy men: But it offendeth them that can make no difference betweene necessitie and compulsion. But if a man aske them, is not God of necessitie good? is not the diuell of necessitie euill? what can they answer? For so is goodnes knit with Gods diuinitie, that it is no more necessarie that he be God than that he be good. And the diuell is by his fall so estranged from partaking of goodnes, that he can do nothing but euill. But now if any robber of God doe barke against this and saie, that God deserueth small praise for his goodnesse, which he is compelled to keepe: shall not this be a readie answer to him, that it commeth to passe by his infinite

infinite goodnesse and not by violent impulsio[n], that he cannot doe euill. Therefore if this, that it is of necessitie that God doe well, doe not hinder the free will of God in doing well, if the diuell which cannot doe but euill yet willingly sinneth, who shall then say that a man doth therefore lesse willingly sinne for this that he is subiect to necessitie of sinning? This necessitie, whereas *Augustine* each where speaketh of it, euen then also when he was enuiously pressed with the cauillation of *Celestinus*, he stuck not to affirme in these wordes, by libertie it came to passe that man was with sinne, but now the corruption which flowed for punishment, hath of libertie made necessitie. And so oft as he falleth into mention thereof, he doubteth not to speake in this manner of the necessarie bondage of sinne. Therefore let this summe of that distinction be kept, that man since he is corrupted, sinneth in deed willingly and not against his will nor compelled, by a most bent affection of munde, and not by violent compulsion, by motion of his owne lust, and not by foraine constraint: but yet of such peruersnesse of nature as he is, he cannot but be moued and driuen to euill. If this be true, then surely it is plainly expressed that hee is subiect to necessitie of sinning. *Bernard* agreeing to *Augustine* writeth thus, onely man among all liuing creatures is free: and yet by meane of sinne, he also suffereth a certaine violence, but of will and not of nature, that euen thereby also he shoulde not be deprived of freedome, for that which is willing is free. And a little after, will being changed in it selfe into worse, by I wot not what corrupt and maruellous manner, so maketh necessitie that very necessitie for as much as it is willing, cannot excuse will, and will for as much as it is drawne by allureme[n]t, cannot exclude necessitie, for this necessitie is after a certaine manner willing. Afterward he saith that we are pressed downe with a yoke, but yet none other but of a certaine willing bondage, therefore by reason of our bondage we are miserable, by reason of our will we are inexcusable, because will when it was free, made it selfe the bondsruant of sinne. At length he concludeth, that the soule is so after a certaine maruellous and euill manner holden both a bond seruant and free, vnder this certaine willing and ill free necessitie: a bondsruant by reason of necessitie, free by reason of Will, and that which is more marvellous and more miserable, therein guiltie wherein it is free, therein bond wherein it is guiltie, and so therein bond wherein it is free. Hereby truly the readers doe perceiue that I bring no new thing, which long agoe *Augustine* brought forth out of the consent of all godly men, and almost a thousand yeres after was kept still in monkes Cloysters, But *Lombard* when he could not distinguish necessitie from compulsion, gaue matter to a pernicious error.

Lib. de perfiast.

De Nat. & Gra. & alibi.

Sermon super Cant. 81.

6 On the other side it is good to consider what maner remedie is that of the grace of God, whereby the corruption of nature is amended and healed. For whereas the Lord in helping vs, giueth vs that which we want, when we shall knowe what his worke is in vs, it will straigh way appeere on the other side what is our needier. When the Apostle saith to the Philippians, that hee trusteth that he which began a good worke in them, will performe it vnto the day of Iesus Christ: it is no doubt, that by the beginning of a good worke, hee meaneth the verie beginning, of conuersion, which is in will. Therefore God beginneth a good worke in vs by stirring vp in our harts the loue, desire and endeour of righteousness, or (to speake more properly) in bowing, framing and directing our harts to righteousness: he enderth it in continuing vs to perseuerance. And that no man shoulde cauill that good is begunne by the Lorde, when will being of it selfe weake is holpen: the hoie Ghost in another place declareth what will is able to doe being left vnto it selfe. I will giue you (saith he) a new hart. I will put a new spirit in the middes of you. And I will take away the stonie hart from your flesh, and I will giue you a hart of flesh. And I will put my spirit in the middes of you, and I will make you to walke in my commandments. Who shall say that the weakenesse of mans will is strengthened

God is the onely framer of the will vnto good things, from the first motion to the last perfection of every good act, his hande worketh and worketh alone.

Ezec. 36. 16.

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strengthened with helpe, whereby it may effectually aspire to the choise of that that is good, when it must be wholie transformed and renewed? If there be any softnesse in a stone, which by some helpe being made tenderer will abide to be bowed euery way, then will I graunt that the hart of man is pliable to obey that which is right, so that that which in it is perfect, be supplied by the grace of God. But if he meant to shew by this similitude, that no goodnesse could euer be wroong out of our hart vnlesse it be made throughly new: let vs not part betweene him and vs, that which he challengeth to himselfe alone. If therefore a stone be transformed into flesh, when God turneth vs to the desire of that which is right: then is all that which was of our owne will taken away, and that which commeth in place thereof is all of God. I say that will is taken away, not in that it is will, because in the conuersion of man, that which was of the first nature abideth whole: also I say that it is created newe, not that will then beginneth to be, but that it be turned from an euill will into a good. And this I affirme to be wholly done by God, because we are not able so much as to thinke, as the same Apostle witnesseth: therefore in another place he saith, that God doth not onely helpe our weak will, or amende our peruerse will, but that he worketh in vs to will. Whereupon is easily gathered, that which I saide before, that whatsoeuer good is in will, it is the worke of onely grace. In which sense in another place he saith, that it is God that worketh all in all. Neither doth he there intreate of the vniuersall gouernement, but giueth vnto God alone the praise of all good things that the faithfull haue. And in saying, all, truely he maketh God the author of spirituall life, euen from the beginning to the ende. Which selfe same thing he had taught before in other words, saying that the faithfull are of God in Christ, where he plainly maketh mention of the new creation, wherein that which was of common nature before, is destroyed. For there is to be vnderstanded a comparison betweene *Adam* and Christ, which in another place he more plainly expresseth, where he teacheth that we are the worke of God created in Christ to good works, which he hath prepared that we should walke in them. For he goeth about by this reason to prooue, that our saluation is of free gift, because the beginning of all goodnesse, is at the second creation, which we obtaine in Christ. But if there were any power of our selues, were it neuer so small, we should haue also some portion of merite. But he to prooue vs altogether nothing worth, reasoneth that we haue deserued nothing, because we are create in Christ to good works, which God liath prepared. In which words he signifieth againe, that all partes of good works euen from the first motion, are proper to God onely. For this reason, the Prophet after he had said in the Psalm that we are the workmanship of God, that there should be no partition, addeth by and by, We made not our selues. That he speaketh there of regeneration, which is the beginning of spirituall life, appeereth by the tenor of the text, where it by and by after followeth, that we are his people and the flocke of his pastures. We see now how he not contented simply to haue giuen to God the praite of our saluation, doth expressly exclude vs from all fellowship with him, as if he would say, that there resteth no peece, be it neuer so litle, for man to glorie in, because it is all of God.

7 But there be some peraduenture that will graunt, that Will being of her owne nature, turned away from good, is conuerted by the onely power of the Lord: but so that being prepared before, it hath also her owne part in doing, as *Augustine* teacheth, that grace goeth before euery good worke, but so, that will doth accompanie it and not leade it, as a waiting maide after it, and not a foregoer. Which thing being not euill spoken by the holy man, *Peter Lombard* doth disorderly writhe to this purpose, But I affirme, that as well in the wordes of the Prophet which I haue alleaged, as in the other places, these two things be plainly signified, that the Lorde doth both correct our corrupted will, or rather destroy it, and also of himselfe putteth in place thereof a good will. In as much as it is preuented by grace, in that respect I giue you

2. Cor. 8. 6.
Phil. 2. 13.

2. Cor. 12. 6.

1. Cor. 9. 6.

It is not ynough
so make God the
principall actor &
leader of our will
vnto good things,
but the whole pro-
cesse must be a-
scribed entirely
vnto him.
Ad Bonif. Epi.
206.

leau to call it a waiting maide : but for that being reformed, it is the worke of the Lord, that is wrongfully giuen to man that he doth with will comming after, obey grace going before. Therefore it is not well written of *Chrysostome*, that neither grace without will, nor will without grace can worke any thing : as if grace did not worke verie well it selfe, as euen now we haue seene by *Paul*. Neitlier was it *Augustines* purpose, when he called mans will the waiting maide of grace, to assigne vnto her a certaine second office in dooing a good worke, but bicause this onely was his intent, to confute the wicked doctrine of *Pelagius*, which did set the principall cause of saluation in mans deseruing : therefore he stood onely vpon this point, that grace was before all deseruing : which was sufficient for the matter that he then had in hande, not meddling in the meane time with the other question, concerning the perpetuall effect of grace, which yet in another place he excellently well handleth. For sometimes when he saith, that the Lord doth preuent the willing that he may will, and followeth the willing that he will not in vaine, he maketh him altogether the whole author of the good worke. Albeit his sentences touching this matter, are too plaine to neede any long arguing vpon them. Men (saith hee) doe labour to finde in our will something that is our owne and not of God, but how it may be found I knowe not. And in his first booke against *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, where he doth expound that saying of Christ, Euey one that hath heard of my father commeth to mee, he saith : Free will is so holpen not onely that it may know what is to be done, but also may do it when it hath knowen it. And so when God teacheth, not by the letter of the lawe, but by the grace of the spirit, he so teacheth, that he that hath learned, doth not only see it knowing, but also desire it in willing, and performe it in doing.

Scr. de inuent.
S. Crucis.

Aug. li. 2. de re-
miss. pecc. ca. 18.
Iohn. 6. 45.

8 And because we are now in hande with the chiefe point whereupon the matter hangeth, let vs go forward and prooue the summe thereof to the readers, onely with a few and the most plaine testimonies of the Scripture. And then, least any man should accuse vs of wrongfull wresting the Scripture, let vs shew that the truth which we affirme being taken out of the Scripture, wanteth not the testimonie of this holy man, I meane *Augustine*. For I thinke it not expedient, that all the things be rehearsed that may be brought out of the Scriptures, for confirmation of our meaning, so that by the most chosen that shall be brought forth, the way may be prepared to vnderstand all the rest that are heere and there commonly read. And againe, I thinke it shall not be vnfitly done, if I openly shew that I agree well with that man whom worthily the consent of godly men doth much esteeme. Surely, it is euident by plaine and certaine prooffe, that the beginning of goodnesse is from no where else but onely from God, for there cannot be found a will bent to good, but in the elect. But the cause of election is to be sought out of man. Whereupon followeth, that man hath not right will of himselfe, but it proceedeth from the same good pleasure, whereby we are elect before the creation of the world. There is also another reason not vnlike vnto that. For whereas the beginning of willing and doing well is of faith, it is to be seene whence faith it selfe commeth. For as much as the whole Scripture crieth out that it is a free gift of God, it followeth, that it is of the meere grace of God, when we, which are with all our minde naturally bent to euill, begin to will that which is good. Therefore the Lord, when he nameth these two things in the conuersion of his people, to take away from them a stonie hart, and to giue them a hart of flesh, plainly testifieth that that which is of our selues must be done away, that we may be conuerted to righteousness : and that whatsoever commeth in place thereof, is from himselfe. And he vttereth not this in one place onely. For he saith in *Jeremie* : I will giue them one hart and one way, that they may feare me all their daies. And a little after, I will giue the feare of my name into their hart, that they depart not from me. Againe in *Ezechial* : I will giue them one

Siib there is found
a will bent to good
in none but only in
the elect, and the
beginning so will
well a faith, of
whom our election
& faith commeth
of him the conuer-
sion of our will
must also of neces-
sity proceed.

hart, and I will giue a new spirit in their bowels. I will take away the stony hart out of their flesh, and I will giue them a heart of flesh. Hee could not more euidently claime to himselfe, and take from vs whatsoeuer is good and right in our will, then when he declareth that our conuersion is a creation of a new spirit, and of a new hart. For it followeth alway, that both out of our will proceedeth no goodnesse till it be reformed, and that after reformation, so much as it is good, is of God, and not of vs.

The prayers of holy men to haue their harts framed vnto good things: the testimonie of Christ that without him we are like fruitlesse & dry stickes: of Paul & David ascribing both the first and last in our wills to God as the author, prouing sufficiently that our liking, desiring, following, attaining good, our going forward and continuing in it, is of him.
Pla. 119.
Pla. 51. 12.

9 And so read we the prayers of holy men made to that effect, as, The Lorde encline our hart to him (saith Salomon) that we may keepe his commaundements. He sheweth the forwardnesse of our heart which naturally reioycesth to rebell against the Law of God if it be not bowed. And the same thing is in the Psalme: Lord incline my heart to thy testimonies. For the comparison of contrarietie is alway to be noted, which is betwene the peruerse motion of the heart, whereby it is carried to obstinacie, and this correction whereby it is lead to obedience. When David feeling himselfe for a time without the directing grace, prayeth God to create a new hart within him, to renew a right spirit within his bowels: doth he not acknowledge that all the parts of his heart are full of vncleannesse, and his spirit writhen with crooked peruerfittie? and in calling the cleannesse which he prayeth for, the creature of God, doth hee not attribute it wholly to God? But if any man take exception and say, that the verie prayer is a token of a godly and holy affection: our answer is readie, that though David were by that time somewhat come to amendment, yet doeth he still compare his first state with that sorrowfull fall that hee had felt. Therefore taking vpon him the person of a man estranged from God, he for good cause prayeth to haue giuen him all these things that God giueth to his elect in regeneration. And so being like a dead man, he witheth himselfe to be created of new, that of the bondslau of Satan, he may be made the instrument of the holy Ghost. Marvellous and monstrous surely is the lust of our pride. God requireth nothing more earnestly, than that we should most religioustly keepe his Sabbath, that is in resting from our owne workes, but of vs nothing is more hardly obtained, than bidding our owne workes farewell, to giue due place to the workes of God. If sluggishnesse hindreth not, Christ hath giuen testimonie euident enough of his graces to make them not to be enuiously suppressed. I am (saith he) the Vine, you be the branches: My father is a husbandman. As the branch cannot beare fruit of it selfe, vnlesse it abide in the Vine, no more can you, vnlesse you abide in me. For without me you can doe nothing. If we beare fruit none otherwise than a branch buddeth being plucked out of the ground and without moisture: we neede no more to seeke what is the aptnesse of our nature to goodnesse. And this is a plaine conclusion: Without me you can do nothing. He doth not say that we are too weak to be sufficient for our selues: but in bringing vs to nothing, hee excludeth all opinion of power be it neuer so little. If we being grafted in Christ, beare fruit like a Vine, which taketh her efficacie of liuelines both from the moisture of the earth, and from the dew of heauen, and from the cherishing of the sun: I see nothing remaine for vs in doing a good worke, if we keepe whole for God that which is his. The fonde futile deuse is alleaged in vaine, that there is iuice alreadie enclosed within the braunche, and a certaine power to bring forth fruit, and that therefore it taketh not all from the earth or from the first iuice, because it bringeth somewhat of her owne. For Christ doth meane nothing else, but that wee are a drie stick and nothing woorth, when we be seuered from him, because by our selues being separate, we haue no power to do well: as also in another place he saith: Euerie tree that my Father hath not planted shal be rooted vp. Wherefore the Apostle ascribeth all the whole vnto him in the place alreadie alleaged. It is God (saith he) that worketh in vs both to will and to performe. The first part

Iohn. 15. 1.

Mat. 15. 13.

Phil. 2. 13.

part of a good worke is will : the second is a strong indeuour in doing it : the Author of both is God. Therefore we steale it from God, if we take to our selues any thing, either in will or in effectuall working. If it were saide that God doth helpe our weake will, then somewhat were left for vs. But when it is saide that he maketh our will, now 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 flesh that it cannot rise vp : He said further, that to ouercome the hardnesse of that battell, there is ministred vnto vs stedfastnesse of endeuour, euen to the elect. For otherwise it could not stand together which he teacheth in another place, that it is God alone that bringeth to effect all things in all, wherein we haue before taught that the whole courte of spirituall life is comprehended For which reason, *Dauid*, after he had prayed to haue the waies of the Lord opened vnto him, that he might walke in his truth, by and by addeth : Vnite thou my harte to feare thy name. In which words he significth, that euen they that are well minded, are subiect to so many withdrawings of minde, that they easily vanish or fall away if they be not stablished to constancie. For which reason in another place, after he had prayed to haue his steppes directed to keepe the word of God, he requireth also to haue strength giuen him to fight. Let not any iniquitie (saith he) beare rule ouer me. After this sort therefore doth the Lord both begin and ende a good worke in vs : that it may all be his worke, that will conceiue a loue of that which is right, that it is enclined to the desire thereof, that it is stirred vp and moued to endeuour of following it. And then that our choise, desire, and endeuour faint not, but doe proceede euen to the effect : last of all, that man goeth forward constantly in them, and continueth to the end.

1. Cor. 12. 6.

Psal. 86. 11.

Psal. 100. 19. 100.
33.

10 And he moueth the will, not in such sort as hath in many ages been taught and beleued : that it is afterward in our choise, either to obey or withstand the motion, but with mightily strengthning it. Therefore that must bee reiected which *Chrysostome* so oft repeatech : whom he draweth, he draweth being willing. Whereby he licerely teacheth that God doth only reach out his hand to see if we will be holpen by his aide. We graunt that such was the state of man while he yet stooode, that he might bow to either part. But sith he hath taught by his example how miserable is free will, vnlesse God both will and can in vs : what shall become of vs, if he giue vs his grace according to that small proportion? But rather we doe obscure and extenuate it with our vnthankfulnesse. For the Apostle doth not teach, that the grace of a good will is offered vs, if we doe accept it, but that he will performe it in vs : which is nothing else, but that the Lord by his spirit doth direct, bow and gouerne our hart, and reigne in it as in his owne possession. Neither doth he promise by *Ezechiel*, that he will giue to the elect a new spirit onely for this end, that they may be able to walke in his commandements, but to make them walke in deed. Neither can *Christes* saying, (Euery one that hath heard of my Father commeth to me) be otherwise taken, than to teach that the grace of God is effectuall of it selfe : as *Augustine* also affirmeth. Which grace God vouchsafeth not to giue to all men generally without regards, as that saying (as I thinke) of *Occam*, is commonly spoken among the people, that it denieth nothing to him that doth what lieth in him. Men are in deede to be taught that Gods goodnesse is laid open for all men, without exception that seeke for it. But forasmuch as they onely beginne to seeke for it, whom the heavenly grace hath breathed vpon, not so much as the little peece ought to be plucked away from his praise. Truly this is the prerogative of the elect, that being regenerate by the spirit of God, they are moued and gouerned by his guiding. Therefore *Augustine* doth worthylye as well mocke them, that claime any parte of willing to themselves, as hee doth reprehende other which thinke, that that is generally giuen to all men, which is the speciall testimony of free election. Nature (saith he) but not grace, is common to all men. Calling it a bricke subtletie of wite like glasse, that

God doth not onely make our will the offer to incline it, which if we accept it worketh and not otherwise, but he seereth good before vs, giueth vs eyes to see it and effectually boweth our minds vnto it.

Eze. 1. 19. &
36 27.
Iohn 9. 45.

Lib. de prædest. San. 2.

Ang. de verbis. Apost. Ser. 11.

Cap. 3. Of the knowledge of

glistereth with meere vanitie, where it is generally extended to all which God giueth onely to whome it pleaseth him. And in another place: How canst thou? by beleecung. Feare thou, least while thou takest vpon thee that thou hast found the iust way, thou perishest out of the iust way, I came (saiest thou) by Free will, I came by mine owne will, why swellest thou? wilt thou heare that this also is giuen thee? Heare euen him that calleth: No man cometh to me vnlesse my Father drawe him. And it is without controuersie gathered out of *Iohns* words, that the hartes of the godly are so effectually gouerned by Gods working, that they follow with an vnchangeable affection. He that is begotten of God (saith he) can not sinne, because the seede of God abideth in him. For wee see that the meane motion which the Sophisters imagine, which we at our libertie may either obey or refuse, is openly excluded, where an effectuall constancie to continue is affirmed.

Iohn. 6. 44.

1. Iohn 3. 9.

As our first entrance into well-willing, so our continuance therein is also the worke and free gift of God: they erre whi. b. holde either that the thankfull use of the first grace doth deserue the second, or that the first only worketh alone, and with the second we our selues are cooperators.
 Mat. 25. 21.
 Luk. 19. 17.

11 Of continuance there should no more doubt haue beene made, but that it should haue beene taken for the free gift of God vnlesse the most wicked error had growen in force, that it is distributed according to the desert of men, as euery man hath shewed himselfe not vnthankfull to the first grace. But forasmuch as this error hath growen vpon that point, that they thought it to be in our hand to refuse or receiue the grace of God offered, that opinion being driuen away, this other doth also fall of it selfe. Albeit herein they erre two manner of waies. For beside this that they teach that our thankfulness towards the first grace and our lawfull vse thereof are rewarded with the latter giftes: they adde also, that now grace alone doth not worke in vs, but that it is onely a worker together with vs. Of the first this we ought to beleue, that the Lord while he dayly enricheth and heapeth his seruants with new giftes of his grace, because he liketh and fauoureth the worke which he hath begun in them, findeth in them somewhat whereupon to bestowe greater graces. And hereto serue those sayings, To him that hath, shall be giuen. Againe: Oh, good seruant, because thou hast beene faithfull in few things, I will set thee ouer many. But here two things are to be taken heede of, that neither the lawfull vse of the first grace be said to be rewarded with the later graces, nor it be so counted a rewarding, that it cease to be reckoned the free grace of God. I graunt therefore, that this blessing of God is to be looked for of the faithfull, that how much the better they haue vsed the first graces, they shall be encreased with so much the greater. But I say, that this vse also is of the Lord, and that this rewarding is of his free good will. And they vse no lesse wrongfully than vnhappily that old distinction of working and together working grace. *Augustine* vsed the same in deede, but delaying it with a fit definition, that God in together working with vs doth end that which in working he beginneth, and that it is still the same grace but changeth name, according to the diuise maner of effect. Whereupon followeth, that hee doth not part it betweene God and vs, as if there were a mutuall meeting together by the motion of both, but onely noteth the multiplication of grace. To which purpose belongeth that which in another place he teacheth, that many giftes of God doe goe before the good will of man, among the which the selfe same is one. Whereupon followeth, that he leaue nothing that it may claime to it selfe. Which thing *Paul* also hath namely expressed: For when he had said that it is God, which worketh in vs both to wil and to performe, he by and by adde that he doth them both of his good will, declaring by this word, that it is his free goodnes. Whereas they are wont to say, that after we haue once giuen place to the first grace, our own inducers do now work together with the grace that followeth. To this I answer: if they mean that we, after we haue beene once by the power of the Lord broken to the obedience of righteousness, doe of our owne accord goe forward, and are inclined to follow the working of grace, I speake nothing against it. For it is most certaine, that there is such a readinesse of obeying, where the grace of God reigneth. But whence

Phil. 2. 13.

commeth

commeth that, but from this, that the spirite of God alway agreeing with it selfe, doth cherish and confirme to stedfastnesse of continuing the same affection of obeying, which it selfe engendred at the beginning. But if they meane that man taketh of himselfe somewhat wherby to labour with the grace of God, they are most pestilentlie deceiued.

12 And to this purpose is that saying of the Apostle wrongfully wrested by ignorance: I haue labored more than they all: not I, but the grace of God with me. For they take it so: that because it might seeme somewhat arrogantly spoken that he preferred himselfe before them all, therefore he corrected it with referring the praise to the grace of God, but yet so, that he calleth himselfe a worker together with grace. It is maruell that so many which otherwise were not cull men, haue stumbled at this strawe. For the Apostle doth not write that the grace of the Lord laboureth with him, to the intent to make himselfe partener of the labour, but rather by this correction he giueth away all the praise of the labor to grace only. It is not I (saith he) that haue labored, but the grace of God that was with me. But the doubtfullnesse of the speech deceiued them: but specially the ill translation wherein the force of the Greeke article was left out. For if it be translated word for word, he doth not say, that grace was a worker together with him, but that the grace that was with him was the worker of all. And the same thing doth *Augustine* teach, not darkely, though shortly, where he thus saith: The good will of man goeth before many giftes of God, but not before all. But of them which it goeth before, it selfe is one, then followeth his reason: because it is written: His mercy hath preuented me: And his mercie shall follow me. It preuenteth man not willing, to make him will: and it followeth him willing, that he wil not in vaine. With whom *Bernard* agreeth bringing in the church speaking thus: Drawe me in a manner unwilling, that thou maist make me willing: drawe me lying slothfull, that thou maist make me runne.

1. Cor. 15. 10.
The Apostle S.
Paul wrested by
Sophisters so
maintaine the
freedome of mans
will as a ioyntwor-
ker with the grace
of God.

Pfal. 59. 11.

Pfal. 23. 6.

Ser. 2. in Cant.

13 Now let vs heare *Augustine* speaking in his owne words, least the *Pelagians* of our age, that is to say, the Sophisters of *Sorbon*, should as they are wont, lay to our charge that all antiquitie is against vs, wherein they follow their father *Pelagius*, by whome long agoe *Augustine* was drawn forth into the same contention. In his booke of *Correption* and grace written to *Valentine* he entreateth largely that which I will rehearse shortly, but yet doe it in his owne words: that to *Adam* was giuen the grace of continuing in good if he would: and to vs is giuen 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 giuen both to will and to be able. That the first libertie was to bee able not to sinne, ours is much greater, not to be able to sinne. And least he should be thought to speake of the perfection to come after immortallitie (as *Lombard* wrongfully draweth it to that meaning) within a litle after hee plucketh out this doubt. For (saith he) the will of holy men is so much kindled by the holy Ghost, that they therefore are able, because they so will: they therefore will, because God worketh that they so will. For if in so great weakenesse, in which yet behooueth the power to be made perfect, for repressing of pride, their owne will were left vnto them, that by the helpe of God they may if they will, and God doth not worke in them to will: then among so many temptations will should needs fall downe for weakenes, and therefore could not continue. Therefore is succour giuen to the weakenesse of mans will, that it should be moued without swauing or seuering by the grace of God, and therefore should not faint how weake so euer it be. Then he entreateth more largely how our harts doe of necessitie follow the mouing of God that worketh affection in them. And he saith, that the Lord doth draw men in deede with their owne wills, but with such as he himselfe hath wrought. Now haue we that thing testified by *Augustines* mouth, which we principally desire to obtaine, that grace is not onely offered by God to be received or refused at euery mans Free

S. Augustines doctrine, not that God doth offer his grace which man hath free election to receive or refuse, but that the will and election of euery receiver is by him therewith framed.
Cap. 2.

2. Cor. 12. 9.

Cap. 14.

Cap. 4. Of the knowledge of

election, but also that grace is the same, that formeth the election and will in the hart: so that euerie good worke that followeth after, is the fruit and effect thereof, and that it haue no other will obeying it, but the same which it hath made. For these are also his words out of another place, that nothing but grace maketh euerie good worke in vs.

Epi. 107. 5.
By grace freely & vnderstandedly giue vnto Gods elect their will is conuerted vnto good and therein strengthened to consume

Epi. 100. 6.

14 But whereas he saith in another place, that wil is not taken away by grace, but from an euill will turned into a good, and holpen when it is good: the meane thoughly that man is not so drawn, that without any motion of heart he is carried as by an outward impulsion, but that he is inwardly so affected, that from his verie hart he obeyeth. That grace is specially and freely giuen to the elect, he writeth thus vnto Boniface: Wee knowe that grace is not giuen to all men, and to them to whom it is giuen, it is not giuen according to the merits of workes, nor according to the merits of will, but of free fauour: and to them to whom it is not giuen, we knowe that it is by the iust iudgement of God that it is not giuen. And in the same Epistle he strongly fighteth against that opinion, that the grace following is giuen to the desertings of men, because in not refusing the first grace, they shewed themselues worthie. For he will haue *Pelagius* graunt, that grace is necessarie to vs for euerie of our doings, and is not giuen in recompense to workes, that it may be grace in deed. But the matter cannot be comprehended in a shorter summe, than out of the eight Chapter of his booke to *Valentine* of Correpition and Grace, where first he teacheth that mans will obtaineth 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 with inuincible force: that while grace gouerneth, it neuer falleth away: when grace forsaketh, it by and by tumbledowne. That by the free mercie of God it both is conuerted to good, and being conuerted abideth in it, that the direction of mans will to good, and stedfastnesse after direction, hangeth vpon the onely will of God, and not vpon any merit of his owne. And so to man is left such a free will, if we list so to call it, as he writeth of in another place, that can neither be turned to God, nor abide in God but by grace, and by grace is able all that it is able.

Epist. 76.

The iiii. Chapter.

How God worketh in the hearts of men.

Susan steeth and vnaeth in the wills of wicked men, who of themselves are most willing to be stirred, led and guided by him.

IT is sufficiently proued, as I thinke, that man is so holden captiue with the yoke of sinne, that of his owne nature he can neither aspire by desire, nor traueil by endeuour to goodnesse: beside that, wee haue rehearsed a distinction betwene compulsion and necessitie, whereby it might appeare, that when he sinneth of necessitie, yet neuertheless hee sinneth willingly. But forasmuch as while he is subiect in bondage to the Diuell, he seemeth ratlier to be lead by the diuels will than his owne, it resteth now to be declared of what sort are both kindes of working. And then is this question to be asswoyed, whether in euill workes there be any thing to be attributed to God: in which the Scripture sheweth that there is vsed some working of his. In one place *Augustine* compareth mans will to a horse, which is readie to be ruled by the will of his rider: and God and the diuell he compareth to riders. If God (saith he) sit vpon it, he like a sober and cunning rider, gouerneth it temperately, spurreth it forward if it be too slow, plucketh it backe if it too quicke, restrayneth the wantonnesse and wildnesse of it, tamed the stubbornnesse of it, and guideth it into the right way. But if the Diuell haue possessed it, he like a foolish and wanton rider, violently carrieth it through places where no way is, driueth it into ditches, rolleth it downe steepe places, spurreth it forward to stubbornnesse and fearcenesse: which similitude wee will for this time be contented with,

fin

such there commeth not a better in place. Where it is said that the will of naturall man is subiect to the rule of the diuell, to be stirred by him, it is not meant thereby that man as were struing against it, and resisting is compelled to obey, as wee compell bondslaves against their will, by reason of being their Lords, to doe our commandments: but that being bewitched with the deceites of Satan, it of necessity yeeldeth it selfe obedient to euery leading of him. For whom the Lord vouchsaueh not to rule with his spirite, them by iust iudgement he sendeth away to be moued of Satan. Wherefore the Apostle sayeth, that the God of this world hath blinded the mindes of the vnbeleeuers ordained to destruction, that they should not see the light of the Gospell. And in another place: That he worketh in the disobedient children. The blinding of the wicked, and all the wicked deedes that follow thereupon, are called the workes of Satan, of which yet the cause is not to be fought elsewhere, than in the will of man, out of which ariseth the roote of euill, wherein resteth the foundation of the kingdome of Sathan, which is sinne.

2. Cor. 4. 4

Eph. 2. 2.

2 But farr other is the order of Gods doing in such things. And that the same may appeare more certainly vnto vs: let the hurt done to the holy man *Iob* by the *Chaldees*, be an example. The *Chaldees* killed his heardmen, and like enemies in war, droue away his cattell for booties. Now is their wicked deede plainly seene, and in that worke Sathan is not idle, for whom the Historie saith, that all this did proceede. But *Iob* himselfe did acknowledge the worke of the Lord in it, whome he saith to haue taken away from him those things, that were taken away by the *Chaldees*. How can we refer the selfesame worke to God, as Author, to Sathan as Author, and to man as Author of it, but that we must either excuse Sathan by the company of God, or report God to be the Author of euill? Very easily: if first we looke vpon the end, why it was done, and then the manner how. The purpose of the Lord is by calamitie to exercise the patience of his seruant: The diuell goeth about to driue him to dispaire. The *Chaldees* against right and law, seeke gaine of that which is another mans. Such diuersitie in purposes, maketh great difference in the worke. And in the manner of doing there is no lesse diuersitie. The Lord leaueth his seruant to Sathan to be afflicted: and the *Chaldees*, whom he did chose for ministers to execute it, he did leaue and deliuer to him to be driuen to it. Sathan with his venomous stings, pricked forward the mindes of the *Chaldees* which otherwise were peruerse of themselves to doe that mischief: they furiously run to doe wrong, and doe binde and defile all their members with wicked doing. Therefore it is properly said, that Sathan doth worke in the reprobate, in whom he exerciseth his kingdome, that is to say, the kingdome of wickednes. It is also saide that God worketh in them after his manner, because Sathan himselfe, forasmuch as he is the instrument of his wrath, according to his bidding and commandement, turneth himselfe hither and thither to execute his iust iudgements. I speake not here of Gods vniuersall mouing, whereby as all creatures are sustained, so from thence they take their effectual power of doing any thing. I speake onely of that speciall doing, which appeareth in euery speciall act. We see therefore that it is no absurditie, that one selfe act be ascribed to God, to Sathan, and to man: but the diuersitie in the end and manner of dooing, causeth that therein appeareth the iustice of God to be without fault, and also the wickednes of Sathan and man bewrayeth it selfe to their reproch.

God and Sathan and man working one and the selfesame act, worke diuersly in respect as well of the end as the manner of doing.
Iob. 1.

In the euill motions of wicked men God worketh after two sortes, the one by wil holding his grace, whereby they might be moued vnto good, the other by using the ministerie of Sathan to str. frame and encline their wills.
Lib. de praedict. & grat.

3 The olde writers in this point also, are sometime precisely afraid, simply to confesse the truth, because they feare lest they should so open a window to wickednes, to speake it reuerently of the workes of God. Which sobrietie as I embrace, so I thinke it nothing dangerous, if we simply hold what the Scripture teacheth. Augustine himselfe sometime was not free from the superstition, as where he saith, that hardning and blinding, pertaine not to the worke of God, but to his fore knowledge. But the phrascs of Scripture allow not these subtleties, which phrascs doe plainly

few that there is therein somewhat else of God, besides his foreknowledge. And *Augustine* himselfe in his fift booke against *Iulianus*, goeth earnestly about with a long proesse to prooue that sins are not onely of the permission or sufferance of God, but also of his power, that so former sinnes might be punished. Likewise, that which they bring fourth, concerning permission, is too weake to stand. It is oftentimes said, that God blindeth and hardeneth the reprobate, that he turneth, boweth, and mooueth their harts as I haue else where taught more at large. But of what manner that is, it is neuer expressed, if we flee to free foreknowledge or sufferance. Therefore we answer that it is done after two manners. For first, where as when his light is taken away, there remaineth nothing but darkenesse and blindness: whereas when his spirit is taken away, our harts waxe hard and become stones: whereas when his direction ceaseth, they are wrested into crookednes, it is well said that he doth blind, harden and bow them from whom he taketh away the power to see, obey & do rightly. The second manner, which commeth neere to the proprietie of the words, is that for the executing of his iudgements by sathan the minister of his wrath, he both appointeth their purposes to what end it pleaseth him, and stirreth vp their wils, and strengtheneth their endeuours. So when *Moses* rehearseth that king *Solon* did not giue passage to the people, because God had hardened his spirit, and made his hart obstinate, he by and by adioyneth the end of his purpose: that he might (saith he) giue him into our hands. Therefore because it was Gods wil to haue him destroyed, the making of his hart obstinate, was Gods preparation to his destruction.

4 After the first manner this seemeth to be spoken. He taketh away the lip from the speakers of truth, and taketh away reason from the Elders. He taketh the hart away from them that are set ouer the people, he maketh them to wander where no way is. Againe, Lord, why hast thou made vs mad, and hardened our hart, that we should not feare thee? Because they iudge rather of what sort God maketh men by forsaking them, than how he performeth his worke in them. But there are other testimonies that go further: as are these of the hardening of *Pharao*. I will harden the hart of *Pharao*, that he do not heare you, and let the people go. Afterward he saith, that he hath made heauy and hardened his hart. Did he harden it, in not sustayning it? That is true in deed: but he did somewhat more, that he committed his hart to Sathan to be confirmed with obstinacie. Whereupon he had before said: I will hold his hart. The people went out of *Ægypt*, the inhabitants of that countrey came forth and met them like enemies. By whom were they stured vp? Truly *Moses* affirmeth to the people, that it was the Lord that had hardened their harts. And the Prophet reciting the same historie, saith, that he turned their harts, that they should hate his people. Now 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 transgressors of the people, how did he performe his work in the reprobate? so as a man may see, that the effectualnes of working was in him, and they onely did seruire as ministers. Wherefore sometime he threatened that he would call them out with his whistle, sometime that they should be like a net for him to intangle them, and sometime like a mallet, to strike the Israelites. But specially he then declared how he is not idle in them, when he called *Sennacherib* an Axe, which was both directed and driuen by his hand to cut. *Augustine* in one place doth not amisse appoint it after this sort: that in as much as they sin, it is their owne: in as much as in sinning they do this or that, it is of the power of God, that deuided the darknes as pleaseth him.

5 Now that the ministerie of Sathan is vsed to picke forwarde the reprobate, so oft as the Lord by his prouidence appointeth them to this or to that, may sufficiently be proued, though it were but by one place only. For it is oftentimes said in *Salmes*, that the euil spirit of the Lord, & an euil spirit from the Lord, did either violently

Deu. 2. 30.

Tob. 12. 20.

Prooves that God worketh both the foresaid waies in the harts of wicked men.

Esa. 63. 17.

Exod. 7. 21. & 7. 3. & 10. 1.

Exod. 3. 19.

Deu. 2. 30.

Pla. 105. 25.

Esa. 5. 26. & 7. 18.

Eze. 12. 13. &

17. 20.

Ier. 3. 0. 23.

Esa. 10. 4. 5.

De pizdell. sanct.

How Sathan is vsed as gods minister in the worke of wicked men.

carrie or leaue *Saul*. To say that this spirite was the holie Ghost, is blasphemous. Therefore the vnclane spirite is called the spirit of God, because it answereth at his commandment and power, being rather his instrument in dooing, than an author of it selfe. This is also to be added withall, which *Paul* teacheth, that the efficacy of error and deceiuing is sent by God, that they which haue not obeyed the truth, may beleue lies. But there is alway great difference in one selfesame worke, betwene that which the Lord doth, and that which Satan and the wicked go about. He maketh the euill instruments that he hath vnder his hand, and may turne whether he list to serue his iustice. They, in as much as they are euill, do bring forth in effect the wickednes that they haue conceiued by corruptnesse of nature. The rest of such things as serue for to deliuer the maiestie of God from slander, and to cut off all shifting from the wicked, are already set forth in the Chapter concerning Providence. For in this place my purpose was onely to shew how Satan raigneth in the reprobate man, and how God worketh in them both.

6 Although we haue before touched, yet it is not plainly declared what libertie man hath in those dooings, which are neither iust nor faultie of themselues, and belong rather to the bodily than the spirituall life. Some in such things haue graunted him free election, rather, as I thinke, because they would not strue about a matter of no great importance, than that they minded certainly to prooue the same thing that they graunt. As for me, although I confesse that they which do hold that they haue no power to righteousnesse, do holde the thing that is principally necessare to saluation: yet I do think that this point also is not to be neglected, that we may know that it is of the speciall grace of the Lorde, so oft as it commeth in our minde to choose that which is for our profit, so oft as our will enclineth therunto: againe, so oft as our wit and minde elchucth that which else would haue hurt vs. And the force of Gods providence extendeth thus farre, not onely to make the successes of things to come to passe, as he shall foresee to be expedient, but also to make the wils of men to tend therunto. Truly, if we consider in our wit the administration of outward things, we shall thinke that they are so farre vnder the will of man: but if we shall giue credit to so many testimonies, which crie out that the Lord doth in these things also rule the harts of men, they shall compell vs to yeelde our will subiect to the speciall moouing of God. Who did procure the good wils of the *Egyptians* to the *Israelites*, to lend them all their most precious iewels? They would neuer haue found in their harts to haue so done of their owne accord. Therefore their harts were more subiect to the Lord, than ruled by themselues. And truly if *Iacob* had not been persuaded that God put into men diuerse affections as pleaseth him, he would not haue saide of his sonne *Ioseph*, whom he thought to be some Heathen *Egyptian*: God grant you to finde mercie before this man. As also the whole Church confesseth in the Psalme, that when it pleased God to haue mercie vpon it, he meekened the harts of the cruell nations. Againe, when *Saul* so waxed on fire with anger, that hee prepared him to warre, the cause is expressed, for that the spiuite of God did enforce him. Who turned away *Absolons* minde, from embracing the counsell of *Achitophel*, which was woont to be holden as an oracle? Who inclined *Rehabeam* to be persuaded with the yoong mens aduse? Who made the nations that before were great, to be afraid at the coming of *Israel*? Truly, the harlot *Rahab* confessed, that it was done by God. Againe, who threwe downe the harts of *Israel* with dread and fearefulnesse, but hee that in the lawe threatned that he would giue them a fearefull hart?

7 Some man will take exception and say, that these are singular examples, to the rule whereof all things vniuersally ought not to be reduced. But I say, that by these is sufficiently prooued that which I affirme, that God so oft as he meaneth to prepare the way for his providence, euen in outward things doth bowe and turne the wils

1. Sam 16. & 18.
10. & 29.

2. Thef. 2.

Not onely in spirituall but in the administration euen of outward things, it is the speciall moouing of God, that maketh his creatures answer vnto our desires in dooing vs good, or turning euill away from vs.

Exod. 11. 3.

Gen. 43. 14.

Psal. 106. 76.

1. Sam. 11. 6.

2. Sam. 17. 10.

Iof. 2. 9.

Leuit. 26. 36.

Deut. 28. 63.

Daily experience may enforce any man to confesse that in common outward things

of

the freedom of our choise is ruled and guided by the hand of God without which we could not of our selves see and attaine that which is good, discern & auoide that which is euill.

Pro. 20. 12.

Pro. 21. 1.

Lib. de gratia & libero arb. ad Valent. cap. 20.

The meaning of the question that concerneth the freedom of mans will, is not whether he be often binde-red or no from ob-seining the things he wisheth for, but whether his iudgement and affection bee so addicted unto euill that hee cannot of himselfe discern or desire that which is good.

of men, and that their choise is not so free, but that Gods will beareth rule ouer the freedom thereof. That thy minde hangeth rather vpon the mouing of God, than vpon the freedom of thine owne choise, this daily experience shall compell thee to thinke whether thou wilt or no: that is, for that in things of no perplexitie thy iudgement and wilt oft faileth thee, in things not harde to be done thy courage fainteth: againe in things most obscure, by and by present aduise is offered thee: in things great and perillous, thou hast a courage ouercomming all difficultie. And so do I expound that which *Salomon* saith: That the eare may heare, that the eie may see, the Lorde worketh both. For I take it that he speaketh not of the creation, but of the speciall grace of vsing them. And when he writeth that the Lord holdeth in his hande and boweth whither he will the hart of the king as the streames of waters: truelie vnder the example of one speciall sort, he comprehendeth the whole generalitie. For if the will of any man be free from subiection, that preeminence principally belongeth to the will of a king, which vseth as it were a kingdome vpon the wils of other: but if the will of the king be ruled with the hand of God, no more shal our will be exempted from the same estate. Vpon this point there is a notable saying of *Augustine*: The Scripture if it be diligently looked vpon doth shew, that not onely the good wils of men which he of euill maketh good, and so being made by himselfe doth direct to good dooings and to eternal life, but also these wils that preferre the creature of the world, are so in the power of God, that he maketh them to be inclined whither hee will and when he will, either to doe benefits, or to execute punishments, by a iudgement most secret indeed, but the same most righteous.

8 Here let the Readers remember, that the power of mans wil is not to be weyed by the successe of things, which som vnskillful men are vnorderly wont to do. For they seeme to themselves to prooue trimly and wittily that mans will is in bondage, because euen the highest Monarches haue not all things flowing after their owne desire. But this power whereof we speake, is to be considered within man and not bee measured by outward successe. For in the disputation of free will, this is not to the question, whether man may for outward impediments, perforce and put in execution all those things that he hath purposed in minde: but whether he haue in euery thing both a free election of iudgement, and a free affection of will, which both if man haue, then *Attilius Regulus*, enclosed in the narrowness of a tonne, set full of sharpe prickes, shall no lesse haue free will than *Augustus Caesar*, gouerning a great part of the world with the becke of his countenance.

The v. Chapter.

A confutation of the obiections that are wont to be brought for defence of Free will.

The necessitie of sinning doth not excuse vs when we sinne, both because Adam of his owne accord made himselfe and his subiect thereunto, and also for that he which necessarily sinneeth, doth neuertheless sin voluntarily: which answereth their reasons

IT might seeme that we haue saide enough already, concerning the bondage of mans will, if they that with false opinion of libertie, labour to throwe it downe headlong, did not on the contrarie part pretend certaine reasons to assaile our meaning. First they heape vp together diuerse absurdities, whereby they may bring it in hatred as a thing abhorring from common reason: afterwarde they set vpon it with testimonies of Scripture. Both these engines we shall beate backe in order. If (saie they) Sinne be of necessitie, then ceaseth it to be sinne: if it be voluntarie, then may it be auoided. These were also the weapons of *Pelagius* to assaile *Augustine*, with whose name we will 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 necessarie. I denie againe that this doth follow which they conclude, that it may be auoided, because it is voluntarie. For if any man will dispute with God,

and

and seeke to escape from his iudgement by this pretence, because he could none other wise doe: God hath that answer ready which we in another place haue spoken of, that it is not of creation, but of the corruption of nature that men being made bondslaves to sinne, can will nothing but euill. For whence commeth this want of power which the wicked would gladly pretend, but vpon this, that *Adam* of his owne accorde made himselfe subiect to the tyrannie of the Diuell? Hereupon therefore grew the corruption, with the bondes whereof we are holden fast tied, for that the first man fell from his Creator. If all men be iustly holden guiltie of his falling away, let them not thinke themselves excused by necessitie, in which it selfe they haue a most euident cause of their damnation. And this I haue aboue plainly set forth, and I haue giuen an example in the Diuell himselfe, whereby it might appeere, that he which necessarily sinneth, doth neuertheless willingly sinne: as againe in the elect Angels, whereas their will cannot decline from good, yet it ceaseth not to be a will. Which same thing *Bernard* also aptly teacheth: that we are therefore the more miserable because our necessitie is voluntarie: which yet holdeth vs so subiect vnto it, that we be the bondslaves of sinne, as we haue before rehearsed. The second part of their argument is faultie, because from voluntarie it straightway leapeth to free: but we haue before prouced, that it is voluntarily done which yet is not subiect to free election.

2 They further say, that if both vertues and vices proceede not of free choise of will, it is not reasonable that either punishment should be laide vpon man or rewarde giuen to him. This argument, although it be *Aristotles*, yet I graunt is in some places vsed by *Chrysostome* and *Hierome*. But that it was a common argument with the *Delatians*, *Hierome* himselfe hideth not, and also rehearseth it in their owne words. If the grace of God worke in vs: then it, not we that labour, shall be crowned. Of punishments I answer, that they are iustly laid vpon vs from whom the guiltinesse of sinne proceedeth. For what matter maketh it, whether sin be done by free or bond iudgement, so it be done by voluntarie lust: specially sith man is hereby proued a sinner, for that he is vnder the bondage of sinne? As to the rewards of righteousnes: a great absurditie forsooth it is, if we confesse that they hang rather vpon Gods bountifullnesse, than vpon our owne deseruings. How oft finde we this thing repeated in *Augustine*: that God crowneeth not our deseruings, but his owne giftes: and that they are called rewardes, not as due to our deseruings, but such as are rendred to the graces already bestowed vpon vs? Wisely in deede they note this, that now there remaineth no place for deseruings, if they come not out of the fountaine of free will: but where they reckon that which we say so far differing from truth, they are much deceiued. For *Augustine* doubteth not, commonly tot each for necessarie, that which they thinke so vnlawfull to confesse, as where he saith: What be the merites of any men whatsoever they be? when he commeth, not with due rewarde, but with free grace, then he alone being free, and that maketh free from sinne? He findeth all men sinners. Againe, if that shall be rendred to thee that is due to thee, thou art to be punished: what is done then? God hath not giuen thee punishment which is due, but giueth thee grace which is not due. If thou wilt be estranged from grace, boast of thy deseruings. Againe: Thou art nothing of thy selfe, Sinnes are thine, but deseruings are Gods, punishment is due to thee: and when rewarde commeth, he shall crowne his owne giftes, and not thy deseruings. And in the same meaning in another place, he teacheth that grace is not of deseruings, but deseruing of grace. And a little after hee concludeth, that God with his giftes goeth before all deseruings, that out of the same he may gather his owne deseruings, and doth giue altogether freely, because he findeth nothing wherupon to saue. But what neede is it to make a longer register, when such sentences are often founde in his writings? But the Apostle shall yet better deliuer them from this error, if they heare what begin-

*wh. ch. argueth
defense of free
will. If sinne be
necessarie, it ceaseth
to be sinne: if
voluntarie, then
it may be auoided,
and is not necessa-
rie.*

Ser. 8. in Cant.

In Epist. ad Cre-
taphon. & Dia-
con. 1.

*A second argu-
ment in defense of
free will, wherein
it is objected that
the denial thereof
is repugnant to
Gods punishing or
rewarding men.
But he punisheth
them for their de-
sert, though they
sin of necessity, be-
cause they are vo-
luntariy in those
bondes: and he re-
wardeth them of
his owne mercie,
though, because
their doing well
is merely by grace,
they cannot de-
serue to be re-
warded.*

In Psal. 31.
In Psal. 70.

Epist. 52. de ver-
bis Apost. Ser.

47.

1. Cor. 4. 7.

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Cap. 5. Of the knowledge of

ning he conueyeth the glorie of the Saints : Whom he hath chosen, them he hath called: whom he hath called, them he hath iustified : whom he hath iustified, them he hath glorified. Why then, as witnesseth the Apostle, are the faithfull crowned ? because by the Lordes mercie and not by their owne endeouore they are both chosen and called and iustified. Away therefore with this vaine feare, that there shall no more be any deseruings, if free will shall not stand. For it is most foolish to be fraied away and to flee from that to which the Scripture calleth vs. If (saith he) thou hast receiued all things, why gloriest thou, as if thou hadst not receiued them ? Thou seest that for the same cause he taketh all things from free will, to leaue no place for deseruings : but as the bountifullnesse and liberalitie of God is manifolde, and impossible to be spent out, those graces which he bestowed on vs, because he maketh them ours, he rewardeth as if they were our owne vertues.

1. Cor. 4. 7.

A third reason arguing that if mans will were not naturally free vnto good & euil, but necessarily subiect to the one or the other, either all men should be good or all men euil. As in truth all men are by nature euil, that some are made good, it is by grace and not through the freedome of their will.
Ho. 22. in Gen. Lib. 2. cap. 4.
Rom. 3. 10.

3 Moreouer they bring forth that which may seeme to be taken out of *Chrysostome*: If this be not the power of our Will, to chooseth good or euill, then they that are partakers of the same nature, must either all be euill or all be good. And not farre from that is he, whatsoeuer he was, that wrote the booke Of the calling of the Gentiles, which is carried about vnder the name of *Ambrose*, when he maketh this argument, that no man should euer depart from the faith, vnlesse the grace of God did leaue vnto vs the state of mutabilitie: wherein it is maruell that so excellent men fell beside themselues. For how chanceth it came not in *Chrysostomes* minde, that it is Gods election that so maketh difference betweene men ? As for vs, we feare not to grant that which *Paul* with great earnestnesse affirmeth, that all together are peruersely and giuen to wickednesse : but with him we adioyne this that by Gods mercie it cometh to passe that all abide not in peruersenesse. Therefore whereas naturally we are all sick of one disease, they only recouer health vpon whom it hath pleased God to lay his healing hand. The rest whom by iust iudgement he passeth ouer, pine away in their owne rottennesse till they be consumed. Neither is it of any other cause that some continue to the ende, and some fall in their course begunne. For continuance it selfe is the gift of God, which he giueth not to all indifferently, but dealeth it to whome it pleaseth himselfe. If a man aske for a cause of the difference, why some continue constantly, and some faile by vnstedfastnesse, we knowe none other cause but that god sustaineth the one sort strengthened with his power that they perish not, and doth not giue the same strength to the other sort, that they may be examples of inconstancie.

A fourth argument for free will to proue that exhorting & threatening are in vaine except man haue power in himselfe to obey: whereas God himselfe who threatneth & exhorteth men, teacheth then neuer shewlesse withall, that an obedient hart is his free gift.

Iohn. 15 5.

1. Cor. 3. 3.

4 Further they presse vs, saying, that exhortations are vainely taken in hande, that the vse of admonitions is superfluous, that it is a fond thing to rebuke, if it be not in the power of the sinner to obey. When the like things in time past were objected against *Augustine* he was compelled to write the booke of Correction and grace. Where although he largely wipe them away, yet he bringeth his aduersaries to this summe : O man, in the commaundement learne what thou oughtest to doe: in correction learne that by thine owne fault thou hast it not: in praier learne whence thou maiest receiue that which thou wouldest haue. Of the same argument in a manner is the booke of the Spirit and Letter, where he teacheth that God measureth not the commaundements of his lawe by the strength of man, but when he hath commaunded that which is right, he freely giueth to his elect power to fulfill it. And this is no matter of long disputation. First we are not onely in this cause, but also Christ and all the Apostles. Now let the other looke how they will get the maisterie in striuing, that match themselues with such aduersaries. Doeth Christ, which testifieth that we can doe nothing without him, any thing the lesse rebuke and chastise them, that without him did euill ? Doeth hee lesse exhort euery man to apply himselfe to good workes ? How seuerely doth *Paul* inuey against the *Corinthians* for neglecting of charitie ? and yet he praith for charitie to be giuen to the same men
from

from God, He testifieth in the Epistle to the *Romanes*, that it is neither of him that wil- Rom. 9. 16.
 leth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie, and yet he ceaseth not
 afterwarde to admonish, to exhort, and to rebuke. Why do they not therefore speak
 to the Lord, that he do not so lose his labour in requiring of men those things, which
 he himselfe alone can giue, and in punishing those things which are done for want of
 his grace? Why do they not admonish *Paul* to spare them, in whose power it is not
 to will or to runne, but in the mercie of God, going before them which now hath
 forsaken them? As if the Lorde had not a verie good reason of his doctrine,
 which offereth it selfe readilie to be founde of them that reuerently seeke it, but
 howe much doctrine, exhortation and rebuking doe worke of themselves, to the
 changing of the minde, *Paul* declareth, when he writeth, that neither he that plan- 1. Cor. 3. 7.
 teth is anything, nor he that watereth, but the Lorde that giueth the encrease one-
 ly, effectually worketh. So we see that *Moses* feuerally stablisheth the commaunde-
 ments of the Law, and the Prophets doe sharply call vpon them, and threaten the
 transgressors, whereas they yet confesse, that men do then onely waxe wise, when a
 hart is giuen them to vnderstande, that it is the proper worke of God to circumsise
 the harts, and in steede of stonie harts to giue harts of flesh, to write his lawe in
 the bowels of men: finally in renuing of soules to make that his doctrine may bee
 effectuell.

5 Wherefore then serue exhortations? For this purpose, if they bee despised of
 the wicked with an obstinate hart, they shal be for a witness vnto them when they shal
 come to the iudgement seate of the Lorde, yea and euen now alreadie they bear and
 strike their conscience: for howsoeuer the most frowarde man laugheth them to
 scorne, yet can he not disprooue them: but thou wilt saie, what may sicke miserable
 man do, if the softnesse of hart, which was necessarily required to obedience, bee
 denied him? Nay rather, why doth he excuse himselfe, when he can impute the
 hardnesse of hart to none but to himselfe? Therefore the wicked that are willingly
 readie to mocke them out if they might, are throwen downe with the force of them
 whether they will or no. But the chiefe profite towards the faithfull is to be conside-
 red: in whom as the Lorde worketh all things by his spirite, so he leaueth not the in-
 struments of his worde, and vseth the same not without effect. Let this therefore
 stande which is true, that all the strength of the godly resteth in the grace of God,
 according to that saying of the Prophet: I will giue them a new hart, that they may
 walke in them. But thou wilt say, Why are they now admonished of their dutie, and
 not rather left to the direction of the holy Ghost? Why are they mouued with exhor-
 tation, sith they can make no more haste than the stirring forward of the holy Ghost
 worketh? why are they chastised if at any time they be gone out of the way, sith they
 fell by the necessarie weaknesse of the flesh? O man, what art thou to appoint a law
 for God? If it be his pleasure, that we be prepared by exhortation to receiue the selfe
 same grace, whereby is wrought that the exhortation is obeyed, what hast thou in
 this order to bite or carpe at? If exhortations and rebukings did nothing else profit
 with the godly, but to reprove them of sinne, they were euen for that thing onelie
 to be counted not altogether vprofitable. Nowe, forasmuch as by the holie Ghost
 working inwardly, they much auaille to enflame the desire of goodnesse, to shake off
 sluggishnesse, to take away the pleasure and venemous sweetenesse of wicked-
 nesse, and on the other side to engender a hatred of yrkesomnesse thereof: who dare
 cauilt that they are superfluous? If any man require a plainer answer, let him take
 this: God worketh after two sorts in his elect, inwardly by his spirit, outwardly by
 his worde: By his spirite, by enlightning their mindes, by framing their harts to
 the loue and keeping of iustice, he maketh them a newe creature: By his worde,
 he stirreth them to desire, to seeke and attaine the same renuing, by them both he
 sheweth forth the effectuell working of his hand, according to the proportion of his
 distribution.

The use of exhortations both vnto wicked and to godly men.

Ezcc. 11. 19

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distribution. When he sendeth the same worde to the reprobate, though not for their amendment, yet he maketh it to serue for another vse: that both for the present time they may be pressed with winnes of conscience, & may against the day of iudgement be made more inexcusable. So though Christ pronounce that no man cometh to him, but whom the father draweth, and that the elect do come when they haue heard and learned of the Father: yet doth not he neglect the office of a teacher, but with his voice diligently calleth them, whom it necessarily behooueth to be inwardly taught by the holy ghost, that they may any thing profite. And *Paul* teacheth, that teaching is not in vaine with the reprobate, because it is to them the sauour of death to death, but a sweete sauour to God.

Ioh. 6. 44.

2. Cor. 2. 16.

The lacke of free will in man and of abilitie to performe the lawe doth not proue the lawe to be giuen in vaine.

6 They be very laborious in heaping together of testimonies of Scripture: and that they do of purpose, that when they cannot oppresse vs with weight, they may yet with number. But as in battels, when it cometh to hande strokes, the weaker multitude how much pompe and shewe soeuer it hath, is with a fewe stripes discomfited and put to flight: so shall it bee, verie easie for vs to ouerthrowe them with all their route. For, because the places that they abuse against vs, when they are once diuided into their orders, do meete vpon a fewe speciall points, wee shall with one aunswere satisfie manie of them: therefore it shall not be needfull to tarrie vpon dissoluing euery one of them particularly. Their chiefe force they set in the commandements, which they thinke to be so tempered to our strengthes, that whatsoeuer is proued to be required by the one, it necessarily followeth, that it may be performed by the other. And therefore they runne through euerie of the commandements, and by them do measure the proportion of our strength. For (saie they) either God mocketh vs when he chargeth vs with holinesse, godlinesse, obedience, chastitie, loue and meekenesse: and when hee forbiddeth vs. vnclennesse; idolatrie, vnchastnesse, wrath, robbetrie, pride, and such like: or he requireth onely those things that are in our power. Now we may diuide into three sorts in manner all the commandements that they heape together. Some require our first conuersion to God, some speake simplicie of the keeping of the lawe: some command vs to continue in the grace of God that we haue received. First let vs speake of them all in generalitie, and then descend to the speciall sorts. To extend the power of man to the commandements of the lawe, hath indeede long ago begonne to be common, and hath some shewe: but it proceeded from most rude ignorance of the lawe. For they that thinke it a heinous offence, if it be saide that the keeping of the lawe is impossible, do rest forsooth vpon this most strong argument, that else the lawe was giuen in vaine. For they speake in such sort, as if *Paul* had no where spoken of the law. For, I beseech them, what meane these sayings, that the law was set because of transgressions: That by the lawe is the knowledge of sinne: that the lawe maketh sinne: that the lawe entred, that sinne might abound: was it ment that the law was to be limited to our strengthes, least it should be giuen in vaine? or rather that it was set farre aboue vs to conuince our weaknesse? Truly by the same mans definition, the end and fulfilling of the lawe is charitie. But when he wisheth the mindes of the *Thessalonians* to be filled with charitie, he doth sufficiently confesse, that the lawe foundeth in our eares without profite, vnlesse God inspire the whole summe thereof in our harts.

Gal 3. 10.

Rom. 3. 20.

Rom. 7. 7.

1. Tim. 1. 5.

1. Thess. 3. 12.

The vse which the lawe of God standeth vs in, although our weaknesse doe not serue so fulfill it.

7 Truly, if the Scripture did teach nothing else, but that the law is a rule of life whereunto we ought to frame our endeouour, I would also without delay agree to their opinion: but whereas it doth diligently and plainly declare vnto vs the manifold vse of the lawe: it is conuenient rather to consider by that interpretation, what the law may doe in man. For so much as concerneth this present cause: it teacheth that so soone as it hath appointed what wee ought to doe, the power to obey cometh of the goodnesse of God, and therefore moueth vs to prayer, whereby we may

may require to haue it giuen vs. If there were onely the commaundement and no promise, then were our strengths to be tried whether they were sufficient to answer the commaundement, but sith there are promises ioyned withall, which crie out, that not onely our aide, but also all our whole power consisteth in the helpe of Gods grace, they doe testifie ynough and more, that we are altogether vnfit, much more insufficient to keepe the lawe. Wherefore let this proportion of our strengths with the commaundements of Gods lawe be no more enforced, as if the Lord had measured therule of iustice, which he purposed to giue in his lawe, according to the rate of our weaknesse. Rather by his promises we ought to consider, how vnreadie wee are of our selues which in euery behalfe doe so much neede his grace. But who (say they) shall be perswaded that it is like to be true, that the Lord appointed his lawe to stockes and stones? Neither doth any man go about to perswade it. For the wicked are neither stockes nor stones, when being taught by the lawe that their lustes doe striue against God, they are proued guiltie by their owne witness. Nor yet the godly, when being put in minde of their weaknesse they flie vnto grace. For which purpose serue these sayings of *Augustine*. The Lorde commaundeth those things that we cannot doe; that we may knowe what we ought to aske of him. Great is the profite of the commaundements, if so much be giuen to free will, that the grace of God be the more honoured. Faith obtaineth that which the lawe commaundeth, yea the lawe therefore commaundeth, that faith may obtaine that which was commaunded by the lawe: yea, God requireth faith it selfe of vs, and findeth not what to require vnlesse he giue what to finde. Againe, Let God giue what he commaundeth, and commaund what he will.

In Enchirad
Laur. de grat.
& arb. cap. 16.
Ho. 29 in Io.

Eph. 24.

8 That shall more plainly be seene in rehearsing the three sortes of commaundements which we touched before. The Lorde oftentimes commaundeth both in the law and in the Prophets; that we be conuerted vnto him. But on the other side, the Prophet answereth, Convert me Lord, and I shall be conuerted: for after that thou didst conuert me, I repented, &c. He commaundeth vs to circumcise the vncircumcised skin of our hart: and by *Moses* he declareth that this circumcision is done by his owne hand. He each where requireth newnesse of hart, but in another place hee refuseth that it is giuen by himselfe. That which God promiseth (saith *Augustine*) we doe not by free will or nature, but he himselfe doth it by grace. And this is the same note, that he himselfe rehearseth in the fifth place among the rules of *Ticonius*, that we well make difference betweene the lawe and the promises, or betweene the commaundements and grace. Now let them go that gather by the commaundements whether man be able to doe any thing toward obedience in such sort that they destroy the grace of God, by which the commaundements themselves are fulfilled. The commaundements of the second sort are simple, by which we are bidden to honour God, to serue and cleaue vnto his will; to keepe his commaundements, to followe his doctrine. But there are innumerable places that doe testifie that it is his gift whatsoeuer righteousness, holinesse, godlinesse, or puritie may be had. Of the thirde sort was that exhortation of *Paul* and *Barnabas* to the faithfull, which is rehearsed by *Luke*, that they should abide in the grace of God. But from whence that strength of constancie is to be had, the same *Paul* teacheth in another place. That remaineth, saith he, brethren, be yee strong thorough the Lord. In another place he forbiddeth vs, that wee doe not giue the spirite of God, wherewith wee are sealed vp vnto the day of our redemption. But because the thing that hee there requireth, could not be performed by men, therefore he wisheth it to the *Thessalonians*, from God, namely that he would reckon them worthe of his holy calling: and fulfill all the purpose of his goodnesse, and the worke of faith in them. Likewise in the seconde Epistle to the *Corinthians*, entreating of almes, he oftentimes commendeth their good and godly will, yet a little after, he thanketh God that put it in the hart

Our first conuersi-
on vnto God, our
obedience when
we are conuerted,
and our constan-
ce in obeying,
commaunded in
the law, and yet
his gift which doth
commaund them.
Ioel 2. 12.
Iere. 31. 18.
Deut. 10. 16.
& 30. 26.
Ezec. 36. 26.
Lib. de Doct.
Christi. 3.

Eph. 6. 16.
Eph. 4. 30.

1. Theff. 2.

2. Cor. 8. 11.

of *Titus*, to take vpon him to giue exhortation. If *Titus* could not so much as vse the office of his mouth, to exhort other, but onely so farre as God did put vnto him, how should other haue bene willing to doe, vnlesse God himselfe had directed their harts?

The *shifts* which
defenders of free-
will vse to deuide
the foresaid testi-
monies of scrip-
ture.
Zach. 1. 3.

9 The craftier sort of them doe cauil at all these testimonies: because there is no impeding, but that we may toyne our owne strengthes, and God to helpe our weak enduours. They bring also places out of the Prophets, where the effect of our conuersion seemeth to be parted in halfe betweene God and vs. Turne yee to me, and I will turne to you. What manner of helpe the Lord bringeth vs, we haue aboue shewed, and it is not needefull here to repeate it. This one thing I woulde haue graunted me, that it is vainly gathered, that there is required in vs a power to fulfill the lawe, because God doth commaund the obedience of it: For as much as it is euident, that for the fulfilling of all the commaundements of God, the grace of the lawe giuer is both necessarie for vs and promised vnto vs. Thereby then it appeereth, that at the least there is more required of vs than we are able to pay. And that saying of *Hieremie* cannot be wiped away with any cauillations: that the couenant of God made with the ancient people was voide, because it was onely *literal*, and that it could not otherwise be stablished, than when the spirite commeth vnto it, which frameth the harts to obedience. Neither doth that saying, Turne yee to me, and I will turne vnto you, fauour their error. For there is meant, not that turning of God, wherewith he reneweth our harts to repentance, but wherewith he by prosperitie of things doth declare himselfe fauourable and mercifull: as by aduersitie he sometime sheweth his displeasure. Whereas therefore the people being vexed with many sorts of miseries, & calamities, did complaine that God was turned away from them: he answereth, that they shall not be destitute of his fauour, if they returne to vprightnesse of life, and to himselfe that is the patterne of rightcoulnesse: Therefore the place is wrongfully wrested, and it is drawn to this purpose, that the worke of our conuersion should seeme to be parted betweene God and men. These things, we haue comprehended so much the shortlyer, because the proper place for this matter shall be where we intreate of the lawe.

Iere. 13. 3.

The use of condi-
tionall promises
although it be not
in our owne power
to fulfill the condi-
tion whereon they
depend.
Amos. 5. 14.
Esai. 5. 16.
Iere. 4. 1.
Deut. 28. 1.
Leu. 26. 3.

10 The second sort of their arguments is much like vnto the first. They alleadge the promises whereby God doth couenaunt with our will, of which sort are: Seeke good and not euill, and ye shall liue. If ye will and doe heare, ye shall eate the good things of the earth: but if yee will not, the sworde shall deuoure you, because the Lordes mouth hath spoken it. Againe, if thou put away thine abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou not be driuen out: If thou shalt obey diligently the voice of the Lorde thy God, and obserue and doe all his commaundements which I commaunde thee this day, then the Lorde thy God will set thee on high aboue all the nations of the earth. And other like. They doe inconueniently and as it were in mockerie thinke, that these benefites which the Lorde doth offer in his promises, are assigned to our owne will: vnlesse it were in vs to stablish them or make them voide. And right easie it is to amplifie this matter with eloquent complaints, that the Lorde doth cruelly mocke vs, when hee pronounceth that his fauour hangeth vpon our will, if the same will be not in our power: And that this liberalitie of God shoulde be a goodly thing forsooth, if he so set his benefites before vs, that we haue no power to vse them: and a maruellous assurednesse of his promises, which hang vpon a thing impossible, so as they might neuer bee fulfilled. But of such promises as haue a condition adioyned, wee will speake in another place: so that it shall bee plaine, that there is no absurditie in the impossible fulfilling of them. And for so much as concerneth this place: I denie that God doth vngrately mocke vs, when hee moueth vs to deserue his benefites, whome he knoweth to be vterly vnable to doe it. For whereas the promises are offered both to the

faithfull

faithfull and to the wicked, they haue their vse with both sorts. As God with his commaundements pricketh the consciences of the wicked, that they should not too sweetely take pleasure in their sinnes, without any remembrance of his iudgements: so in his promises hee doth in a manner take them to witness, how vnworthie they are of his goodnesse. For who can denie that it is most rightfull and conuenient, that the Lorde doe good to them of whom he is honoured, and punish the despiers of his Maiestie, according to his seueritie? Therefore God doth well and orderly when in his promises he adioyneth this condition to the wicked that are bounde with the fetters of sinne, that they shall then onely enioy his benefites, if they departe from their wickednesse: or for this purpose onely, that they may vnderstande that they are woorthily excluded from these things, that are due to the true worshippers of God. Againe, bicause he seeketh by all meanes to stirre vp the faithfull to call vpon his grace, it shall not be inconuenient, if he attempt the same thing also by promises, which we haue shewed that hee hath done to great profite with commaundements toward them. Being enformed of the will of God, by his commaundements, we are put in minde of our miserie, which doe withal our heart too farre dissent from the sanie, and wee bee therewithall pricked forward to call vpon his spirite, whereby we may be directed into the right way. But because our sluggishnesse is not sufficiently shapened with commaundements, there are added promises which with a certaine sweetnesse may allure vs to the loue of them. And that the more desire that we haue of righteousnesse, we may be the more feruent to seeke the fauour of God. Loe how in these requestes (if you will: If you shall heare,) the Lorde neither giueth vs power to will nor to heare, and yet mocketh vs not for our want of power.

11 The thirde sort of their arguments, hath also great affinitie with the two former. For they bring forth the places wherein God reprocheth the vnthankfull people, and saith that they themselues onely were the cause that they received not of his tender loue all kinde of good things. Of which sort are the places: *Amaleck* and the *Chananee* are before you, with whose sworde you shall fall, bicause yee would not obey the Lorde, because I called and yee answered not, I will do to this house as I did to *Silo*. Againe, this nation hath not heard the voice of the Lorde their God, nor hath received discipline, therefore it is cast away from the Lorde. Againe, because yee haue hardened your heart and woulde not obey the Lorde, all these euils are happened vnto you. Howe (say they) coulde such reproches be layde against them which might readily aunswere? As for vs, wee loued prosperitie, and feared aduersitie. But where as for to obtaine the one and auoide the other we obeyed not the Lord, nor hearkened to his voice: this was the cause thereof, for that it was not at our libertie so to do, bicause we were subiect to the dominion of sinne. Vainely therefore are these euils layde to our charge, which it was not in our power to auoide. But leauing the pretence of necessitie, wherein they haue but a weake and sickly defence, I aske of them whether they can purge themselves of all fault. For if they be founde guiltie of any fault, then the Lorde doth not without cause reproche them, that it came to passe by their puerinesse, that they felt not the fruit of his clemencie. Let them aunswere therefore, whether they can denie, that their froward will was the cause of their stubbornnesse. If they find the spring head of the euill within themselves, why gape they to finde out forreine causes, that they might seeme not to haue bene authors of their owne destruction? But if it be true that by their owne fault and none others, sinners are both deprived of the benefites of God, and chastised with punishments, then is there great reason why they should heare these reproches at the mouth of God: that if they goe obstinately forward in their faultes, they may learne in their miseries rather to accuse and abhorre their owne wickednesse, than to blame God of vniust crueltie: that if they

The vnthankfull may iustly bee vpbraided with refusing the offer that God doth make of all good things, though without his grace which offereth they haue no power to attaine the things that are offered.

Num. 14. 43.
Iere. 32. 13.
Iere. 32.

Cap. 3. Of the knowledge of

have not cast off all willingnesse to learne, they may be wearie of their finnes, by the
 desertings whercof they see themselves miserable and vndone, and may returne in-
 to the way, and acknowledge the same with earnest confession which the Lord re-
 herbeth in chiding them. For which purpose it appeareth by the solemne prair of *Da-
 niel*, which is in the ninth Chapter, that those chidings of the Prophets which are al-
 leaged, did auail to the Godly. Of the first vse we see an example in the Iewes, to
 whom *Hieremie* is commaunded to declare the cause of their miseries, whereas yet it
 should not haue fallen otherwise than the Lord had foresaide. Thou shalt speake
 vnto them all these wordes, and they shall not heare thee: thou shalt call them, and
 they shall not aunswere thee. To what ende then did they sing to deafe men? that
 being euen loth and unwilling, yet they should vnderstand that it was true that they
 heard, that it were wicked sacriledge if they should lay vpon God the blame of their
 euils which rested in themselves. By these few solutions thou maist easily deliuer
 thy self from the infinite heap of testimonies, which, for to erect an image of free wil,
 the enemies of the grace of God are woont to gather together, as well out of the
 commandements as out of the protestations against the professors of the law. It is re-
 prochfully spoken in the Psalmes concerning the Iewes: A froward generation that
 haue not made their heart straight. Also in another Psalm, the Prophet exhorteth
 the men of his age, not to harden their hearts, and that becaule all the fault of ob-
 stinacie remaineth in the puerfnesse of men. But it is fondly gathered thereof, that
 the heart is pliable to either side, the preparing whereof is onely of God. The Pro-
 phet saith: I haue inclined my hart to keepe thy commandements, bicause he had
 willingly and with a cherefull earnest affection of minde addicted himselfe to God,
 and yet he doth not boast himselfe to be the author of his owne inclination, which
 he confesseth in the same Psalm to bee the gift of God. Therefore wee must
 holde in minde the admonition of *Paul*, where he biddeth the faithfull to worke
 their owne saluation with feare and trembling, because it is the Lord that worketh
 both the willing and the performing. In deede hee assigneth them offices, to be
 doing, that they shoulde not giue themselves to sluggishnesse of the flesh: but in that
 he commaundeth them to haue feare and carefulnesse, he so humbleth them, that
 they may remember that the same thing which they are commaunded to do, is the
 proper worke of God, wherein plainly he expresth, that the faithfull worke pas-
 sively, as I may so call it, in so much as power is ministred them from heauen, that
 they should claime nothing at all to themselves. Wherefore when *Peter* exhorteth
 vs that we should adde power in faith, he graunteth not vnto vs a second office, as
 if we should do any thing feuerally by our selues, but onely he awaketh the sloth-
 fulnesse of the flesh, wherewith commonly faith it selfe is choaked. To the same pur-
 pose seemeth that saying of *Paul*: Extinguish not the spirit, for slothfulnesse doth of-
 tentimes creepe vpon the faithfull, if it be not corrected. But if any man conclude
 thereupon, that it is in their owne choise to cherish the light being offred them, his
 ignorance shall be easily confuted: bicause the selfe same diligence that *Paul* requi-
 reth, cometh onely from God. For we are also oftentimes commaunded to purge
 our selues from all filthinesse: whereas the holy Ghost doeth claime to himselfe
 alone the office of making holy. Finally, that by way of graunting, the same thing is
 conueyed to vs that properly belongeth to God, is plaine by the wordes of *Iohn*:
 Whoso euer is of God, saueh himselfe. The aduancers of free will take holde of
 this saying, as if we were saued partly by the power of God, and partly by our own:
 as though we had not from heauen the verie same safe keeping, whereof the Apo-
 stle maketh mention. For which cause, Christ also prayeth his Father to saue vs
 from euill, and wee know that the godly, while they warre against Satan, do get
 the victorie by no other armour and weapons, but by the armour and weapons of
 God, Wherefore when *Peter* commaunded vs, to purifie our soules in the obedien-
 ce

of truth, he by and by addeth as by way of correction, (by the holy Ghost.) Finally, how all mens strength is of no force in the spirituall battell, *Iohn* briefly sheweth, when he saith, that they which are begotten of God, cannot sin, because the seede of God abideth in them. And in another place he rendreth a reason why: for that our faith is the victory that ouercommeth the world.

1. Pet. 1. 22.
1. Iohn 3. 9.
1. Iohn 5. 4.

12 Yet there is alleged a testimony out of the Law of *Moses*, which seemeth to be much against our saluation. For after the publishing of the Law, he protesteth vnto the people in this manner. The commandement that I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither farre off: It is not in heauen, but hard by thee, it is in thy mouth and in thy hart, thou shouldest doe it. Truly, if this be taken to be spoken of the bare commandements, I graunt they be of no small weight to this present matter. For though it were easie to mocke it out with saying, that here is spoken not of the easines and readinesse of obseruation, but of knowledge: yet euen so peraduenture it would also leaue some doubt. But the Apostle which is no doubtfull expositor, taketh away all doubt from vs, which affirmeth that *Moses* here spake of the doctrine of the Gospell. But if any obstinate man will say, that *Paul* violently wrested those words, that they might be drawn 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 conuince him withall. For if *Moses* spake of the commandements onely, then he puffed vp the people with a most vaine confidence. For what should they els haue done, but thrown themselues downe headlong, if they had taken vpon them the keeping of the Law by their owne strength, as a thing not hard for them? Where is then that so ready easinesse to keepe the Law, where there is no access vnto it, but by a headlong fall to destruction? Wherefore there is nothing more certaine, than that *Moses* in these words did meane the couenant of mercie, which he had published together with the streight requiring of the Law. For in a few verses before he had taught, that our harts must be circumcised by the hand of God, that we may loue him. Therefore he placed that easinesse, whereof he straightway after speaketh, not in the strength of man, but in the helpe and succor of the holy Ghost, which performeth his worke mightily in our weakenes. Albeit the place is not simply to be vnderstanded of the commandements, but rather of the promises of the Gospell, which are so farre from stablishing a power in vs to obtaine righteousnesse, that they vtterly ouerthrowe it. *Paul* considering that same, prooueth by this testimony, that saluation is offered vs in the Gospell, not vnder that hard and impossible condition, wherewith the Law dealeth with vs, that is, that they onely shall attaine it which haue fulfilled all the commandements, but vnder a condition that is easie, readie, and plaine to come vnto. Therefore this testimony maketh nothing to challenge freedom to the will of man.

When Moses doth seeme to intimate a kinde of facultie in man to fulfill the Law of God: he meaneth by the Law the promises of the Gospell, which are easly receiued not in respect of our habilitie but of Gods mercie which worketh mightily in framing our harts.

Deu. 30. 11.
Rom. 10. 8.

Deu. 30. 8.

13 There are also certaine other places wont to be objected, whereby is shewed that God sometime, withdrawing the succor of his grace, trieth men, and wareth to see to what ende they will apply their endeouours, as is that place in *Osee*: I will goe to my place till they put it in their hart and seeke my face. It were a fond thing (say they) if the Lord should consider whether *Israel* would seeke his face, vnlesse their mindes were pliable that they might after their owne will incline themselves to the one side or the other. As though this were not a thing commonly vsed with God in the Prophets, to make a shew as if hee did despise and cast away his people, till they haue amended their life. But what will the aduersaries gather out of such threatenings? If they meane to gather, that the people being forsaken of God, may purpose their owne saluation: all the Scripture shall cry out against them in so doing. If they confesse that the grace of God is necessary to conuersion, why striue they with vs? But they say that it is necessary, that still they will haue mans power preferred vnto him. How prooue they that? truly not by this place, nor any like to it.

That God is said to withdraw his grace, and to trie whether men will seeke after him, is no argument that of themselves they can seeke vnto him: but that he by hiding his face doth bring them to see that without his grace they are nothing.

Osec. 5. 14.

For it is one thing, to depart aside from man, and to looke what he will doe being giuen ouer and left to himselfe, and another thing to helpe his litle strength after the measure of his weakenes. What then (will some man say) doe these manners of speaking meane? I answere that they are asmuch in effect, as if God had said: For asmuch as I preuaile nothing with this stubborne people by admonishing, exhorting and rebuking, I will withdraw my selfe awhile: and sit still and suffer them to be afflicted: I will see if at length, after long miseries, they will begin to remember mee, to seeke my face. The Lords going farre away, signifieth the taking away of Prophecie: his looking what men will doe, signifieth that he keeping silence, and as it were hiding himselfe, doth for a time exercise them with diuerse afflictions. Both these things he doth to humble vs the more. For we should sooner be dulled than amended with the scourges of aduersitie, vnlesse he did frame vs to that tractablenesse by his spirite. Now whereas the Lord being offended, and in a manner wearied with our obstinate stubbornesse, doth for a time leaue vs (that is by taking away his word in which he is wont to giue vs a certaine presence of himselfe) and doth make a prooffe what we would doe in his absence, it is falsly gathered hereof, that there is any strength of free will that he should beholde and trie, forasmuch as he doth it to no other ende, but to driue vs to acknowledge our owne being nothing.

*fect of aduersitie
t gods spirite*

*As the euil works
which we doe are
ours, so the good
works which are
termed ours we
doe: howbeit, so
that to doe is ours
by nature, but to
doe well by grace
which is giuen vs
from above.*

Mat. 6.

14 They bring also for their defence the continuall manner of speaking, that is vsed both in the Scriptures and in the talke of men. For good works are called ours, and it is no lesse said that we doe the thing that is holy and pleasing to God, than that we commit sinnes. But if sinnes be iustly imputed to vs, as proceeding from vs, truly in righteous doings also somewhat by the same reason ought to be assigned vnto vs. For it were against reason that it should be said that we doe those things, to the doing whereof being vnable of our owne motion, we are moued by God like stones. Therefore though we giue the chiefe part to the grace of God, yet these manners of speaking doe shew that our endeour hath also yet a second part. If that thing onely were still enforced, that good works are called ours, I would object againe, that the bread is called ours, which we pray to haue giuen vs of God. What will they get by the title of possession, but that by the bountifullnesse and free gift of God, the same thing becommeth ours, which otherwise is not due vnto vs? Therefore either let them laugh at the same absurditie in the Lords prayer, or let them not reckon this to be laughed at, that good works are called ours, in which we haue no proprietie, but by the liberalitie of God. But this is somewhat stronger, that the Scripture oftentimes affirmeth that we our selues doe worship God, obey the Law and apply good works. Sith these are the duties properly belonging to the minde and will: how could it agree that these things are both referred to the holy Ghost, and also attributed to vs, vnlesse there were a certaine communicating of our endeour with the power of God? Out of these snares we shall easily vnwinde our selues, if we well consider the manner how the spirite of the Lord worketh in the holy ones. The similitude wherewith they enuiously presse vs is from the purpose, for who is so fond to thinke that the mouing of man differeth nothing from the casting of a stone? Neither doth any such thing follow of our doctrine. We reckon among the naturall powers of man, to allow and refuse, to will and not to will, to endeour and to resist, that is, to allow vanitie and to refuse perfect goodnesse, to will euill and to be vnwilling to good, to endeour our selues to wickednesse, and to resist righteousnesse. What doth the Lord herein? If it be his will to vse that peruersenesse as an instrument of his wrath, he directeth and appointeth it to what ende he will, that he by an euil hand may execute his good worke. Shall we then compare a wicked man that so serueth the power of God, when he laboureth onely to obey his owne lust, to a stone that being throwen by the violence of another, is carried neither with mouing nor tence nor will of his owne? We see how much difference there is. But what

doth

doth he in good things, of which is our principall question? when he erecteth his kingdome in them, he by his spirite restraineth mans will, that it be not caried vp and downe with wandering lustes, according to the inclination of nature: and that it may be bent to holinesse and righteousnesse, he boweth, frameth, fashioeneth and directeth it to the rule of his righteousnesse: and that it should not stumble or fall, he doth stablish and confirme it with the strength of his spirite. For which reason *Augustine* saith: Thou wilt say vnto me: then are we wrought and worke not. Yea, thou both workest and art wrought, and thou workest well when thou art wrought of that which is good. The spirite of God that worketh thee, helpeth them that worke, and giueth himselfe the name of a helper, for that thou also workest somewhat. In the first part he teacheth, that mans working is not taken away by the mouing of the holy Ghost, because will is of nature, which is ruled to aspire to goodnes. But where he by and by addeth, that by the name of helpe, may be gathered that we also doe worke somewhat, we ought not so to take it, as if he did giue any thing seuerally to vs: but because he would not cherish slothfulnesse in vs, he so matcheth the working of God with ours, that to will may be of nature, and to will well of grace. Therefore he said a litle before, Vnlesse God helpe vs, we shall not be able to ouercome, no nor yet to fight at all.

15 Hereby appeareth, that the grace of God (as the worde is taken when we speake of regeneration) is the rule of the spirite, to direct and gouerne the will of man. And it cannot gouerne it, vnlesse it correct it, reforme it, and renew it (from whence wee say that the beginning of regeneration is, that that which is ours might be destroyed) and vnlesse it mooue it, stirre it, drinue it forward, carie it, and holde it. Whereupon we doe truly say, that all the dooings that proceede from it, are wholly the onely worke of the same grace. In the meane time we deny not that it is very true that *Augustine* teacheth, that will is not destroyed by grace, but rather repaired. For both these things doe it and very well together: that mens will be said to be restored, when the faultines and peruersnes thereof being reformed, it is directed to the true rule of iustice: and also that a new will be said to be created in man, forasmuch as it is so defiled and corrupted, that it needeth vterly to put on a new nature. Now is there no cause to the contrarie, but that we may well be said to doe the same thing that the spirite of God doth in vs, although our owne will doe of it selfe giue vs toward it nothing at all that may be seuered from his grace. And therefore wee must keepe that in minde, which we haue elsewhere alleaged out of *Augustine*, that some doe in vaine trauaill to finde in the will of man some good thing that is properly hir owne. For whatsoever mixture men study to bring from the strength of free will to the grace of God, it is nothing but a corrupting of it, as if a man would delay wine with dirtie and bitter water. But although whatsoever good is in the will of man it proceedeth from the meere instinct of the holy Ghost, yet because it is naturally planted in vs to will, it is not without cause said, that we doe those things whereof God chalengeeth the praise to himselfe. First, because it is ours whatsoever by his goodnes he worketh in vs, so that we vnderstand it to be not of our selues: and then because the minde is ours, the will is ours, the enduor is ours, which are by him directed to good.

16 Those other testimonies beside these, that they scrape together here & there, shall not much trouble euen meane wits that haue well conceiued only the solutions aboue said. They alleadge that saying out of Genesis, Thine appetite shall be vnder thee, and thou shalt beare rule over it. Which they expound of sin, as if the Lord did promise to *Cain*, that the force of sin should not get the vpper hand in his minde, if he would labor in subduing of it. But we say that it better agreeth with the order of the text, that this be taken to be spoken of *Abel*. For there Gods purpose was to reprove the wickednes of the enuie that *Cain* had conceiued against his brother. And that he

Those things which the grace of the Spirit worketh in vs, wee our selues are said to doe, because the faculties whereby we worke and the vertue act of working are ours, although the mouing and the framing them to good be wholly and meere ly his.

That which is spoken to Cain concerning the subiection of appetite is farre from prouing freewill. Gen. 4.7.

doth two waies. One, that in vaine he imagined mischief to excel his brother in gods sight, before whom no honour is giuen but vnto righteousness: the other, that he was too much vnthankfull for the benefit of God which he had already received, which could not abide his brother, although he had him subiect vnder his authority. But lest we should seem therfore to imbrace this exposition, because the other is against vs: let vs admit that God spake of sin. If it be so, then God either promiseth or commandeth that which he there declarerth. If he comānd, then haue we already shewed, that thereby followeth no prooue of the power of man. If he promise, where is the fulfilling of the promise? for *Cain* became subiect to sin, ouer which he should haue had dominion. They will say, that in the promise was included a seceret condition, as if it had bene said, that he should haue the victory if he would strue for it. But who wil receiue these crooked compasses? For if this dominion be meant of sin, then no man can doubt that it is spoken by way of commandement, wherein is not determined what we are able to do, but what we ought to do, yea though it be about our power. Albeit both the matter it selfe & the order of Grammar do require, that there be a comparison made of *Cain* and *Abel*, because the elder brother should not haue bin set behind the yonger, vnles he had become woorse by his owne wicked doing.

S. Pauls words speaking in one place of mans will and Gods mercie, in another of their labour with God whose seruice God useth, fouly abused by upholders of freewill.
Rom. 9. 16.
Li. 7. in Epist. ad Rom.
Hierod. dial. in Belq.

17 They vse also the testimonie of the Apostle, which saith, that it is not of him that willet, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie. Whereby they gather that there is somewhat by mans will and endeuor, which of it selfe though it be weak, being holpē by the mercie of God, is not without prosperous successe. But if they did soberly wey what matter *Paul* there intreateth of, they would not so vnadvisedly abuse this sentence. I knowe that they may bring foorth *Origen* and *Hierome* for maintainers of their exposition: and I could on the other side set *Augustine* against them. But what they haue thought it maketh no matter to vs, if we know what *Paul* meant. There he teacheth that saluation is prepared onely for them, to whom the Lord vouchsafeth to graunt his mercie: and that ruine and destruction is prepared for all those that he hath not chosen. He had vnder the example of *Pharao* declared the state of the reprobate, and had also confirmed the assurednesse of free election by the testimonie of *Moses*, I will haue mercie vpon whom I will haue mercie. Now he concludeth, that it is not of him that willet, or of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie. If it be thus vnderstanded, that will or endeuor are not sufficient, because they are too weake for so great a weight, that which *Paul* saith, had not been aptly spoken: Therefore away with these subtleties, to say: It is not of him that willet, nor of him that runneth, therefore there is some wil, there is some running. For *Pauls* meaning is more simply, thus: It is not wil, it is not running that get vs the way to saluation, herein is onely 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 kindnes of God appeareth not by the workes of righteousness which we haue done, but for his infinite mercie. They themselues that make this argument, that *Paul* meant that there is some will and some running, because he said, that it is not of him that willet, nor of him that runneth, would not giue me leaue to reason after the same fashion, that we haue done some good workes, because *Paul* saith, that we haue not attained the goodnes of God by the good works that we haue done. If they see a fault in this argument, let them open their eyes, and they shall perceiue that their owne is not without the like deceit. For that is a sure reason that *Augustine* resteth vpon, if it were therefore said that it is not of him that willet nor of him that runneth, because neither the will nor the running is sufficient. Then it may be turned on the contrarie part that it is not of the mercie of God, because it alone worketh not. Sith this second is an absurditie, *Augustine* doth rightfully conclude, that this is spoken to this meaning, that there is no good will of man, vnlesse it be prepared of the Lord, not but that we ought both to will and to runne, but because God worketh both in vs.

Tit. 3. 4.

Epist. 107. ad Valerianum.

No lesse vnaptly doe some wrest that saying of *Paul*: We are the workers with God, which out of doubt ought to be restrained onely to the ministers: and that they are called workers with him, not that they bring any thing of themselves, but because God vseth their seruice, after that he hath made them meete and furnished with necessarie gifts. 1. Cor. 3. 9

18 They bring foorth *Ecclesiasticus*, who, as it is not vnknown, is a writer of whose authoritie is doubted. But although we refuse it not (which yet we may lawfully doe) what doth hee write for free will? He saith, that man so soone as he was created, was left in the hand of his owne counsell: that commandementes were giuen him, which if he obserued, he should againe be preferred by them: that before man was set life and death, good and euill: that whatsoeuer he would, should bee giuen him. Bee it, that man receiued from his creation power to obtaine either life or death. What if on the othe side we answer that he lost it? Truly my minde is not, to speake against *Salomon*, which affirmeth that man at the beginning was create vpright, and he forged vnto himselfe many inuentions. But because man in swearing, lost as it were by shipwracke both himselfe and all his good things, it followeth not by and by, that all that is giuen to his first creation belongeth to his nature being corrupted and degenerate. Therefore I answer, not to them onely, but also to *Ecclesiasticus* himselfe whatsoeuer he be. If thou meane to instruct man, to seeke within himselfe power to attaine saluation, thy authoritie is not of so great force with vs, that it may be any preiudice, be it neuer so small, against the vndoubted word of God. But if thou onely study to restraints the malice of the flesh, which in laying the blame of his own euils vpon God, vseth to seeke a vaine defence for it selfe, and therefore thou answerest that vprightnes was giuen vnto men, whereby it may appeare that himselfe was cause of his own destruction, I willingly agree vnto it: so that againe thou agree in this with me, that now by his owne fault he is spoyled of those ornaments, wherewith God had clothed him at the beginning: and that so we confesse together, that now he more needeth a Phisitian than a defender. Eccle. 7. 30.

19 Yet they haue nothing oftener in their mouth than the parable of Christ of the wayfaring man, whom theeuces laid abroad halfe dead in the way. I know that it is common almost with all writers, that the calamitie of mankind is represented vnder the figure of that wayfaring man. Thereupon doe our aduersaries gather an argument, that man is not so maymed with the robbery of sinne and the deuill, but that he keepeth still remayning the leauings of his former good things, forasmuch as it is said, that he was left halfe alie. For where is that halfe life, vnlesse some portion both of right reason and will remayned? First if I would not giue place to their allegorie, I beseech you, what would they doe? For there is no doubt that it was denied by the fathers beside the naturall sense of the Lords words. Allegories ought to goe no further than they haue the rule of Scripture going before them: so far is it off, that they be by themselves sufficient to ground any doctrines. And there want not reasons, whereby I can, if I list, ouerthrow this deuse, for the word of God leauech not to man halfe a life, but teacheth that hee is vtterly dead, forasmuch as concerneth blessed life. And *Paul* when he speaketh of our redemption, doth not say that we were healed, when we were halfe dead and halfe alie, but that we were raised vp againe when we were dead. He calleth not vpon them that are halfe alie to receiue the light of Christ, but them that sleepe and are buried. And in like manner speaketh the Lorde himselfe, when he saith, 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 plaine sentences? But let this allegorie haue the force of a certaine testimonie, yet what shall they wring out of vs thereby? Man is halfe a liue, therefore he hath somewhat left safe. I graunt: he hath a wit capable of vnderstanding, although it pearce not to the heauenly and spirituall wisdome: he hath The will of man through the wound of originall sinne was not left halfe dead and halfe alie, as some would gather by the parable of the wayfaring man, whom theeuces left lying in the high way. Luc. 10. 30.

Ephe. 2. 5.

Iohn 5. 25.

true iudgement of honestie : he hath some feeling of the Godhead , howbeit that he attaine not the true knowledge of God. But to what purpose come all these things ? Truly they bring not to passe that the same saying of *Augustine* be taken siō vs, which is also approoued by common consent of the Schooles : that after mans fall the freely giuen good things, whereupon saluation hangeth, are taken away from him, and that his naturall giftes are corrupted and defiled. Let therefore this truth remaine with vs vndoubted, which can be shaken by no engines, that the minde of man is so estranged from the rightcousnes of God, that it conceiueth, coueteth, and enterpriseth all wickednesse, filthinesse, vnleanness, and mischief: that his heart is so thoroughly soked in poysin of sinne, that it can breath out nothing but corrupt stinke: But if at any time they do vtter any goodnesse in shew, yet still the minde remaineth alway wrapped in hypocrisie and deceitfull crookednes, and the hart entangled with inward peruerfics.

The vj. Chapter.

That man being lost, must seeke for redemption in Christ.

Except we know the fatherly goodnes of God (shining in the face of Iesus Christ), which knowledge is attained vnto by the Gospel, other knowing of God is far forth as he may be known by his creatures, neither hath beene to any ones saluation since the fall of Adam, neither can be to ours sufficiently available.

Sith all mankind hath perished in the person of *Adam*, that excellencie and nobilitie of beginning which we haue spoken of, would so little profite vs, that it would rather turne to our greater shame, till God appeare the redeemer in the person of his onely begotten sonne, which acknowledgeth not men defiled and corrupted with sinne to be his worke. Therefore sith we are fallen from life into death, all that knowledge of God the creatour whereof we haue entreated, were vnprofitable, vnlesse there followed also faith setting forth God a father vnto vs in Christ. Truly this was the naturall 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 and perfect felicitie: but since our falling away, whither soeuer we turne our eyes; vpperward and downeward, the curse of God still presenteth it selfe vnto our sight, which while it possesseth and enwrappeth innocent creatures by our fault, must needs ouerwhelme our owne soules with desperation. For although Gods will is that his fatherly fauour toward vs do stull many waies appeare: yet by beholding of the world we cannot gather that he is our Father when our conscience inwardly pricketh vs, and sheweth that there is in sin iust cause of forsaking, why God should not account or reckon vs for his children. Beside that there is in vs both slothfulness and vnthankfulness: because both our mindes, as they bee blinded, doe not see the truth, and also as all our senses be peruerse, we maliciously defraude God of his glorie. Therefore we must come to that saying of *Paul*: because in the wisdom of God, the world knew not God by wisdom, it pleased God by the foolishnesse of preaching to saue them that beleuee. The wisdom of God he calleth this honourable stage of heauen and earth, furnished with innumerable miracles, by beholding whereof we ought wisely to haue known God. But because we so ill profited therein, he calleth vs backe to the faith of Christ, which for that it seemeth foolish, the vnbeleeuers do disdain. Wherefore although the preaching of the crosse doe not agree with mans wit, yet ought wee humbly to embrace it, if we desire to returne to God our creator and maker, that he may begin againe to be our father. Truly since the fall of the first man, no knowledge of God auiled to saluation, without the Mediatour. For Christ speaketh not of his own age onely, but comprehendeth all ages, when he saith that this is the eternall life, to knowe the father the one true God, and him whom he hath sent Iesus Christ. And so much the fowler is their sluggishnesse, which take vpon them to set open heauen to all prophane and vnbeleeuing men, without his grace, whom the Scripture each where

1. Cor. 1. 22.

Iohn 17. 3.

where teacheth to be the onely gate whereby we enter into saluation. But if any will reſtraine that ſaying of Chriſt onely to the publiſhing of the Goſpell, we haue in rea- dines wherewith to confute him. For this hath bene a common ſentence in all ages & among all nations, that without reconciliation they that are eſtranged from God, and pronouncd accuſed, and the children of wrath, cannot pleaſe God. And here may be alſo alleaged that which Chriſt answered to the woman of *Samaria*: Yee worſhip what yee know not, but we worſhip that which we know: becauſe the ſal- uation is from the Iewes. In which wordes hee both condemneth of falſhood all the religions of the Gentiles, and alſo aſſigneth a reaſon why, for that the Redeem- er was promiſed vnder the lawe to the onely choſen people. Whereupon it followeth, that no worſhip euer pleaſed God, but that which had reſpect vnto Chriſt. For which cauſe alſo *Paul* affirmeth that all the nations of the *Gentiles* were without God, and voide of the hope of life. Nowe where as *Iohn* teacheth that life was from the beginning in Chriſt, and that all the worlde fell from it, wee muſt re- turne to the ſame fountaine Chriſt. And therefore Chriſt, inſomuch as he is the reconciler, affirmeth himſelfe to be the life. And truly the entrance of heauen be- longeth to none, but to the children of God. But it is not meete that they be ac- counted in the place and degree of children, that are not grafted into the bodie of the onely begotten ſonne. And *Iohn* plainly teſtiſieth, that they which beleue in his name, are made the children of God. But becauſe it is not directly my purpoſe yet to diſcouſe of faith in Chriſt, therefore it ſhal for this time be ſufficient to haue touched it by the way.

Ioh. 4. 21.

Eph. 2. 12.

2 And therefore God neuer ſhewed himſelfe mercifull to the olde people, nor euer did put them in any hope of grace without the mediator. I omit to ſpeake of the ſacrifices of the law, wherein the faithfull were openly and plainly taught, that ſaluation is no where elſe to be ſought, but in the cleſing which was performed by Chriſt alone. Onely this I ſaie, that the bleſſed and happie ſtate of the Church hath bene alway grounded vpon the perſon of Chriſt. For though God comprehended all the iſſue of *Abraham* in his couenant, yet doth *Paul* wiſely reaſon, that Chriſt is properly that ſeede in whom all nations were to be bleſſed, for aſmuch as we know that not all they were reckened his ſeede that were begotten of him according to the fleſh. For (to ſpeake nothing of *Iſmael* and other) how came it to paſſe, that of the two ſonnes of *Iſaac*, that is *Eſau* and *Iacob*, brethren borne at one birth, while they were yet together in their mothers wombe, the one was choſen the other reſuſed? Yea, how came it to paſſe that the elder was reiected and the younger onely tooke place? And howe alſo came it to paſſe, that the greater part ſhoulde be forſaken? It appeereth therefore, that the ſeede of *Abraham* was principally reckened in one perſon, and that the promiſed ſaluation did neuer ſtande ſure till it came to Chriſt, whoſe office is to gather together the things that were ſcattered abroad. Therefore the fiſt adoption of the choſen people did hang vpon the grace of the Mediator. Which though it be not in ſo plaine wordes expreſſed by *Moſes*, yet it ſufficiently appeereth that it was commonly known to all the godly. For before that there was any king create among the people, *Hanna* the mother of *Samuel* entreating of the felicitie of the godly, euen then ſaide thus in her ſong: God ſhall give ſtrength to his king, and ſhall exalt the horne of his annointed. In which wordes ſhe meaneth that God ſhall bleſſe his Church. Wherewith alſo agreeeth the oracle that is within a litle after adioyned: The Prieſt whom I ſhal appoint ſhal walk before mine annointed. 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 *David* and his poſteritie. There- fore meaning to exhort the godly to the feare of God, he biddeth them to kiſſe the Sonne. Wherewith this ſaying of the Goſpell alſo agreeeth: He that honoureth not the ſonne, honoureth not the father. Therefore although by falling away of ten tribes

That the fathers under the law neuer promiſed any happines to the Church otherwiſe then by Chriſt.

Gal. 3. 16.

1 Sam. 2. 10.

Pſal. 2. 12.
Iohn 5. 23.

the

the kingdome decayed: yet it behooued the cōuenant to stand which God had made in *Dauid* and his successours: as also he said by the Prophets: I will not altogether cut off the kingdome, for *Dauid* my seruants sake, and for *Hierusalem*s sake, whom I haue chosen: but there shall remaine one tribe to thy sonne. Where the same thing is repeated the second and third time. It is also expressly addeth: I will afflict the seed of *Dauid*, but not for euer. Within a litle space of time after, it is said: For *Dauid* his seruants sake God hath giuen a light in *Hierusalem*, to raise vp a sonne, and to keepe *Hierusalem* in safetie. Now when the state grewe toward destruction, it was saide againe: God would not scatter *Iuda* for *Dauid* his seruants sake, because he had spoken that he would giue a light to him and his sonnes for euer. Finally, this is the summe, that all other being passed ouer, onely *Dauid* was chosen, vpon whom the good pleasure of god should rest. As in another place it is said: He hath refused the tabernacle of *Silo*, and the tabernacle of *Ioseph*, and he hath not chosen the tribe of *Ephraim*, but he hath chosen the tribe of *Iuda*, the mount *Sion* which he hath loued. He hath chosen his seruant *Dauid* to feede *Iacob* his people, and *Israell* his inheritance. To conclude, it pleased God so to saue his church, that the safetie and preservation thereof shoulde hang vpon that one head, and therefore *Dauid* crieth out, The Lorde, the strength of his people, the strength of the saluations of his Christ. And by and by hee addeth a praier: Saue thy people and blesse thine inheritance: meaning that the state of the Church is with vnseperable knot ioyned to the gouernment of Christ. And in the same meaning in another place: Lord saue vs: Let the king heare vs in the day that we shall call vpon him. In which words he plainly teacheth, that the faithful did vpon none other confidence flie to the helpe of God, but because they were hidden vnder the succour of the king. Which is gathered by another Psalm. Lord saue vs: Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord. Where it is plaine inough, that the faithfull are called backe vnto Christ, that they may hope that they shall be saued by the hand of God. The same respect hath the other praier, where all the church calleth vpon the mercie of God. Let thy hand be vpon the man of thy right hand, vpon the sonne of man, whom thou hast preferred (or appointed) to thy selfe. For though the author of the Psalm bewaileth the scattering abroad of the whole people, yet he praiceth for their restitution in the head alone. Where, when the people was led away into exile, the land wasted, and all things to mans seeming destroyed, *Ieremie* lamenteth the ouerthrowe of the Church, he doth principallie complaine that by destruction of the kingdome all hope was cut off from the faithfull. Christ (saith he) the spirit of our mouth is taken in our sinnes, to whom wee saide: In thy shadow we shall liue among the nations. Heereby nowe it sufficientlie appereth that because God cannot be mercifull to mankinde without the Mediatour, therefore Christ was alway set before the holy fathers in time of the lawe, to whom they might direct their faith.

3 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 sauing of his people with his Messiah, saith *Habacuc*. And so oft as the Prophets make mention of the restoring of the Church, they call backe the people to the promise made to *Dauid*, concerning the euerlasting continuance of the kingdome. And no maruell. For otherwise there had been no assurance of the cōuenant. For which purpose serueth that notable answer of *Esay*. For when he sawe that the vnbeleeuing king *Achaz* refused that which he had declared to him of the raising of the siege of *Hierusalem* and of present safetie, as it were suddenly, he passed ouer to *Messias*. Behold a virgine shall conceiue and bring forth a sonne, meaning indirectly that though the king and his people by their fowardnes refused the promise offered vnto them, as though they did of purpose bend themselves to discredite the truth of God, yet the cōuenant should not be voided, but that

1. Reg. 11. &
12. 24.

1. King. 11. 29.
1. King. 15. 4.
1. King. 11. 34.

Psa. 77. 60. 67.

Psa. 20. 10.

Psal. 118. 25. 26.

Psal. 80. 18.

Lam. 4. 20.

The ancient Prophets neuer speake of the churches deliuerance out of miserie, but they sauge wishall, that through Christ they were deliuered.

Eiab. 3. 13.

Esay. 7. 14.

the redeemer should come at his appointed time. Finally, it was the care of all the Prophets, to the ende they might shewe that God would be mercifull, alway to set out that kingdom of *Dauid*, whereupon hanged the redemption and euertlasting saluation. So *Esay* saith: I will make a covenant with you the faithfull mercies of *Dauid*. *Esay*. 55. 3. Behold I haue giuen him for a witness vnto nations, that is, because the faithful when their state is at the worst, could not otherwise haue any hope, but by the meanes of him being witness, that God would be appeasable toward them. Likewise *Hieremie*, to raise them vp being in despaire, saith: Behold the daies come, wherein I will raise vp vnto *Dauid* a righteous branch, and then shall *Iuda* be saued, and *Israell* shall dwell in safetic. And *Ezechiel* saith, I will raise vp one shepheard euer my sheepe, euen *Dauid* my seruant. I the Lord will bee a God to them, and my seruant *Dauid* for a shepheard. And I will make a covenant of peace with them. Also in another place, after he had entreated of the incredible renewing, he saith: my seruant *Dauid* shall be their king, and there shall be one shepheard ouer all, and I will make an euertlasting covenant of peace with them. I gather here and there a fewe places out of many, because I onely meane to haue the readers put in minde, that the hope of all the godly hath alway bene reposed no where else but in Christ. And all the other Prophets also speake agreeably hereunto, as it is saide in *Osee*. The children of *Iuda* and the children of *Israell* shall be gathered together, and shall appoint to themselves one head. Which he afterwarde more plainly expoundeth, The children of *Israell* shall returne, and shall seeke for the Lorde their God, and *Dauid* their king. And *Michee* speaking of the returne of the people expressly saith, The king shall goe before them, and the Lord in their head. So *Amos* meaning to praise the renewing of the people saith: I will in that day raise vp the tabernacle of *Dauid* that is fallen downe, and I will hedge vp the gaps, and raise vp the places ouerthrowen; euen because that was the onely standard of saluation, to haue the royall glorie to rise vp againe on high in the stock of *Dauid*, which is fulfilled in Christ. Therefore *Zacharie*, as his age was neerer to the appearing of Christ, so doth he more plainly cry out: be glad thou daughter of *Sion*, reioice thou daughter of *Hierusalem*. Beholde thy king cometh, righteous and saued. Which agreeth with the place of the *Psalme* before alleged: The Lorde the strength of the saluations of his annointed, Lorde saue vs. Where saluation is deriued from the head to the whole bodie.

4 It was Gods will to haue the Iewes instructed with these prophecies, that to seeke for their deliuerance, they should bend their eies directly to Christ. And though they had shamefully swarued, yet could not the remembrance of the generall principle be abolished, that God by the hande of Christ, as he had promised to *Dauid*, would be the deliuerer of the Church, and so the covenant should be of his owne free graunt, whereby God had adopted his chosen. Hereby it came to passe, that this long founded in the mouth of the children when Christ a little before his death entred into *Hierusalem*, *Hofanna* to the sonne of *Dauid*. For it appeereth that it was commonly known and spoken of, and according to common vse that they sung that the onely pledge of Gods mercie remained vnto them, in the coming of the Redeemer. For this cause Christ himselfe, to make his disciples plainly and perfectly beleue in God, biddeth them to beleue on himselfe, Beleue yee in God (saith he) then beleue also in me. For though (to speake properly) saith climeth vp from Christ to the futher, yet he meaneth that the same faith, albeit it rest vpon God, doth by little and little vanish away vnlesse he become a meane to holde it in assured steadfastnesse. Otherwise the maiesty of God is too high for mortall men, which creepe vpon the grounde like wormes, to attaine vnto it. Wherefore I allowe that common saying, that God is the object of faith, but in such sort that it needeth correction. Because Christ is not in vaine called the inuisible Image of God, but by this title we are put in minde, that if wee finde not God in Christ, saluation cannot

It was a common principle generally receiued amongst the Iewes, though not so perfectly vnderstood as be-hooued, that their deliuerer should be Christ, without whose knowledge all other nations vainly worshipped God.

Mat. 23. 9.

Iohn. 14. 1.

Col. 1. 15.

Cap. 7. Of the knowledge of

be knowen vnto vs. For although among the Jewes, the Scribes and Pharises had darkened with false inuentions, that which the Prophets had spoken concerning the Redeemer: yet Christ tooke it for a thing confessed as receiued by common consent, that there was none other remedie in a dispaired case, and none other meane of deliuering the Church, but by giuing the Mediator. In deede that was not commonly knowen among the people as it ought to haue been, which *Paul* teacheth, that Christ is the end of the lawe. But how true and assured it is, doth plainly appeere by the lawe and the Prophets. I speake not yet of faith, because there shall be elsewhere a more conuenient place for it. Onely let the readers hold this as fast established, that the first degree of godlinesse be, to acknowledge God to be a Father vnto vs, to defend, gouerne, and cherish vs, till he gather vs together into the euerlasting inheritance of his kingdome: and that hereby it plainly appeereth which we said euen now, that the knowledge of God which bringeth saluation, standeth not without Christ, and that therefore from the beginning he hath bene set forth vnto all the elect, that they should looke vpon him, and that in him should rest all their affiance. According to this meaning writeth *Irenaeus*, that the Father which is vnto measure, is in his Sonne measured, because he hath applied himselfe to the measure of our capacite, least he should drowne our mindes with the vnto measure of his glorie. Which thing the phrentike men not considering, doe wrest a profitable sentence to a wicked fantasie, as though there were in Christ but a portion of the godhead deriued from the whole perfection: whereas it meaneth nothing else, but that God is comprehended in Christ alone. That saying of *John* hath alwaies bene true. He that hath not the Sonne, neither hath he the Father. For though in olde time many did boast that they worshipped the soueraine God, the maker of heauen and earth: yet because they had no Mediator, it was impossible that they should truly taste of the mercie of God, and so be perswaded that he was their father. Therefore because they knew not the head that is Christ, the knowledge of God was but vaine among them, whereby also it came to passe, that at length falling into grosse and filthie superstitions, they bewraied their owne ignorance. As at this day the Turkes although they report with full mouth, that the creator of heauen and earth is their God, yet doe they thrust an idole in place of the true God while they swaue from Christ.

The vij. Chapter.

That the lawe was giuen, not to hold still the people in it, but to nourish the hope of saluation in Christ, vntill his comming.

The law was giuen by Moses to nourish men in hope of saluation by Christ, as appeereth by the often mention which he maketh of the covenants, and by the whole forme of ceremonies and seruice therein prescribed, which without spiritual relation vnto this were vaine and idle.

BY this continuall processe that we haue rehearsed, may be gathered, that the law was added about lower hundred yecres after the death of *Abraham*, not for this intent to leade away the chosen people from Christ: but rather to keepe their mindes in expectation vntill his comming, to kindle a desire of him, and to confirme them in looking for him, that they shoulde not waxe faint with long tarrance. I meane by this worde Lawe, not onely the ten commaundements, which prescribe a rule how to liue godlyly and righteously, but also the forme of religion deliuered by the hande of *Moses*. For *Moses* was not made a lawgiuer to abolish the blessing promised to the kindred of *Abraham*: but rather we see how euery where he putteth the Jewes in remembrance of the free covenant made with their fathers whose heires they were, as if he had bene sent to renew the same. That was most plainly set forth by the ceremonies. For what were more vaine and fond, than for men to offer vp loathsome stinke of the fat of cattell, to reconcile themselves to God thereby? to flee to the sprinkling of water or bloud to wash away their filthinesse? Finally, all the seruice of God appointed in the lawe (if it be considered by it selfe, and doe not

courage

containe shadowes and figures, which the truth should answer vnto) shall be but a v-
 rie mockerre. Wherefore not without a cause both in *Stephens* sermon, and in the
 Epistle to the *Hebrues*, is that place so diligently weyed. Where God commaundeth
Moses to make all things pertaining to the tabernacle, according to the paterne
 that had bene shewed him in the mount. For if there had not bene some spirituall
 thing appointed that they should tend vnto, the Iewes shouldeno lesse haue fond-
 ly spent their labour in them, than the Gentiles did in their trifles. Prophane men
 that neuer earnestly applied the studie of godliuicke, can not without lothsome te-
 dioufnes abide to heare so many sundry fashions of vsages: and they not onely mar-
 uell why God wearied his people with such a heape of ceremonies, but also they de-
 spise and scorne them as childrens plaies. And the cause is, for that they consider
 not the ende, from which if the figures of the lawe be seuered, they must needes be
 condemned of vanitie. But that same figure sheweth, that God did not therefore
 command sacrifices because hee woulde occupie them that worshipped him with
 earthly exercises, but rather to raise vp their mindes higher. Which may also plain-
 ly appeere by his nature: for as he is spirituall, so he is delighted with no other wor-
 shipping but spirituall. This do the sayings of the Prophets testifie, wherein they re-
 buke the Iewes of sluggishnes, for that they thought that any sacrifices were of anie
 value with God. Is that because their purpose is to derogate any thing from the lawe?
 No, but according as they were true expositours of the lawe, so they woulde by this
 meane haue mens eyes directed to the marke from which the common people strai-
 ed. Now by the grace offered to the Iewes it is certainly gathered, that the lawe was
 not void of Christ. For *Moses* did set forth vnto them this end of the adoption, that
 they should become a priestly kingdome to God. Which they could not obtaine
 vnlesse there were had for the meane therof a great & more excellent reconciliation
 than by the blood of beasts. For what is lesse likely than *Adams* children, which by
 inheritably descending infection are all borne the bondslaues of sinne, to be aduan-
 ced to royall dignitie, and so to become partakers of the glorie of God, vnlesse that
 so excellent a benefit should come vnto them from elsewhere than from themselues?
 Also howe could the right of priesthood remaine in force among them, who by fil-
 thinesse of finnes were abominable to God, vnlesse they had bene consecrate in
 a holie head? Wherefore *Peter* doth verie aptly turne that saying of *Moses*, where
 he teacheth, that the fulnesse of grace, the taste whereof the Iewes had taken vnder
 the lawe, was giuen in Christ: Yee are (saith he) a chosen kindred, a kingly priesthood.
 For to this end tendeth that turning of the words, to shew that they, to whom Christ
 appeared by the Gospell, haue obtained more than their fathers, because they are all
 ended both with priestly and kingly honour, that trusting vpon their mediator, they
 may freely be bold to come forth into the sight of God.

Ag. 5 44.
 Heb. 8. 5.
 Exod. 25. 40.

Exod. 10. 6.

1. Pet. 2. 9.

2 And heere by the way it is to be noted, that the kingdome which at length was
 erected in the house of *Dauid*, is part of the lawe, and contained vnder the Ministerie
 of *Moses*. Whereupon followeth, that aswell in all the kindred of the *Leuites* as in
 the posterite of *Dauid* Christ was set before the eyes of the olde people as in a dou-
 ble looking glasse. For, as I saide euen nowe, they could not otherwise bee before
 God either kings or priests, which were both the bondslaues of sinne and death, and
 defiled by their owne corruption. Heereby appeereth that that saying of *Paul* is
 most true; that the Iewes were holden as vnder the keeping of a schoolemaster, till
 the seede came for whose sake the promise was giuen. For, because Christ was not
 yet familiarly knowen, they were like vnto children, whose weakenesse could not
 yet beare a full knowledg of heavenly things, but how they were by ceremonies, as
 it were lead by the hand to Christ, is spoken before, and may be better vnderstanded
 by many testimonies of the Prophets. For although it was commanded them to com-
 daily with new sacrifices to appease God: yet *Esay* promiseth that all their finnes shall

How the lawe both
 ceremoniall and
 morall led the peo-
 ple of God vnto
 Christi.

Gal. 3. 24.

Esai. 53.
 be

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Dan 9.

Pfal. 110.4.

Rom. 10.4.

2. Cor. 3.6.

Gal. 3.19.

be clesed with one onely sacrifice. Wherewith *Daniell* agreably saith: The Priest^s appointed of the tribe of *Leui*, did enter into the Sanctuarie: but of the onely priest it was once saide, that by an oath he was chosen of God to be a priest for euer, according to the order of *Melchisedec*. At that time the anointing with oyle was visible: but *Daniel* by his vision pronounceth that there shall be another manner of anointing. And because I will not tarrie vpon manie examples, the author of the Epistle to the *Hebrues* euen from the fourth Chapter to the eleuenth doth largely and plainly enough shewe, that the ceremonies are nothing woorth and vaine till wee come to Christ. As concerning the ten commandements: that lesion of *Paul* is likewise to be kept in minde, that Christ is the end of the law vnto saluation, to euery one that beleueth. And another lesion, that Christ is the Spirit that quickneth the letter which of it selfe slaueth. For in the first of these two, he meaneth that righteousness is vainly taught by commandements, vntill Christ do giue it both by free imputation and by the spirit of regeneration. Wherefore he worthily calleth Christ the fulfilling or ende of the lawe. Because it should nothing profite vs to know what God requireth of vs, vnlesse he did succour vs fainting and oppressed vnder the yoke and vntollerable burden. In another place he teacheth that the lawe was made for transgressions, that is to bring men to humilitie being proued guiltie of their owne damnation. And, because this is the true and onely preparation to seeke Christ, whatsoever he teacheth in diuerse words do all verie well agree together. But because he then was in contention with peruerse teachers, which fained that we do deserue righteousness by the workes of the law, to confute their errour, he was compelled sometime to speake precisely of the bare lawe, which yet otherwise is clothed with the couenant of free adoption.

Although the law doe promise and would no doubts performe life vnto them that keepe the law, yet can we looke for no fruit at all by those promises, but feele our owne miserie thereby the more increased because of our weaknes which answereth not the righteousness prescribed by the law.
Deut. 30. 19.

3 But now it is good to know, how being taught by the morall law, we are made more inexcusable, that our owne guiltinesse may moue vs to craue pardon. If it be true that we be taught perfection of righteousness in the law: then this also followeth, that the absolute keeping thereof is perfect righteousness before God, that is, whereby a man may be deemed and accounted righteous before the heauenly throne of iudgement. Wherefore *Moses* when he had published the lawe, doubted not to protest before heauen and earth, that hee had set before *Israel* life and death, good and euill. And we may not denie, but that the rewarde of eternall saluation belongeth to the vpright obedience of the lawe, as the Lord hath promised it. Againe, yet it is good to examine, whether we performe that obedience, vpon desert wherof we may conceiue a trust of that rewarde. For to what small purpose is it, to see the rewarde of eternall life set in keeping of the lawe, vnlesse wee further know whether we may by that way attaine to eternall life? But heerein the weaknesse of the lawe doth shew it selfe. For because that keeping of the law is found in none of vs al, we are excluded from the promises of life, and do fall into curse onely. I do not now tell what doth come to passe, but what needes must come to passe. For whereas the doctrine of the lawe is faire about the power of man, he may indeede a farre off, looke at the promises, but yet not gather anie fruite of them. Therefore this one thing remaineth, that by the goodnes of them he may the better wey his owne miserie, while he considereth, that all hope of saluation being cut off, death doth certainly hang ouer him. On the other side do presse vs terrible penall lawes, which doe holde entangled and fast bound, not onely a fewe of vs, but euery one without exception: they presse vs, I say, and do pursue vs, with an vnappeafable rigour, so that we may see most present death in the law.

The promises of the lawe being conditional, are not of no effect vnto vs, though

4 Therefore if we looke onely vpon the law, we can doe nothing but be discouraged, be confounded, and dispaire, forasmuch as by it we are all damned and cursed, and kept farre off from the blessednesse that he offereth to them that worship him. Wilt thou say then, Doth the Lord so mocke vs? For how finally doth it differ from mocking,

mocking, to shew forth a hope of felicitie, to allure and exhort men vnto it, to protest that it is laide open for vs, when in the meane season the entrie vnto it is fenced and impossible to be come to? I answer: although the promises of the lawe, in so much as they are conditionall, doe hang vpon the perfect obedience of the lawe, which can no where be found, yet are they not giuen in vaine. For when we haue learned that they shall be voide and of no effect vnto vs, vnlesse God embrace vs with his free goodnesse without regarde of our works, and vnlesse we doe embrace by faith the same goodnesse giuen vs by the gospell, then want they not their effectualnesse, yea with their condition annexed. For then he doth so freely giue all things vnto vs, that he addeth this also to the heape of his bountifullnesse, that not refusing our halfe full obedience, and remitting so much as it wanteth of full performance, he so maketh vs to enjoy the fruite of the promises of the lawe, as if we our selues had fulfilled the condition. But we will at this present proceede no further in this matter, because it shall be more largely to be entreated of, when we shall speake of the iustification of faith.

we be unable to performe the condition, because our not performing it through mercie pardoned, and our weak obedience accepted and rewarded, as if it were full performance.

5 Whereas we saide that it is impossible to keepe the lawe, that is in few wordes to be both expounded and prooued. For it is woont among the people commonly to be accounted an opinion of great absurditie, so faire that *Hierome* doubted not to pronounce it accursed: what *Hierome* thought, I doe nothing stay vpon: as for vs, let vs search what is truth. I will not here make long circumstances of diuers sortes of possibilities. I call that impossible, which both neuer hath bene, and also is hindered by the ordinance and decree of God, that it neuer hereafter may be. If we record from the farthest time of memorie, I say that there hath none of the holy men, that being clothed with the bodie of death, hath euer attained to that full perfection of loue, to loue God with all his hart, with all his minde, with all his soule, with all his power: Again, that there hath bene none that hath not bene troubled with concupiscence. Who can say nay? I see in deede what manner holy men foolish superstition doth imagine vnto vs, euen such whose purenesse the heauenly Angels doe scarcely counteruile: but against both the Scripture and prooue of experience. I say also, that there shall none hereafter be, that shall come to the make of true perfection, vnlesse he be loosed from the burden of his bodie. For this point there are open testimonies of Scripture. *Salomon* saide, there is not a righteous man vpon the earth that sinneth not. And *Dauid* saide: every liuing man shall not be iustified in thy sight. *Iob* in many places affirmeth the same. But *Pawl* most plainly of all: that the flesh lusteth against the spirite, and the spirite against the flesh. And by no other reason he prooueth that all that are vnder the lawe are subiect to the curse, but because it is written, that cursed are all they that doe not abide in all the commandements thereof: meaning, or rather taking it as a thing confessed, that no man can abide in them. And whatsoever is forespoken by the Scriptures, that must be holden for perpetuall, yea and necessarie. With such surdlerie did the *Pelagians* trouble *Augustine*, saying, that there is wrong done to God, to say that he doth commaunde more than the faithfull are able by his grace to perforce. *Augustine*, to auoide their caullation confessed, that the Lorde might in deede, if he woulde, aduance a mortall man to the purenesse of Angels: but that he neither hath done so at any time, nor will doe, because he hath otherwise affirmed in the Scriptures. And that doe I also not denie. But I adde further, that it is inconuenient to dispute of his power against his truth, and that therefore this sentence is not subiect to caullations if a man should say, that that thing is impossible to be, whereof the scriptures doe pronounce that it shall not be. But if they dispute of the worde: when the Disciples asked the Lord, who may be saued, he answered: with men in deede it is impossible, but with God all things are possible. Also *Augustine* with a most strong reason stiffely defendeth, that in this flesh we neuer yeelde to God the due loue that we owe him.

The law is therefore said to be impossible for men to performe, because no man euer hitherto hath been, and the scripture teacheth, that no man shall be so perfect.

I. Reg. 8. 46.
Pal. 100. 43.

Gal. 3. 10.

Deut. 27. 26.

Lib. de nat. & gratia.

Mat. 19. 25.

Lib. de spiritu & litera.

Loue

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*rangeth
god, in
his
owne*

Rom. 8. 3.

*The first use of the
moral law to make
men knowe their
owne vnrighte-
ousnes, that they
be not besotted
through selfe-
liking nor deceiued
with a vaine sha-
dow of holinesse in
steed of that which
is sound and per-
fect.*

Rom. 7. 7.

*It is no dishonour
to the lawe of God
to say that it doth
but represent vnto
vs our inabilityie
to obey, our diso-
beying, & our cur-
sed estate through
disobediencie: be-
cause in this we
are taught both
how our owne
wickednesse hinde-
reth vs from en-
ioying the blessed-
nesse of the law, &
how the mercie of
God aboundeth in
giuing vs that
blessednesse from
which our owne
wickednes doth in
it selfe exclude vs.*

Rom. 3. 22.

Rom. 5. 20.

2. Cor. 3.

Rom. 4. 15.

*De corrup. &
grat. vide Am-
brof. cap. 1. de
Iac. & vita bea-
ta. cap. 6.*

Loue (saith he) so followeth knowledge, that no man can perfectly loue God, but he that hath first fully knowen his goodnesse. We, while we wander in this world, see by a glasse and in a darke speech: it followeth therefore, that our loue is vnperfect. Let this therefore remaine out of controuersie, that in this flesh it is impossible to fulfill the lawe, if we behold the weaknesse of our owne nature, as it shall yet also in another place be prooued by *Paul*.

6 But that the whole matter may be more plainly set forth: let vs in a compendious order gather vp together the office and vse of the lawe which they call Morall. Now, as far as I vnderstand, it is contained in these three parts. The first is, that while it sheweth to euery man the righteousnesse of God, that is, the righteousnesse which onely is acceptable to God, it admonish, certifie, prooue guiltie, yea and condemne euery man of his owne vnrighteousnesse. For so is it needfull that man blinded and drunke with loue of himselfe, be driuen both to the knowledge and the confession of his owne weaknesse, and vncleannesse: for as much as if his vanitie be not euidently conuincid, he swelleth with mad affiance of his owne strength, and can neuer be brought to thinke of the fliendnesse thereof, so long as he measureth it by the proportion of his owne will. But so soone as he beginneth to compare his strength to the hardnesse of the lawe, there he findeth matter to abate his courage. For howsoeuer he before conceiued a great opinion of it, yet by and by he feeleth it to pant vnder so great a burden, and then to shake and folter, at last euen to fall downe and faint. So being taught by the schooling of the lawe, he putteth off that arrogancie wherewith before he was blinded. Likewise he is to be healed of another disease of pride, wherof we haue said that he is sicke. So long as he is suffred to stand to his owne iudgement, he deuisech hypocrisie in steede of righteousnesse, wherewith being contented, he riseth vp in courage, by I wot not what forged righteousnesse, against the grace of God. But so soone as he is compelled to trie his life by the balance of the law, then leauing the presumption of the counterfait righteousnesse, he seeth himselfe to be an infinite space distant from holinesse: Again, that he floweth full of infinite vices, wherof before he seemed cleane. For the euils of lust are hidden in so deepe and crooked priuie corners, that they easily deceiue the sight of man. And not without cause the Apostle saith, that he knew not lust, except the law had said: Thou shalt not lust: because except it be by the law disclosed our of her lurking holes, it destroiech miserable man so secretly, that he feeleth not the deadly dart thereof.

7 So the law is like a certaine looking glasse wherein we behold, first our weaknesse, and by that our wickednesse, and last of all by them both our accursednesse, euen as a glasse representeth vnto vs the spots of our face. For when power faileth man to followe righteousnesse, then must he needes slicke fast in the mire of finnes. And after sinne by and by followeth curse. And of how much the greater transgression the lawe holdeth vs guiltie and conuict, with so much the more greuous iudgement it condemneth vs. For this purpose maketh the saying of the Apostle, that by the lawe is the knowledge of sinne. For there he speaketh onely of the first office of the lawe, the prooue wherof is in sinners not yet regenerate. And like to this are these two sayings, that the law entred that sinne might abound, and therefore that it is the ministration of death that worketh wrath and slaieth. For without doubt so much more groweth iniquitie with how much more vnderstanding of sin the conscience is striken, because vnto breach of lawe is added obstinacie against the maker of the lawe. It followeth therefore that the lawe armeth the wrath of God to the destruction of the sinner, because of it selfe it can doe nothing but accuse, condemne and destroy. And as *Augustine* writeth, if the spirite of grace be absent, the lawe is present with vs, onely to this end, to accuse vs and kill vs. And yet when this is saide, neither is the lawe dishonoured thereby, nor any thing taken from the excellencie thereof.

Truly if our will were wholly framed and disposed to the obedience of the lawe, then plainly

plainly the onely knowledge of it were sufficient to saluation. But forasmuch as our fleshly and corrupt nature fighteth, as an enimie with the spirituall lawe of God, and is nothing amended with the discipline thereof, this followeth that the lawe which was giuen for saluation, (if it had found fit hearers) urneth to the occasion of sinne and death. For sith we are all prooued transgressors of it, the more plainly that it openeth the righteousnesse of God, so much the more on the other side it discloseth our iniquitie: the more surely that it confirmeth the reward of life and saluation laid vp for righteousnesse, so much the more assured it maketh the destruction of the wicked. So farre is it off therefore that these sayings should be to the dishonor of the law, that they much auale to the more glorious commendations of Gods bountie. For truly it hereby appeareth that we are hindered by our owne wickednesse, and peruerfenes, that we enioy not the blessednesse of life set openly abroad for vs by the lawe. Whereby the grace of God that helpeth vs without the succour of the lawe, is made so much the sweeter, and the mercie more lowely that giueth it vnto vs, whereby we learne that he is neuer wearied with often doing vs good and heaping new gifts vpon vs.

8 And whereas the iniquitie and condemnation of vs all is sealed by the testimonie of the law, it is not done for this purpose (if at least we well profit in it) to make vs fall downe with despaire, or with discouraged minde to tumble downe headlong. In deede the reprobate are amased after that manner, but that is by reason of their obstinacie, but with the children of God there behouoerth to be another ende of instruction. I graunt the Apostle testifieth that we are all condemned by iudgement of the law, that euerie mouth may be stopped, and that all the world may become bound vnto God: but yet the same Apostle in another place teacheth, that God hath concluded all vnder vbeliefe, not to destroy all, or to suffer all to peririth, but that he might haue mercie of all, that leauing the foolish opinion of their owne strength, they might vnderstand, that they stand and are vpholden by the onely hande of God: that they being naked and emptie, may flee to his mercie, that they may rest themselues wholly vpon it, hide themselues wholly in it, take hold of it alone in steede of righteousnesse and merites, which is laide open in Christ for all men whoeuer they be that with true faith doe desire and looke for it. For God in the commandements of the law appeareth but a rewarder of perfect righteousnesse, whereof we all are destitute, and on the other side a rigorous iudge of euill doings. But in Christ, his face shineth full of grace and lenitie, euen toward the wretched and vnworthie sinners.

9 Of profiting to craue the grace of his helpe, *Augustine* speaketh oft, as when he writeth to *Hilarie*, The law commaundeth that endeuouring to doe the things commaunded, and being wearied with our weaknesse vnder the lawe, we should learne to aske the helpe of grace. Againe to *Afelius*: The profit of the law is to conuince man of his owne weaknesse, and compell him to craue the Phisicke of grace that is in Christ. Againe to *Innocent of Rome*: The law commaundeth, and grace ministrerth strength to do. Againe to *Valentine*: God commaundeth those things that we cannot do, that we may learne to know what to aske of him. Againe: The lawe was giuen to accuse you, that being accused you should feare, that fearing you should craue pardon, and not presume of your owne strengthes. Againe: The lawe was giuen for this purpose, of great to make little, to shew that thou hast no strength of thine owne to righteousnesse, that thou as poore, vnworthie and needie, shouldst flee vnto grace. After, he turneth his speech to God and saith: Doe so Lord, do so mercifull Lord, commaunde that which cannot be fulfilled: yea, commaund that which cannot but by thy grace be fulfilled, that when men cannot fulfil it by their owne strength, euery mouth may be stopped, and no man may thinke himselfe great. Let all be little ones, and let all the world be gultie before thee. But I am

The end why the law doth bring men to the sight of their owne misery, is not that they might despaire, but that forsaking all confidence in themselves, they might rest vpon the mercie of God in Iesus Christ alone.
Rom. 3. 19.
Rom. 11. 32.

Man being condemned of sin by the law, the effect thereof in the godd is the crauing of helpe from God, in the bad their despaire of themselves whiche arising to any helper.
Epist. 200.
Epist. 200.
Epist. 95.
Lib. de correptione & gratia.
In Psal. 70.
In Psal. 118.
Ser. 27.

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not wise to heape vp so many testimonies, sith that holy man hath written a booke properly of that matter, which he had intialed, Of the Spirite and Letter. The second profiting he doth not so liuely describe, either because he knew that it did hang vpon the former, or because he did not so well vnderstand it, or because he wanted words wherewith distinctly and plainly to expresse his meaning of it, which yet he rightly conceiued: but this first office of the law is not idle euen in the reprobate also. For though they go not thus far forward with the children of God, that after the throwing downe of their flesh they be renewed & flourish againe in the inward man, but amased with the first terror do lie still in desperation: yet it serueth to shew forth the equitie of Gods iudgement, that their consciences be tossed with such waies. For they euer willingly desire to make shift against the iudgement of God. Now while the same is not yet opened, they yet so astonished with the testimonie of the law and their conscience do bewray in themselves what they haue deserued.

The second office of the law is the bridling of their vnwares thorough feare of punishment, wherby the spirit of sanctification hath not yet indued with an inward harrie desire otherwise to serue God.

10 The second office of the lawe, is that they which are touched with no care of that which is iust and right, vnlesse they be compelled, when they heare the terrible penall ordinances therein, may be restrained at least with feare of punishment. But they are restrained, not because their inward mind is moued or affected withal, but because being as it were bridled, they withhold their hand from outward worke, and do keepe in their peruersenesse within them, which otherwise they would haue outrageously poured out. Thereby they become truely neither the better, nor the more righteous before God. For although being letted either by feare or by shame, they dare not put that in practise which they haue conceiued in their minde, nor openly blow abroad the rages of their lust: yet haue they not a heart framed to the feare and obedience of God, yea, the more that they hold backe themselves, so much the stronger within they are kindled, they burne, they boile, readie to doe any thing, and to brake forth any whither, if this terror of the law did not stay them. And not that onely, but also they most spitefully hate the law, and do detest God the law-maker, so that if they could, they would verie faine take him away, whom they cannot abide, neither when he commandeth rightfull things, nor when he reuengeth him vpon the despisers of his maistie. In some in deede more darkly, and in some more plainly, but in all generally that are not regenerate, is this feeling, that they are drawn to the following of the lawe not by willing submission, but resisting and against their willes, onely by violence of feare. But this constrained and enforced righteoussnes is necessarie for the publicke common state of men, the quiet wherof is herein prouided for, while order is taken that all things be not confounded with vprone, which would come to passe, if all things were lawfull for all men. Yea, it is not vnprofitable for the children of God to be exercised with this Schooling, so long as they before their calling being yet destitute of the spiru of sanctification, are still wanton with the folly of the flesh. For when they are drawn backe, though it be but from outward licentiousness, by the terror of Gods vengeance, although for that they are not yet tamed in minde, they go for the present time but a litle so ward, yet they partly grow in vne to beare the yoke of Christ, so that when they are called, they be not altogether rude and raw to discipline, as to a thing vnknown. This office the Apostle seemeth properly to haue touched, when he saith that the law was not set for the righteous man, but for the vnrightheous and disobedient, wicked and sinners, euill doers and prophane men, slayers of their parents, and murderers, fornicators, sodomites, robbers of children, lyers and perjured men, and whatsoeuer else is against found doctrine. For he saith, that it is a stay to the wilde outraging lustes of the flesh, that else would stray abroad without measure.

1. Tim. 1. 9.

Both sorts of men schooled by the terror of the law as

II But to both may that be applied which he saith in another place, that the lawe was to the Iewes a schoolmaster to Christ, for there are two sorts of men, whom with her schooling she leadeth by the hand to Christ. The one sort, of whom

we first spake, because they are too full of affiance of their owne strength or righteousness, are not meete to receiue the grace of Christ, vnlesse they be first emptied: therefore the Law bringeth them downe to humilitie by knowledge of themselues, that so they may be prepared to desire that which before they thought they wanted not. The other sort neede a bridle to be holden backe, least they so giue loose the reines to the wantonnes of their flesh, that they fall off altogether from all study of righteousness. For where the spirite of God doth not yet governe, there sometime lustes do so boyle, that it is in great perill lest they throwe downe the soule that is subiect to them into the forgetfulness and despising of God: and so would it come to passe if God did not with this remedie provide for it. Therefore those whom he hath appointed to the inheritance of his kingdome, if he doe not by and by regenerate them, he keepeth them by the workes of the Law vnder feare, vntill the tyme of his visitation, not that chaste and pure feare such as ought to be in children, but yet a profitable feare for this that they may according to their capacitie be taught by introduction to true godlinesse. Of this we haue so many pious examples, that it needeth no example. For whosocuer haue any tyme continued in not knowing of God, wil confesse that this happened vnto them, that they were holden by the bridle of the Law in some feare and obedience of God, vntill the tyme that being regenerate by his spirite, they began hartly to loue him.

12 The third vse, which is also the principall vse, and more neerely looketh vnto the proper end of the Law, concerneth the faithfull, in whose harts already liueth and reigneth the spirite of God. For although they haue the Law written and grauen in their harts by the finger of God, that is to say, be so affectioned and minded by the direction of the spirit that they desire to obey God, yet doe they still two wayes profit in the Law. For it is to them a very good meane, whereby they may daily better and more assuredly learne what is the will of the Lord which they aspire vnto, and may be confirmed in the vnderstanding thereof. As if a seruant be already bent with all the affection of his hart, to please his Lord: yet hath he neede diligently to search out and marke the fashions of his Lord, that he may frame and apply himselfe vnto them. And let none of vs exempt himselfe from this neede. For no man hath hitherto attained to so great wisdom, but that he may by dayly instruction of the Law get new profit in proceeding to the purer knowledge of Gods will. Then because wee neede not onely doctrine but also exhortation: this other profite shall the seruant of God take by the Law, to be by the often meditation thereof stured vp to obedience, to be strengthened in it, to be holden backe from the slipperie way of offending. For after this manner, must these holy ones driue forward themselues, which with how great cheerefulness so euer they trauaile to Godward according to the spirite, yet they are alwaie loden with the sluggishness of the flesh, that they proceede not with such full readinesse as they ought. To this flesh is the Lawe giuen as a whippe, that like a slowe and dull Ass it may be pricked forward to worke. Yea to the spirituall man, because he is not yet dispatched of the burden of the flesh, it shall be a continuall pricke that suffereth him not to stand still. Euen to this vse *Dauid* had respect, when he did set foorth the Law with those notable praises: The Law of the Lord is vndefiled, conuerting soules: the iustices of the Lord are vp-right, and chearing harts: the commandement of the Lord is bright, that giueth light to the eyes, &c. Again: A lanterne to my feete is thy word, and a light vnto my pathes, and innumerable other that he rehearseth in all that Psalm. Neither are these things against the sayings of *Paul*, wherein is the need, not what vse the Law ministreth to the regenerate, but what it is able to giue to man of it selfe. But here the Prophet reporteth with howe great profite the Lorde doth instruct them by reading of his Lawe, to whome he inwardly inspirith a readinesse to obey. And he taketh hold not of the commaundements onely, but also the promise of grace

*well they shac
would eberriuse
shinke soo highly
of their owne
righteousnesse,
as they which soo
boldly would follow
the sway of their
owne lust.*
Gal. 3.24.

*The third office of
the law respecting
properly them that
are regenerated by
the spirit of grace,
is first to instruct
them what the wil
of God is, and secondly
to breede in
them eger desire
to goe forward in
obseruance.*

Psal. 19.8.

Psal. 119.105.

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annexed to the things which onely maketh the bitterness to waxe sweete. For what were lesse amiable than the Law, if it should onely with requiring and threatning trouble soules carefully with feare, and vex them with terror? But specially *Dauid* sheweth, that he in the Law conceiued the Mediatour, without whome there is no delite or sweetenesse.

The Law because it mgēdeth death is not therefore to be shaken off, but must be followed as a rule which serueth to direct all the actions of our life.
Deut. 31.6.

13 Which while some vnskillfull men cannot discern, they boldly shake away all *Moses*, and bidde the two tables of the Law farewell, because they thinke it is not greetable for Christians to cleaue to that doctrine that containeth the ministration of death. Let this prophane opinion depart farre out of our mindes. For *Moses* taught excellently well, that the same Law which with sinners can engender nothing but death, ought in the holy to haue a better and more excellent vse. For thus, when he was readie to die, he openly saide to the people: Lay your hartes vpon all the words that I doe testifie to you this day, that ye may commit them to your children, that ye may teach them to keepe, to doe, and to fulfill all the thinges that are written in the volume of this Law, because they are not vainly commanded you, but that eery one should liue in them. But if no man can denie that there appeareth in it an absolute paterne of righteoufnesse, then either we must haue no rule at all to liue iustly and vprightly, or else it is not lawfull for vs to depart from it. For there are not many but one rule of life, which is perpetuall and cannot be bowed. Therefore, whereas *Dauid* maketh the life of a righteous man continually busied in the meditation of the Lawe, let vs not referre that to one age onely, because it is most meete for all ages to the end of the world: and let vs not therefore be frayed away, or flie from being instructed by it, because it appointeth a much more exact holynesse than we shall performe, while we shall carry about the person of our body. For now it executeth not against vs the office of a rigorous exacter that will not be satisfied, but with his full taske performed: but in this perfection whereunto it exhorteth vs, it sheweth vs a marke, toward which in all our life to endeuor, is no lesse profitable for vs, than agreeable with our ductie. In which endeuour if we faile not, it is well. For all this life is a race, the space whereof being runne out, the Lord will graunt vs to attaine to that marke, toward which our endeuours doe traunale a farre off.

Pal. 1.2.

The abrogating of the Law of God, is the faithfull is they deliuering from the curse abroached in the Law, not from the ductie of continuall endeuoring to fulfill that which the Law requireth.

14 Now therefore, whereas the Law hath toward the faithfull a power to exhort, not such a power as may binde their consciences with curse, but such as with often calling on, may shake off sluggishnesse and pinch imperfection to awake it: many when they meane to expresse this deliuerance from the curse thereof, doe say, that the Law is abrogate to the faithfull. (I speake yet of the Law morall) not that it doth no more command them that which is right, but onely that it be no more vnto them that which it was before, that is, that it doe no more, by making afraide and confounding their consciences, damne and destroy them. And truly such an abrogation of the Lawe, *Paul* doth plainly teach, and also that the Lord himselfe spake of it, appeareth by this that he would not haue confuted that opinion that he should dissolue the Law, vnlesse it had bene commonly receiued among the Iewes. But forasmuch as it could not rise causelessly and without any colour, it is likely that it grew vpon false vnderstanding of his doctrine, as in a manner all erroneous are wont to take occasion of truth, but least we should also stumble at the same stone, let vs diligently make distinction, what is abrogate in the Lawe, and what remaineth yet in force. Where the Lord protesteth that he came not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it: and that till heauen and earth passe away, no one iote of the Law should passe away, but that all should be fulfilld: he sufficiently confirmeth that by his coming nothing should be taken away from the due keeping of the Law. And for good cause: sith he came rather for this ende, to heale offences. Wherefore the doctrine of the Law remaineth for all Christians, inuolable, which by teaching, admonishing, rebulking

Mat. 5.17.

rebuking and correcting may frame and prepare vs to eury good worke.

15 As for those things that *Paul* speaketh of the curse, it is euident that they belong not to the very instruction, but onely to the force of binding the conscience. For the Law not onely teacheth, but also with authoritie requireth that which it commaundeth. If it be not performed, yea if ducue be slackted in any part, it bendeth hir thunderbolt of curse. For this cause the Apostle saith, that all they that are of the workes of the Law, are subiect to the curse, because it is written: Cursed is euerie one, that fulfilleth not all. And he saith, that they be vnder the workes of the Law, that doe not set righteousness in the forgueneſſe of sinnes, by which we are loosed from the rigour of the Law. He teacheth therefore that we must be loosed from the bonds of the Lawe, vnlesse we will miserably perih vnder them. But from what bonds? the bonds of that rigorous and sharpe exacting, that releaseth nothing of the extremitie of the Law, and suffreth not any offence vnpunished. From this curse (I say) that Christ might redeeme vs, he was made a curſe for vs. For it is written: Cursed is eury one that hangeth vpon the tree. In the chapter following in deed he saith, that Christ was made subiect to the Lawe, to redeeme them that were vnder the Lawe, but all in one meaning, for he by and by addeth, that by adoption wee might receine the right of children. What is that? that we should not be oppressed with perpetuall bondage, that should hold our conscience fast strained with anguish of death. In the meane time this alway remaineth vnshaken, that there is nothing withdrawn of the authoritie of the Law, but that it ought still to be receiued of vs with the same reuerence and obedience.

16 Of ceremonies it is otherwise, which we abrogate not in effect, but in vse onely. And this, that Christ by his coming hath made an ende of them, doth so nothing diminish their holinesse, that it rather setteth them foorth, and maketh them glorious. For as they should haue giuen but a vaine shew to the people, vnlesse the power of the death and resurrection of Christ had bene shewed therein, so if they had not ceased, we could not at this day discern to what purpose they were ordained. Therefore *Paul*, to prouue that the keeping of them now is not onely superfluous, but also hurtfull, teacheth that they were shadowes whereof we haue the body in Christ. We see therefore how in the abolishing of them, the truth shineth better than if they did still a farre off, and as it were with a veile spred before, shew a figure of Christ that hath already plainly appeared. And therefore the veile of the Temple at the death of Christ was torne in two peeces and fell downe: because now the true and expresse image of the heauenly good things was come to light, which before had bene but vnperfectly begun with darke rude draughtes, as the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrues saith. Hereunto serueth that saying of Christ, that the Law and the Prophets were vnto the time of *Iohn*, and that from that time forwarde, the kingdom of God began to be ioyfully preached: not meaning that the holy fathers were without the preaching that containeth the hope of saluation, and of eternall life, but because a farre off, and vnder shadowes onely they did beholde that which we at this day see in the full light. But why it behooued that the Church of God should climbe vp higher from those first instructions, *Iohn the Baptist* declareth, for that the Law is giuen by *Moses*, but grace and truth began by Iesus Christ. For although the purging of sinnes were truly promised in the olde sacrifices, and the Arke of the couenant was a sure pledge of the fatherly fauour of God, yet all this had bene but a shadowe, if it had not bene grounded vpon the grace of Christ, wherein is found, perfect and eternall stedfastnesse. Let this then remaine sure, that although the ceremoniall vsages of the Law haue ceased to be obserued, yet by the ende of them it is the better known how great was the profit of them before Christs coming, which in taking away the vse of them hath sealed the force and effect of them with his death.

The bonds of the law, from which we are loosed are those exactiōs, the rigor and extremitie whereof, if it were not mitigated, would cause despaire, and not those instructions of obedience, the authority whereof doth and must stand in force for euer.

Gala. 3. 10.
Deut. 27. 26.
Gal. 3. 12 & 5. 4.

The exercise of the law ceremoniall taken away yet the houses thereof consigned by the performance of that which was therein shadowed.

Col. 2. 17.

Mat. 27. 51.

Heb. 10. 1.

Luk. 16. 26.

Iohn 1. 15.

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In what sense
the ceremoniall
law is termed a
handwriting a-
gainst them which
ad obserue it.
Col. 2. 12.

Eph. 2. 14.

Heb. 7. & 9. & 10.

Heb. 9. 15.

17 Somewhat more hard is the point that *Paul* noteth. And he hath renewed you together with him, when ye were dead by sinnes, and the vncircumcision of your flesh, forgiuing you all your offences, blotting out the handwriting that remained in the decrees against vs, which was contrarie vnto vs, and he hath taken it away, fastening it to the crosse, &c. For it seemeth to stretch the abolishing of the lawe somewhat further that now we haue nothing to do with the decrees thereof. For they erre that expound it of the lawe morall whose vnappeafeable rigor rather then doctrine therof they thinke to be taken away. Some more deeply waying the wordes of *Paul*, do espie that it is properly spoken of the lawe ceremoniall, and do shewe that this word Decree, doth more than once so signifie in *Paul*. For to the *Ephesians* he sayeth thus: He is our peace, that maketh both to be one, that maketh void the lawe of commaundements consisting in the decrees, that he might make two in himselfe into one new man. It is no doubt that he speaketh there of the ceremonies, for he calleth it the partition wherewith the Iewes were seuered from the Gentiles: wherefore I graunt that those first expositors are rightfully reprooued by these: but yet mee thinkes that these do not sufficiently well set forth the minde of the Apostle. For I like not at al, to haue these two places compared together in all points, when his purpose was to aduertise the *Ephesians* of their adoption into the fellowship of *Israel*, he teacheth that the stop is taken away, whereby they were before time kept asunder, that was in ceremonies, that was in the vsages of washings & sacrifices, wherewith the *Iewes* were made holy vnto the Lord, do seuer them from the *Gentiles*. But in the Epistle to the *Colossians*, who seeth not that he toucheth a higher mysterie? In deed the point of the disputation there, is of *Mosaicall* obseruations wherunto the false Apostles did labour to driue the Christian people. But, as in the Epistle to the *Galatians* he searcheth that controuerſie further off, and as it were bringeth it backe to the first head thereof, so doth he also in this place. For if in the ceremonies you consider nothing else but a necessitie of the vse of them, to what purpose was it, to call it a handwriting against vs? moreouer to set the whole sum in a manner of our redemption in this, that it should be cancelled? Wherefore the matter it selfe trieth out, that here is some more secret thing to be considered. And I trust that I haue attained the naturall vnderstanding of it if at least this be graunted me to be true, which in one place is most truly written by *Augustine*, yea that he hath taken out of the plaine wordes of the Apostle, that in the Iewish ceremonies was rather a confession than a cleansing of sinnes. For what did they else by sacrifices, but confesse themselves in their conscience guiltie of death, that did put cleansing in their place? What did they with their censings, but testifie themselves to be vncleane? And so was the handwriting of their sin & vncleannes oft renewed by them, but there was no discharge in that testifying thereof. For which cause the Apostle writeth that at length by meane of the death of Christ, was performed the redemption of the offences that remained vnder the olde testament. Therefore the Apostle doth worshipfully call the ceremonies handwritings against those that obserue them: for in such as by them they did openly seale to their owne damnation & vncleannes. And it hindereth not, that they were also partakers of the same grace with vs. For this they obtained in Christ, not in the ceremonies, which there the Apostle doth seuer from Christ, because being at that time vsed, they did obscure the glory of Christ. Thus learne we, that the ceremonies, if they be considered by themselves, are well and fitly called handwritings against the saluation of men, because they were as solemn instruments that testified their being bound. When the false Apostles went about to binde the Christian church to them againe: *Paul* did not without cause admonish the *Colossians*, by fetching the signification of them further off, to what point they should fall backe againe, if they suffered themselves in such sorte to be yoked by them. For herewithall was the benefite of Christ wrested away from them, in asmuch

as he hauing once performed the eternall cleansing, hath vitterly abolished those dayly obseruations which were onely of force to seale finnes, but could doe nothing to the putting away of them.

The viij. Chapter.

An exposition of the Morall Law.

HERE I thinke it shall not be from the purpose, to enterlace the tenne Commandments of the Law with a short exposition of them, because thereby both that shall better appeare which I haue touched, that the same keeping of them which God hath once appointed, remaineth yet in force: and then also we shall haue besides that a prooffe of the second point, that the Iewes did not onely learne by it what was the true force of godlinesse, but also by the terrour of the iudgement, sith they saw themselues vnable to keepe it, they were compelled whether they would or no, to be drawen to the Mediator. Now in setting foorth the summe of those things that are required in the true knowledge of God, we haue already taught, that we cannot conceiue him according to his greatnesse, but that by and by his maiestie presenteth it selfe vnto vs, to binde vs to the worship of him. In the knowledge of our selues we haue set this for the chiefe point, that being voide of the opinion of our owne strength, and cleane stripped of the trust of our owne righteoulnesse, and on the other side discouraged and beaten downe with conscience of our owne needinesse, wee should learne perfect humilitie and abasement of our selues. The Lord setteth foorth both these pointes in the Law, where first chalenging to himselfe due power to gouerne, he calleth vs to the reuerence of his diuine maiestic, and appointeth out vnto vs wherein it standeth and consisteth: and then publishing a rule of his righteoulnesse, (against the righteoulnesse whereof our nature as it is peruerse and crooked, doth alwaie stricke, and beneath the perfection wherof our power as of it selfe it is weake and feeble to doe good, lieth a great way below) he reprooueth vs both of weakenesse and vnrighteousnes. Moreouer, that inward law which we haue before said to be grauen and as it were imprinted in the harts of all men, doth after a certaine manner enforme vs of the same things that are to be learned of the two tables. For our conscience doth not suffer vs to sleepe a perpetuall sleepe without feeling, but that it inwardly is a witnesse and admonisher of those things that we owe to God, and layeth before vs the difference of good and euill, and so accuseth vs when wee swarue from our duety. But man being wrapped in such darkenes of errors as he is, skarse cuen slenderly tasteth by that law of nature, what worship pleaseth God: but truly he is very farre distant from the right knowledge thereof. Beside that, he is so swollen with arrogancie and ambition, and so blinded with selfeloue, that he cannot yet looke vpon, and as it were, descend into himselfe to learne to submit and humble himselfe, and confesse his owne misery. Therefore (as it was necessarie both for our dulnes and stubborneesse) the Lord hath set vs a law written, which should both more certainly refuse that which in the Law naturall was too obscure, and also should shake away our drouintie, and more liuely touch our minde and remembrance.

2 Now it is easie to vnderstand what is to be learned of the Law, that is, that as God is our Creator, so of right he hath the place of our Father and Lord, and that by this reason we owe to him glorie, reuerence, loue, and feare. Yea, and also that we are not at our owne libertie, to followe whither soeuer that lust of our minde doth mooue vs, but that we ought to hang vpon his becke, and to rest onely vpon that which pleaseth him. Then we learne, that he delighteth in righteoulnesse, that hee abhorreth wickednesse, and therefore that vnlesse we will with wicked

The worship due to God, and the unrighteousness which is in vs, because the inward Law naturally written in our harts cannot sufficiently reach, therefore God himselfe hath giuen a law which doth

By the law we understand that we owe God obedience and that he leueth righteousnes in hie but we must seeke after, not excusing our selues by our inabilitie which is no excuse.

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vnthankiulnes fall away from our creator, we must necessarily obserue righteoufnes all our life long. For if then onely we yeelde vnto him the reuerence that we owe, when we preferre his will before our owne, it followeth, that there is no other due worship of him, but the obseruation of righteoufnes, holinesse, and cleannesse. Neither may we pretende this excuse that we want power, and like wasted debtors be not able to pay. For it is not conuenient that we should measure the glorie of God by our owne power: for whatsoeuer we be, he alway abideth like to himselfe, a louer of righteoufnesse, a hater of wickednesse. Whatsoeuer he requireth of vs (because he can require nothing but that which is right) by bonde of nature we must of necessitie obey: but that we are not able, is our owne fault. For if we be holden bound of our owne lust wherein sinne reigneth, so that we are not loose at libertie to obey our father, there is no cause why we should alleage necessitie for our defence, the euil whereof is both within vs, and to be imputed vnto our selues.

The law bringeth men by shipwrack to the haues.

3 When we haue thus farre profited by the teaching of the lawe, then must wee by the teaching of the same lawe also descende vnto our selues: whereby at length we may carrie away two things. The first is, by comparing the righteoufnesse of the law with our life, to learne, that we are farre off from being able to satisfie the will of God, and that therefore we are not worthie to haue place among his creatures, much lesse to be reckened among his children. The second is, in cōsidering our strength, to learne that it is not only sufficient to fulfil the law, but also vterly none at all. Hereupon followeth both a distrust of our owne strength, and a care and fearefulness of minde. For conscience cannot beare the burthen of iniquitie, but that by and by the iudgement of God is present before it: and the iudgement of God cannot be felt, but that it striketh into vs a dreadfull horrour of death. And likewise being constrained with prooues of her owne weaknesse, it cannot choose but by and by fall into dispaire of her owne strength. Both these afflictions do ingender humilitie and abatement of courage. So at length it commeth to passe, that man made a fraide with feeling of eternall death, which he seeth to hang ouer him by the deseruing of his owne righteoufnesse, turneth himselfe to the onely mercie of God, as to the onely haue of saluation: that feeling that it is not in his power to pay that he oweth vnto the law, despairing in himselfe, he may take breath againe and begin to craue and looke for helpe from elsewhere.

The use of the promises and threatenings of the law.

4 But the Lord not contented to haue procured a reuerence of his righteoufnesse hath also added promises and threatenings to fill our hearts with loue of him, and with hatred of wickednesse. For, because our minde is too blinde, to be moued with the onely beautie of goodnesse, it pleased the most mercifull Father of his tender kindnesse, to allure vs with sweetnesse of rewardes to loue and long for him. He pronounceth therefore, that with him are rewardes laid vp for vertue, and that he shall not spend his labour in vaine, whoeuer he be, that shall obey his commandements. He proclaimeth on the other side, that he not only abhorreth vnrighteoufnes, but also that it shall not escape unpunished, for that he will be a reuenger of the contempt of his maicstie. And to exhort vs by all meanes, he promiseth as well the blessings of this present life as also eternall blessednes to their obedience that keepe his commandements: and to the transgressors thereof, he threatneth both present miseries and the punishment of eternall death. For the same promise, (he that doth these things shall liue in them:) and also the threatening that answereth it, (the soule that sinneth, that same shall die) do without doubt belong to the immortalitie or death that is come, and shall neuer be ended. Albeit, wherefoeuer is mentioned the good will or wrath of God, vnder the one is contained the eternitie of life, vnder the other eternall destruction. Of present blessings and curses there is a longer register rehearsed in the law. And in the penall ordinances appeereth the fouraigine cleannesse of God, that can suffer no iniquitie: but in his promises, besides his great

Leu. 18. 5.
Eze. 18. 4. & 20.

Leu. 26. 4.
Deu. 28. 1.

loue

loue of righteousnes, (which he cannot finde in his hart to defraude of her ward) there is also prooued by his marvellous bountifullnes. For whereas we and all ours are indebted vnto his Maiestie, by good right whatsoeuer he requireth of vs, he demandeth it as due debt, but the payment of debt is not woorthie of reward. Therefore he departeth with his own right, when he offereth reward to our obediences, which we do not yeeld of our selues as things that were not due: but what those promises doe bring vnto vs, is partly said already, and partly shall appeere more plainly in place fit for it. It sufficeth for this present, if we remember and consider, that there is in the promises of the law, no small commendations of righteousnes, that it may the more certainly appeere how much the keeping thereof pleaseth God: that the penall ordinances are let for the more detestation of vnrighteousnesse, least the sinner delited with the sweete flattering of vices, should forget that the iudgement of the lawmaker is prepared for him.

5 Now whereas the Lord giuing a rule of perfect righteousnes, hath applied all the parts thereof to his owne will, therein is declared that nothing is to him more acceptable than obedience, which is so much more diligently to be marked, as the wantonnes of mans minde is more readie to deuise now and then diuers sorts of worshipping to winne his fauour withall. For in all ages that irreligious affectation of religion, because it is naturally planted in the wit of man, hath hewed and yet doth shew forth it selfe, that men do alway delite to inuent a way to obtaine righteousness beside the word of God, whereby it cometh to passe that the commandements of the lawe haue but small place among the works that are commonly called good workes, while that innumerable rout of mens workes occupieth almost all the roome. But what other thing meant *Moses* than to restraine such licentiousnesse, when after the publishing of the lawe he spake thus to the people: Giue heede, and heare all the things that I command thee, that it may be well to thee and to thy children after thee for euer, when thou shalt doe that which is good and pleasant before thy God. What I command thee, that onely do: adde not vnto it, nor diminish it. And before, when he had protested, that this was his wisdom and vnderstanding before other nations, that he had receiued iudgements, righteousnes, and ceremonies of the Lord, he said further, Keepe therefore thy selfe and thy soule carefully, that thou forget not the words which thine eyes haue seene, and that at no time they fall out of thy hart. For, because God did foresee, that the *Israelites* would not rest, but that after they had receiued the lawe, they would beside it trauell in bringing forth new righteousnes, if they were not seuerely holden backe: therefore he pronounceth that herein is contained the perfection of righteousness, which should haue been the strongest stae to holde them backe, and yet they did not cease from that boldnesse so much forbidden them. But what of vs we are surely comprehended within the same charge: for it is no doubt that that continueth still whereby the Lord hath chalenged to his lawe the absolute doctrine of righteousness, yet we not contented therewith, do monstrously trauaile with forging and coining of newe good workes one vpon another. For the healing of this fault, the best remedie shall be, if this thought shall be stedfastly settled in vs, that the law is giuen vs from God to teach vs a perfect righteousness: that therein is taught no righteousness, but the same that is examined, by the appointed rule of Gods will: that therefore new formes of works are vainly attempted to winne the fauour of God, whose true worship standeth in onely obedience: but rather that such studie of good workes as wandreth out of the law of God, is an intollerable defiling of Gods righteousness and of the true righteousness. *Augustine* also saith most truly, which calleth the obedience that is done to God, sometime the mother and keeper, sometime the originall of all vertues.

6 But when we haue expounded the law of the Lorde, then more fitly and with more profite shall that be confirmed which I haue before spoken of the office and

God by making his will and prescription the onely rule of our obedience, excludes all our own by inuentions of pleasing him as vnpleasant and unacceptable.

Deut. 12. 28.

Deut. 4. 9.

Lib. 4. de ciuit. Dei cap. 12. de bono coniugali cont. aduer. Legis & proph. 6.

The first rule for right vnderstanding of the law is

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*that it requireth
not onely outward
but inward holiness:
which is
plaine to him that
noteth the difference
betweene
God and mortall
lawmakers.*

vse of the law. But before that I begin to discourse euery feuerall commandment by it selfe, it shall be good now to giue such lessons as serue to the vniuersall knowledge thereof. First let vs hold for determined, that the life of man is instructed in the lawe not onely to outward honestie, but also to inward and spirituall righteousness. Which thing whereas no man can denie, yet there be few that rightly marke it. That cometh to passe, because they looke not vpon the lawmaker, by whose nature the nature of the law also ought to be weied. If any king doe by proclamation forbid to commit fornication, to kill, or to steale: in this case I grant that if a man doe onely conceiue in his minde a lust to commit fornication, to sinne, or to steale, and do not commit any of these things in deede, hee is out of the compasse of this prohibition. And the reason is, for that because the foresight of a mortall lawmaker, could not extend but to outward ciuilitie: his commandments are not broken, but when the outward offences are committed. But God (whose eie nothing escapeth, and which regardeth not so much the outward shew as the cleannes of the hart) vnder the forbidding of fornication, manslaughter and theft, forbiddeth lust, wrath, hatred, coueting of another mans, guile, and whatsoever is like to these. For inso much as he is a spiritual lawmaker, he speaketh no lesse to the soule than to the body. But the manslaughter of the soule, are wrath and hatred: the theefe of the soule, is euill desire and couetousnes: the fornication of the soule, is lust. But mans lawes also (will some man say) haue regard to intents and wils, and not to successes of fortune. I grant, but yet they are such intents and wils, as haue outwardly broken out. They wey with what intent euery outward act hath bene done, but they search not the secret thoughts. Therefore they are satisfied when a man onely withholdeth his hands fro offending. On the other side, because the heauenly law is made for our minds, therefore the restraint of mindes is principally needfull to the keeping thereof. But the common sort of men, euen when they mightily dissemble their contempt of the law, do frame their eies, their feete, their hands, and all the parts of their bodies to some obseruation of the lawe, in the meane time they hold their hart most farre off from all obedience, & thinke themselues well discharged, if they keepe close from men that which they doe in the sight of God. They heare it said: Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not commit adulterie: Thou shalt not steale: they draw not out their sword to kill: they ioyne not their bodies with harlots: they lay not their hands vpon other mens goods. All this is well hitherto. But in their whole harts they breath out murthers, they boyle in lust, they cast their eies aside at all mens goods, and deuour them with coueting. Nowe wanteth that which was the chiefe point of the lawe. Whence, I pray you, cometh so grosse dullnesse, but that leauing the lawmaker, they rather measure righteousness by their owne wit? Against these doth *Paul* mightily crie out, affirming that the law is spirituall, whereby he meaneth, that it not onely demandeth an obedience of the soule, minde and will, but also requireth an Angeliike purenesse, which hauing all the filthinesse of the flesh cleane wiped away, may sauour nothing but of the spirit.

Rom. 7. 14.

*This Christ sheweth
by expounding
the law, not by teaching
a newe and
another lawe per-
fecter and better
as some perniciously
imagine.
Mat. 5. 21.*

7 When we say that this is the meaning of the lawe, we thrust not in a new exposition of our owne, but we follow Christ the best expofitor of the lawe. For when the Pharisees had infected the people with a false opinion, that he performeth the law that hath with outward worke committed nothing against the lawe, hee reproveth this most perilous error, and pronounced that vnchaste looking at a woman is fornication: hee protested that they are manslaughterers that hate their brother, for hee maketh them guiltie of iudgement that haue but conceiued wrath in their minde, and them guiltie of the council that in murmuring or grudging haue vttered any token of a displeas'd minde: and them guiltie of hell fire, that with taunts and railing breake forth into open anger. They that haue not espied these things, haue fained Christ to be another *Moses*, the giuer of the lawe of the Gospell which supplied the imperfection

fection of the lawe of *Moses*. Whereupon commeth that common principle of perfection of the lawe of the Gospell, which farre passeth the olde lawe, which is a most pernicious opinion. For hereafter, where we shall gather a summe of the commaundements, it shall appeere by *Moses* himselfe, how reprochfully they dishonour the lawe of God. Truly it sheweth that all the holinesse of the father's did not much differ from hypocrisie, and it leadeth vs away from that onely and perfect rule of righteousnesse. But it is very easie to confute that error: for that they thought that Christ did adde vnto the lawe, whereas he did but restore the lawe to her integritie, while he made it free, and cleansed it being obscured with lies, and defiled with lea-
 uen of the Pharisees.

8 Let this be our second note, that there is alway more contained in the commaundements and prohibitions, than is by wordes expressed, which yet is so to bee tempered, that it be not like a *Lesbian* rule, whereby licentiously wresting the Scriptures, wee may make of euery thing what wee list. For many bring to passe by this vneasured libertie of running at large, that with some the authoritie of Scripture groweth in contempt, and other some despaire of vnderstanding it. Therefore if it be possible, we must take some such way, that may by right and perfect path leade vs to the will of God, we must I say search how farre our exposition may exceede the boundes of the wordes, that it may appeere that it is not an addition of mens glosses knit to the worde of God, but rather that the pure and naturall meaning of the lawegiuer is faithfully rendred. Truly in a manner in all the commaundements it is so manifest, that there are figuratiue speeches, meaning more in expressing part that he may woorthily be laughed at that will restraine the meaning of the lawe to the narrownesse of the wordes. It is euident therefore, that sober exposition doeth passe beyond the wordes: but howe farre, that remaineth harde to iudge, vnlesse there be some measure appointed: wherefore I thinke this to bee the best measure, that if it be directed to the intent of the commaundement, that is, that in euery commaundement be weied, why it was given vs. As for example: Euerie commaundement is either by way of bidding, or of forbidding: the truth of both sortes shall forthwith be founde, if we consider the intent or the ende thereof. As the ende of the fifth commaundement is, that honour is to bee giuen to them to whome God appointeth it. This therefore is the summe of the commaundement, that it is right and pleaseth God, that wee honour them to whome hee hath giuen any excellencie, and that hee abhorreth contempt and stubbornesse against them. The intent of the first commaundement is, that God alone be honoured. The summe therefore of the commaundement shall be, that true godlinesse, that is to say, true worship of his maiestie pleaseth God, and that hee abhorreth vngodlinesse. So in euery commaundement we must looke vpon what matter it treateth: then must we search our the ende, till we finde what the lawemaker doth testifie therein properly to please or displease him: and last of all must wee drawe an argument from the same to the contrarie, after this manner: If this pleaseth God, then the contrarie displeaseth him: if this displease him, then the contrarie pleaseth him: if he command this, then he forbiddeth the contrarie: if he forbid this, then he commaundeth the contrarie.

9 That which is now somewhat darkly touched, shall in expounding of the commaundements become very plaine by practise, wherefore it sufficeth to haue touched it, sauing that this last point, is to be shortly confirmed with some prooffe thereof, because otherwise either it should not bee vnderstanded, or being vnderstand, it might perhaps at the beginning seeme to sound like an absurditie. This needeth no prooffe, that when a good thing is commaunded, the euill is forbidden: that is contrarie to it: for there is no man but he will graunt it me. And common judgement will not much sticke to admit, that when euill things are forbidden, the contrarie duties

The second rule to vnderstande the law by, is that in euery commaundement, more is meant than the naked words doe literally import, and how much more the scope of each commaundement compared with the matter thereof together with the contrarie will shew.

That the forbidding of euill in the lawe, implieth a commaundment of the contrarie duties which are good.

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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 speech doe signifie commonly among the people. For they for the most part take the vertue contrarie to any vice, to be the abstaining from the same vice: we say that it proceedeth farther, that is to contrarie duties and doings. Therefore in this commaundement, Thou shalt not kill, the common sense of men will consider nothing else, but that we must abstaine from all hurt doing, or lust to doe hurt. I say that there is further contained, that we should by all the helps that we may, succour the life of our neighbour. And, least I speake without a reason, I prooue it thus: God forbidde that our brother be hurt or misused, because he willeth that our neighbours life be deere and precious vnto vs: hee doth therefore require withall those duties of loue that may be done by vs for the preferuation of it. And so may we see how the end of the commaundement doth alway disclose vnto vs all that we are therein commaunded or forbidden to doe.

The cause why God hath forbidden the very secret motion vnto sinne by the name of the grosse and actualle deede, is that the foulesse of such terms might make vs the better to vnderstand the vglinesse of those fautes, which being exprest by more proper and soft names, we would make lesse account of.

10 But why God, in such as it were halfe commaundements, hath by figures rather secretly signified, than exprest what his will was, whereas there are woont to be many reasons rendred thereof, this one reason pleaseth me about the rest. Because the flesh alway endeouoreth to extenuate the filthinesse of sinne, and to colour it with faire prentenses, sauing where it is euen palpable for grossenesse, he hath set foorth for an example in every kinde of offence that which was most wicked and abhominable, at the hearing whereof our very senses might be moued with horror, thereby to imprint in our mindes a more hainous detesting of euerie sort of sinne. This many times deceiueth vs in weying of vices, that if they be any thing secrete, we make them seeme small. These deceites the Lord doth disclose, when hee accustomed vs to referre all the whole multitude of vices to these principall heads, which doe best of all shew, how much euery kinde is abhominable. As for example, wrath and hatred are not thought so hainous euils, when they are called by their owne names, but when they are forbidden vs vnder the name of manslaughter, wee better vnderstand 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, doe accustom our selues better to weigh the hainousnesse of those fautes that before seemed but light vnto vs.

The reason of diuiding the law into two partes or tables, whereof the former containeth the dutie which we owe properly vnto God, is for that his worship is the fountains, head and foundation without which there can no good or acceptable dutie passe from man to man.

11 Thirdly is to be considered, what meaneth the diuiding of the lawe of God into two tables, whereof all wise men will iudge that there is sometime mention made not vnfitly from the purpose, nor without cause. And we haue a cause readie, that doth not suffer vs to remaine in doubt of this matter. For God so deued his law into two partes, in which is contained the whole righteousnesse, that he hath assigned the first to the duties of religion that doe peculiarly pertaine to the worshipping of his Godhead, the other to the duties of Charitie which belong vnto men. The first foundation of righteousness is the worship of God: which being once ouerthrown, all the other members of righteousness are torne in sunder and dissolved, like to the partes of an house vnoynted and fallen downe. For what maner of righteousness wilt thou call it, that thou vexest not men with robbetrie and extorsions, if in the meane time by wicked sacrilege thou spoilest Gods maiestie of his glorie? that thou defilest not thy bodie with fornication, if with thy blasphemies thou prophanely abuse the sacred name of God? that thou murderest no man, if thou traucell to destroy and extinguish the memorie of God. Wherefore righteousness is vainely boasted of without religion, and maketh no better shewe, than if a mangled bodie with the head cut off, should be brought foorth for a beautifull sight. And religion is not onely the principall part of righteousness, but also the very soule wherewith it breatheth, and is quickened. For men keepe not equite and loue among themselves without the feare of God. Therefore we say, that the worship of God is the begin-
ning

*igion y soule -
righteousnesse*

ning and foundation of righteousnesse, because when it is taken away, all the equitie continence and temperance that men vse among themselves, is vaine and trifling before God. We say also that it is the springhead and luely breath of righteousnesse, because hereby men do learne to liue among themselves temperately and without hurt doing one to another, if they reuerence God as the iudge of right and wrong. Wherefore in the first table he instructeth vs to godlinesse and the proper duties of religion, wherewith his maiestie is to be worshipped: in the other he prescribeth how 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 Euangelists rehearse it) did in a summe gather the whole lawe into two principall points, the one that we shoulde loue God with all our hart, with all our soule, with all our strength: the other, that we loue our neighbour as our selues. Thus thou seest how of the two parts wherein he concludeth the whole lawe, he directeth the one towarde God, and appointeth the other toward men.

Math. 22. 27.
Luk. 10. 27.

12 But although the whole lawe be contained in two principall points, yet to the ende to take away all pretense of excuse, it pleased our God to declare in the ten commandments more largely and plainly all things that belong both to the honor, feare and loue of himselfe, and also to that charitie which hee commaundeth vs to beare to men for his sake. And thy studie is not ill spent to know the diuision of the commandments, so that thou remember that it is such a matter wherein euery man ought to haue his iudgement free, for which we ought not contentioully to strue with him that thinketh otherwise. But we must needs touch this point, least the Readers should either scorne or maruell at the diuision that we shall vse, as new and lately deuised. That the law is deuided in ten wordes, because it is oft approoued by the authoritie of God himselfe, it is out of controuersie, wherefore there is no doubt of the number, but of the manner of diuiding. They that so diuide them, that they giue three commandments to the first table, and put other seauen into the second, doe wipe out of the number the commaundment concerning images, or at least they hide it vnder the first: whereas without doubt it is feuerally set by the Lorde for a commandment, and the tenth commandment of not coueting the things of his neighbour, they do fondly teare into two. Beside that it shall by and by be done to vnderstande, that such manner of diuiding was vnknowne in the pure age. Other do reckon, as we do, foure feuerall commandments in the first table, but in place of the first they set the promise without the commaundment. As for me, because vnlesse I be conuincid by euident reason, I take the ten words in *Moses* for ten commandments, me thinkes I see so many diuided in very fit order. Therefore, leauing to them their opinion, I will follow that which I best allow, that is, that the same which these later fort make the first commandment, shall be in steede of a preface to the whole law, and then shall follow the commandments, fower of the first table, and sixe of the second, in such order as they shall be rehearsed. *Augustine* also to *Bonsface* agreeth with vs, which in rehearsing them keepeth this order: that God onely 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 feuerally spoken of the shadowing commandment of the Sabbath. In another place in deede that first diuision pleaseth him, but for too slender a cause, that is, because in the number of three, if the first table consist of three commandments, the mysterie of the Trinitie more plainly appeareth. Albeit in the same place he sticketh not to confesse that otherwise hee rather liketh our diuision. Besides these, the authour of the Vnperfect worke vpon *Me-thew* is of our side. *Iosephus*, and doubtlesly according to the common consent of his time, assigneth to either table five commandments. Which is both against reason, because it confoundeth the distinction of religion and charitie, and also is confuted by the authoritie of the Lord himselfe, which in *Matthew* reckoneth the

That in the former table besides a general preface to the law, fower commandments are contained, in the later table sixe.

Lib. 1. quæst. 1.
ver. Text.

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Math. 19. 19.

commandement of honouring our parents, in the number of the second table. Now let vs heare God himselfe speaking in his owne wordes.

The first Commandement.

I am the Lord thy God, which hath brought thee out of the lande of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt haue no strange Gods before my face.

To keepe the lawe from growing into contempt the law-maker in the preface therunto useth three meanes: the first is a declaration of his greatness which to shewe he vermeth himselfe the Lord.

13 Whether you make the first sentence a part of the first commandement, or read it seuerally, it is indifferent vnto me, so that you do not deny me that it standeth instead of a preface to the whole lawe. First in making of lawes is heed to be taken, that they be not shortly after abrogate by contempt. Therefore God first of all prouideth, that the maiestie of the law that he shall make, may neuer at any time come in contempt. For stablishing whereof he vseth three manner of arguments. First he cha- lengeth to himselfe power and right of dominion, whereby hee may constraene his chosen people, that they must of necessitie obey him: then he setteth foorth a promise of grace with sweetenesse thereof to allure them to studie of holines. Thirdly he reciteth the benefite that he did for them, to reprove the Jewes of vnthankfulness, if they do not with obedience answer his kindnes. Vnder the name of Iehouah, the Lord, is meant his authoritie and lawfull dominion. And if all things be of him, and do abide in him, it is right that all things be referred to him, as Paul saith. Therefore we are with this word alone sufficiently brought vnder the yoke of gods maiesty, because it were monstrous for vs to seeke to withdrawe our selues from vnder his government, out of whom we cannot be.

Rom. 11. 36.

The second, a manifestation of his loue towards them vnto whom he gaue the law, signifying in gracious words that he had beaken himselfe to be wholly theirs. Ier. 31. 33. Math. 22. 32.

14 After that he hath shewed that it is he that hath power to command, to whom obedience is due, least he should seeme to drawe by onely necessitie, he also allureth with sweetnes in pronouncing, that he is the God of the Church. For there is hidden in this speech a mutuall relation, which is contained in the promise: I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. Whereupon Christ prooueth that Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob haue immortall life, by this that God testified that he is their God. Wherefore it is as much in effect, as if he should say thus: I haue chosen you to be my people, not onely to do you good in this present life, but also to giue you the blessednes of the life to come. But to what end this tendeth, it is noted in diuers places in the law. For when the Lord doth vouchsafe to deale thus mercifully with vs, to cal vs into the compaignie of his people, he choiceth vs (saith Moses) that we should be a peculiar people vnto himselfe, a holy people, and should keepe his commandements. From whence also commeth this exhortation: Be yee holy, for I am holy. Now out of these two is deriued that protestation that is in the prophet: The sonne honoureth the father, and the seruant honoureth his Lord. If I be a Lord, where is my feare? If I be a father, where is my loue?

Deu. 7. 6. & 14. 2. & 26. 18. Leuit. 19. 2. Mal. 1. 6.

The third, a rehearsal of such a benefite as could not but be vnto them that receiued it, an euerlasting bond of durifull obedience.

15 Now followeth the rehearsal of his benefite, which ought to be of so much more force to moue vs, as the fault of vnthankfulness is more detestable euen among men. He then did put Israel in remembrance of a benefite lately done, but such a one as for the miraculous greatnesse thereof being worthe to be had in remembrance for euer, should remaine in force with their posteritie. Moreover it is most agreeable for this present matter. For the Lord seemeth to say that they were deliuered out of miserable bondage for this purpose, that they should with obedience and readines of seruice honour him, the author of their deliuerance. Hee vseth also, (to the end to holde vs fast in the true worshipping of him alone) to set out himselfe with certaine titles, whereby he maketh his sacred maiestie to be differently knownen from al idoles and forged gods. For, as I saide before, such is our readie inclination to vanitie, ioyned with rash boldnes, that so soone as God is named, our mind cannot take heed

to it selfe, but that it by and by falleth away to some vaine inuention. Therefore, when the Lord meaneth to bring a remedie for this mischeefe, he setteth out his owne godhead with certaine titles and so doth compasse vs in, as it were within certaine grates, lest we shoulde wander hither and thither and rashly forge our selues some new God, if forsaking the liuing God, we should erect an idol. For this cause so oft as the Prophets meane properly to point out him, they clothe him, and as it were inclose him, within those markes, whereby he had opened himselfe to the people of *Israel*. And yet when he is called the God of *Abraham*, or the God of *Israel*, when he is set in the temple of *Hierusalem* among the Cherubins, these and like formes of speech doe not binde him to one place or to one people, but are set onely for this purpose, to stay the thoughtes of the godly in that God, which by his couenant, that he hath made with *Israel*, hath so represented himselfe, that it is no way lawfull to varie from such a paterne. But let this remaine stedfastly imprinted, that there is mention made of the deliuerance to this end, that the *Iewes* might the more cheerefully giue themselves to the God that doth by right claime them vnto him. And we (least we should thinke that the same nothing belongeth to vs;) ought to consider, that the bondage of *Aegypt* is a figure of the spirituall captiuitie, wherein we are all holden bounde, vntill our heavenly deliuerer doe make vs free by the power of his arme, and conuey vs into the kingdome of libertie. As therefore 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 all those to whom at this day he professeth himselfe a God, he doth now deliuer from the deadly power of the diuell, which was in a shadow signified by that corporal bondage. Wherefore there is no man, but his minde ought to be inflamed to haiken to the lawe which he heareth to haue proceeded from the soueraigne king. From whome as all things take their beginning, so is it meete that they haue also their ende appointed and directed to him. There is no man (I say) but hee ought to be rauished to embrace the lawemaker, to the keeping of whose commaundements, he is taught that he is peculiarly chosen: from whose bountie he looketh both for flowing store of all good things, and also the glorie of immortal life: by whose marvellous power and mercie, he knoweth himselfe to be deliuered out of the iawes of death.

16 After that he hath grounded and established the authoritie of his lawe, he setteth forth the first commaundement, *That we haue no strange Gods before him.* The end of this commaundement is, that God will onely haue preeminence, and wholly enjoy his owne authoritie among his people. And that it may so be, he commaundeth that there be farre from vs all vngodlinesse and superstition, whereby the glorie of his godhead is either diminished or obscured: and by the same reason he commaundeth, that we worship and honor him with true endeavour of godlinesse. And the very simplicitie of the wordes themselves doe in a manner expresse the same. For we cannot haue God, but we must also comprehend therein all things that properly belong to him. Whereas therefore he forbiddeth vs to haue other Gods, he meaneth thereby, that we should not giue away elsewhere that which is proper to him. For although the things that we owe vnto God bee innumerable, yet not vnto they may be brought vnto foure principall points: Adoration, wherunto as a thing hanging vpon it, is adioined spirituall obedience of conscience: Assistance, Inuocation and Thanksgiving. Adoration I call the reuerence and worship which euery one of vs yeideth vnto him, when he submitteth himselfe vnto his greatnesse: wherefore I doe not without cause make this a part thereof, that we yeild our confidences in subiection to his lawe. Assistance is an assurednesse of resting in him by acknowledging of his powers, when reposing all wisdom, righteousnesse, power, iustice and goodnesse in him, we thinke our selues blessed with only partaking of him. Inuocation, is a reuoluing of our minde

Exod. 3.6.
Amos. 1.2.
Habac. 2.28.
Psa. 80.2 99.1.
Esay. 37.16.

The first commaundement wherewith we establish by sole preeminence ouer vs people, be requerech that wher we due to be giuen him, and by none, as adoration, assistance, inuocation, and thanksgiving: which if we doe not yeild vnto him or doe vnto others with him, either in whole or in part, he hath a reuenging ric to be hold it, be it neuer so small or secret.

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minde to his faith and helpe as to our onely succour, so oft as any necessitie presseth vs. Thankesgiuing is a certaine thankfulnessse whereby the praise of all good things is giuen vnto him. Of these, as God suffereth nothing to be conueyed away elsewhere, so he commaunded all to be wholly giuen to himselfe. Neither shall it bee ynough to abstaine from hauing any strange God, vnlesse thou restraine thy selfe in this, that many wicked contemners are woont, which thinke the readiest way, to to scorne all religions: but true religion must goe before, whereby our mindes may be directed to the liuing God, with knowledge whereof they being endued may aspire to reuerence, feare and worship his maiestie, to embrace the communicating of all his good things, euery where, to seeke for his helpe, to reknowledge and aduance with confession of praise the magnificence of his workes, as to the onely marke in all the doings of our life. Then, that we beware of peruerse superstition, whereby our mindes swaruing from the true God, are drawn hither and thither as it were vnto diuers gods. Wherefore, if we be contented with one God, let vs call to remembrance that which is before saide, that all forged gods are to be driuen farre away, and that the worship is not to be torne in sunder, which hee alone claimech to himselfe. For it is not lawfull to take away any thing from his glorie, be it neuer so little, but that all things that belong to him may wholly remaine with him. The parcell of sentence that followeth (Before my face) increaseth the hairousnes: for that God is prouoked to ielousie, so oft as wee thrust our owne inuentions in his place, as if an vchaste woman by bringing in an adulterer openly before her husbands eies should the more vexe his minde. Therefore when God testified that with his present power and grace hee looked vpon the people that hee had chosen, the more to fray them from the wicked act of falling from him, he giueth them warning that there can be no new gods brought in, but that he is witness and beholder of their sacrilege. For this boldnesse is increased with much wickednes, that man thinketh that in his flyings away he can beguile the eies of God. On the other side, God crieth out that whatsoeuer wee purpose, whatsoeuer we goe about, whatsoeuer wee practise, it commeth in his sight. Let therefore our conscience be cleane euen from the most secrete thoughts of swaruing from him, if we will haue our religion to please the Lord. For he requireth to haue the glorie of his godhead whole and vncorrupted not onely in outwarde confession, but also in his eies, which doe behold the most secrete corners of hearts.

The second Commaundement.

Thou shalt not make to thee any graven image, nor any similitude of those things that are in heauen above or in earth beneath, or in the water vnder the earth. Thou shalt not worship them, nor serue them.

The end of the second commaundement being to keep the worship of God pure from prophanation, he forbiddeth first to make any image for representation of God, and secondly to worship any image made.

17 As in the first commaundement he pronounced that he is the one God beside whom there are no other gods to be deuised or had, so now he more openly declareth what manner of God he is, and with what kinde of worship he is to be honoured: that we may not presume to forge any carnall thing for him. The ende therefore of this commaundement is, that hee will not haue the lawfull worship of him, to bee prophaned with superstitious vsages. Wherefore in summe, he calleth and draweth vs away from the carnall obseruations, which our foolish minde is woont to inuent, when it conceiueth God according to her owne grossenesse. And therefore he frameth vs to the lawfull worship of him, that is the spirituall worship, and which is appointed by him. He speaketh of the grossest fault that is in this offence, namely outward idolatrie. And there be two parts of this commaundement. The first restraineth our libertie, that we do not presume to make subiect to our senses or by any form

to represent God, which is incomprehensible. The second part forbiddeth vs to honour any images for religions sake. Moreouer he shortly reciteth all the formes wherewith he was wont to be expressed in shape, by the prophane and superstitious nations. By those things that are in heauen, he meaneth the Sunne, the Moone, and other Starres, and peradventure also birdes, as expressing his meaning in the fourth of Deuteronomie he meaneth as well birds as stars. Which note I would not haue spoken of but that I sawe some vnskillfully to apply it to Angels. Therefore I omit the other parts, bicause they are sufficiently known of themselues. And we haue already in the first booke taught plainly enough, that whatsoever visible formes of God man doth inuent, they are directly contrarie to his nature; and that therefore so soone as images come forth, true religion is corrupted and defiled.

18 The penall ordinance that followeth ought not a little to auail to shake off our slouthfulness. For he threatneth: That he is the Lorde our God, a strong and ielous God, that visiteth the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third and fourth generation, in them that hate his name, and sheweth mercie vnto thousandes to them that loue him and keepe his commandements. This is as much in effect, as if he should haue said, that it is he onely vpon whom we ought to stick. And to bring vs therunto, he speaketh of his power, that doth not without punishment suffer it selfe to be contemned or diminished. Here is indeed set the name *El*, which signifieth God. But bicause it is denued of strength, to expresse the sense the better, I did not stick so to translate it, or to put it into the text. Then he calleth himselfe ielous that can abide no fellow. Thirdly, he affirmeth that he will be a reuenger of his maiestie and glory if any do transfer it to creatures or to grauen images, and that not with a thort or slender reuenge, but such as shall extend to the children and childrens children, and childrens childrens children, that is such as shall be followers of their fathers vngodlines: as also he sheweth a perpetuall mercie and bountifulnes vnto long continuance of posteritie, to those that loue him and keepe his law. It is a common maner with God to take vpon him the person of a husband toward vs. For the coniunction wherewith he bindeth himselfe vnto vs, when he receiueth vs into the bosome of his church, is like vnto a certaine holy wedlocke, that must stand by mutuall faithfulness. As he doth all the duties of a faithfull and true husband, so againe he requireth of vs such loue and chastitie as ought to be in wedlocke, that we yeeld not our soules to Satan, to lust, and to filthie desires of the flesh, to be defiled by them. Whereupon he that rebuketh the Apostasie of the Jewes, complaineth that they did throw away chastitie, and were defiled with adulteries. Therefore, as the husband the more holy and chaste that he himselfe is, the more is he kindled to anger if he see his wifes minde incline to a strange louer: so the Lord that hath wedded vs vnto himselfe in truth, testifieth that he hath a most feruently burning ielousie, so oft as neglecting the purenes of his holy marriage, we are defiled with wicked lustes, but specially then when we transfer to any other, or do infect with any superstition the worship of his name, which ought to be most vncorrupted: Forasmuch as by this meane we do not onely breake the faith giuen in wedlocke, but also so defile the very wedding bed with bringing into it adulterers.

19 In the threatning is to be seene what he meaneth by this, when he saith, that he will visite the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third and fourth generation. For, beside that it standeth not with the equitie of Gods iustice, to punish the innocent for an others offence, God himselfe also saith, that he will not make the sonne to beare the wickednesse of the Father. But this sentence is more than once repeated, of prolonging the punishment of the sinnes of the ancestors vpon the generation to come. For so doth *Moses* oftentimes speake vnto him: Lord, Lord, that renderest the iniquitie of the fathers to the children, vnto the third and fourth generation. Likewise *Hieremie*: Thou that shewest mercie in thousandes, that

Deut. 4. 15.

The penalie annexed to the second commandment, which the better to imprint, God mentioneth his strength, his ielousie, his wnt in showing both vengeance and mercie, not sleightly but with long continuance as well of the one as the other: and the reason why God of himselfe as in the person of an husband.

Iere 3.
Osee. 2.

That by the punishment which God doth threaten to the children of the disobedient for their fathers fault, that spirituell curse is meant whereby as the father being destitute of the spirit liueth wickedly, so the same likewise for sake of God, followeth the same way to destruction.
Ezc. 18. 20.
Num. 14. 8.
Ier. 32. 18.

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renderest the iniquitie of the fathers into the bosome of the children after them. Manie, while they trauell much in loosing this knot, thinke that it is to be vnderstanded onely of temporall punishments, which if the children suffer for the parents faults, it is no absurditie, for as-much as they are oftentimes laide vpon them for their saluation, which is in deede true. For *Esay* declared to *Ezechias*, that his sonnes should be spoiled of the kingdome, and carried into exile for the sinne that he had committed. The houses of *Pharao* and *Abimelech* were plagued for offending *Abraham*. But when that is alleaged for assoyling of this question, it is rather a thrust than a true exposition. For here and in like places he threateth a more gretuous reuenge than it may be limitted within the boundes of this present life. It is therefore thus to be taken: that the iust curse of the Lord, lieth not onely vpon the head of the wicked man himselfe, but also vpon his whole familie: when the curse once lieth vpon them, what is else to be looked for, but that the father being destitute of the spirit of God, liue most wickedly, and the sonne likewise forsaken of the Lord for the fathers fault, do follow the same way of destruction: and finally the childes child, and the child of the childes child, the cursed seed of detestable men do fall headlong after them?

Esay. 39. 7.
Gen. 12. 17. &
20. 3.

*That for God so
to plague men in
their posteritie, is
neither vn iust
nor repugnant
vnto that which
the Prophet hath
where he teacheth
how childrens
teeth are not set
on edge by the
sower grapes
which their fa-
thers haue eaten.
Eze. 18. 20.*

20 First let vs see, whether such reuenge be vnseemely for the iustice of God. If all the nature of man be damnable, we know that destruction is prepared for them, to whom the Lord vouchsafeth not to communicate his grace. Neuerthelste they do perish by their owne vnrighthouse, and not by vnrighteous hatred of God. Neither is there left any cause to quarrell. Why they be not holpen by the grace of God to saluation as other are. Whereas therefore this punishment is laide vpon wicked men and cuill doers for their offences, that their houses are deprived of the grace of God during manie generations: who can accuse God for this most iust reuenge? But the Lord on the other side pronounceth, that the punishment of the fathers sinne shall not passe ouer vnto the son. Note what is there intreated of. When the *Israe- lites* had bene long and continually vexed with manie calamities, they began to vse for a Prouerb, that their fathers had eaten a sower grape, wherewith the childrens teeth were set on edge: whereby they meant that their fathers had committed sinnes, whereof they, being other wise righteous, and not deseruing it, did suffer the punishment, rather by the vnappeasable wrathfulnesse of God, than by a moderate seueritie. The Prophet pronounceth vnto them that it is not so: because they are punished for their own offences, and that it standeth not with the iustice of God, that the righteous sonne should suffer punishment for the naughtinesse of the wicked father. Which thing also is not contained in this present ordinance. For if the visiting, whereof mention is now made, be fulfilled when the Lord taketh away from the house of the wicked his grace, the light of his truth and other helpes of saluation: in this that the children being blinded and forsaken of him, do goe on in the steps of their fathers, they sustaine curses for their fathers offences. But inasmuch as they are put to temporall miseries, and at last to eternall destruction, herein they are punished by the iust iudgement of god, not for the sins of other, but for their own iniquitie.

*The promise of
mercie towards
them and theirs
that feare God,
breedeth comfort,
is not contraried
by their issues,
swearing some-
times out of kind,
and re setteth out
the largeness of
his mercie to ex-
ceede the rigour of
his iustice.
Gen. 17. 7.
Pro. 20. 7.*

21 On the other side is offered a promise of enlarging the mercie of God into a thousand generations, which promise is also often found in the scriptures, and is set in the solemne covenant of the Church: I will be thy God, and of thy seede after thee. Which thing *Salomon* hauing respect vnto, writeth that the children of the righteous shall be blessed after their death, not onely by reason of holy bringing vp, which also not a little auaieth therunto, but also for that blessing promised in the covenant, that the grace of God shall rest eternally in the houses of the godly. Hereupon groweth great comfort to the faithfull, great terror to the wicked. For if euen after death, the remembrance both of righteousness and wickednes be of so great force with God, that the cursing of the one, and the blessing of the other redoundeth

vnto

vnto posteritie, much more shall it light and rest vpon the heades of the dooers themselves. But it maketh nothing against vs, that the issue of the wicked many times commeth to good prooffe, and the issue of the faithfull swarueeth out of kinde: because the Lawmaker meant not here to stablish such a perpetuall rule as should derogate his free election. For it sufficeth for the comfort of the righteous and for the terror of the sinner, that the penaltie is not vaine or of no effect, although it doe not alway take place. For as the temporall punishments that are laid vpon a few wicked men, are testimonies of the wrath of God against sinnes, and of the iudgement that shall one day be giuen vpon all sinners, although many escape vnpunished euen to the end of their life: so when God giueth one example of this blessing to shew mercie and bountifullnesse to the sonne for the fathers sake, he giueth a prooffe of his constant and perpetuall fauour to them that worship him: and when he once pursueth the wickednes of the father in the sonne, he sheweth what iudgement is prepared for all the reprobate for their owne offences. Which assurednesse he had in this place principally respect vnto, And by the way hce commendeth vnto vs the largenesse of his mercie, which he extendeth vnto a thousand generations, whereas he assigned but onely foure generations to vengeance.

The third Commandement.

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

22 The ende of this commandement is, that his will is to haue the maiestie of his name to be holy among vs. Therefore the summe shall be that we doe not defile it with contemptuously and irreuerently vsing it. With which prohibition the commandement hangeth orderly together, that we take study and care godhly to reuerence it. Therefore we ought so to order our selues both in our mindes and in our toooges, that we neither thinke nor speake any thing of God himselfe or his misteries, but reuerently and with much sobriety: that in weying his workes, we conceiue nothing but honorable toward him. These three things I say, it behooueth vs not negligently to marke, that whatsoeuer our minde conceiueth of him, whatsoever our tooog vtereth, it may fauour of his excellencie, and may agree with the holy highnesse of his name: and finally may serue to aduance his magnificence. That we doe not rashly or disorderly abuse his holy worde and reuerend misteries either to ambition, or to couetousnesse, or to our owne triflings: but that as they beare the dignitie of his name imprinted in them, so they may keepe their honor and estimation among vs. Last of all, that we doe not carpe against or speake euill of his workes, as these wretched men are wont to babble reprochfully against them: but that what soeuer we rehearse done by him, we report it with words of praise of his wisdom, righteoufnesse and goodnesse. That is to sanctifie the name of God. Where otherwise is done, it is defiled with vaine and peruerse abuse, because it is violently carried from the right vse wherunto onely it was appointed: and though there be no other hurt done, yet it is spoyled of his dignitie, and by little and little brought to contempt. Now, if there be so much euill in this rash readinesse to vse the name of God out of season, much more mischief is in this, if it be employed to euill vses, as they doe that make it to serue the superstitions of Necromancie, cruell execrations, vnlawfull coniurations, and other wicked enchantments. But swearing is chiefly mentioned in the commandement, as the thing wherein the peruerse abuse of Gods name is most detestable, that thereby we may be the better altogether frayed away from all defiling thereof. But that here is commandement giuen of the worship of God, and of the reuerence of his name, and not of the truth and equitie that is to be kept among men, appeareth by that that he after-

The ende of the third commandement is the holy estimation of Gods name which excludeth all conceits and speeches concerning him which are not according to his highnes: all irreuerend ment. oning of his word, all carping at his workes: and if all rash, much more all impious abusing thereof.

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warde in the second table condemneth periurie and false witnessse, whereby hurt is done to the fellowship of men: but it were in vaine to repeat it againe, if this commandement intreated of the ductie of charitie. And also the diuision of the Law it selfe requireth it, because as it is said, God did not in vaine appoint two tables for his Law, whereby is gathered that in this commandement he chalengeth his own right to himselfe, and defendeth the holiness of his name, and teacheth not what men owe to men.

The honor which
God requireth to
be giuen to his
name in othes.

Esay 19.18.

Esay 65.16.

Ier. 12.16.

23 First is to be learned what is an oth. It is a taking of God to witnessse, to confirme the truth of that which we speake. For those cursed speeches that containe manifest reproches against God, are vnworthie to be reckened among othes. That such taking to witnessse, when it is rightly done, is a kinde of worshipping of God, is shewed in diuerse places of the Scripture. As when *Esay* prophesieth of the calling of the *Assyrians* and *Aegyptians* into fellowship of the covenant with *Israel*, They shall speake (saith he) in the toong of *Canaan*, and shall sweare in the name of the Lord. That is to say, in swearing by the name of the Lord; they shall yeelde a confession of his religion. Againe, when he speaketh of the enlargement of his kingdom, he saith: Whosocuer shall blesse himselfe, shall blesse in the God of the faithfull: and he that shall sweare in the land shall sweare in the true God. *Ieremie* saith, if they shall teach the people to sweare in my name as they haue taught them to sweare by *Baal*, they shall be builded vp in the middes of my house. And for good cause it is said, that when we call vpon the name of the Lord to witnessse, wee doe witnessse our religion toward him. For so we confesse that he is the eternall and vnchangeable truth, whom we call vpon, not onely as a most substantiall witnessse of truth aboue all other, but also as the onely defence thereof, which is able to bring forth hidden things into light, and then as the knowcr of harts. For where testimonies of men doe faile, there we flee to God for witnessse specially where any thing is to be prooued that lyeth secret in conscience. For which cause the Lord is bitterly angrie with them that sweare by strange Gods, and he iudgeth that manner of swearing to be an argument of manifest falling from his allegiance: Thy sonnes haue forsaken me, and doe sweare by them that are no gods. And he declareth the hainousnesse of this offence by the threatening of punishment: I will destroy them that sweare by the name of the Lord, and sweare by *Melchidn*.

Iere. 5.7.
Soph. 1.5.

Periurie, a profanation of the
name of God,
Lcu. 19.12.

Iosue 7.9.

24 Now then we vnderstand that it is the Lords will that there be in our othes a worship of his name: so much the more diligent heede is to be taken, that in steede of worshipping they doe not containe dishonour, contempt or abacement of it. For it is no small dishonour, when periurie is committed in swearing by him, whereof it is called in the law, Profanation. For what is left to the Lord when he is spoyled of his truth? he shall then cease to be God. But truly he is spoyled thereof, when he is made an affirmer and approouer of falshood. Wherefore, when *Iosua* minded to drue *Achan* to confesse the truth, he said: My Sonne, giue glory to the Lord of *Israel*, meaning thereby, that the Lorde is grieuously dishonored if a man sweare falsely by him. And no maruell. For we doe as much as in vs lyeth, in a manner to staine his holy name with a lie. And that this manner of speech was vsed among the Iewes so oft as any was called to take an othe, appeareth by the like protestation, that the Pharisies vse in the Gospell of *Iohn*. To this heedfulnessse the formes of othes that are vsed in the Scriptures doe instruct vs: The Lord lueth, The Lord doe these things vnto me, and adde these things, The Lord be witnessse vpon my soule. Which doe prooue, that we cannot call God for witnessse of our sayings, but that we also with him to take vengeance of our periurie, if we speake decentfully.

Iohn 9.24.
1.S. ni. 1.4.
2.Reg. 6.31.
2.Cor. 1.23.

The name of God
abused when vsed
as a witness though

25 The name of the Lord is made vile and common, when it is vsed in superfluous othes, although they be true. For in such case it is also takē in vaine. Wherefore it shall not be sufficient to abstaine from swearing falsely, vnklesse we doe also remember, that
swearing

swearing was suffered and ordained not for lust or pleasure, but for necessities sake: and therefore they goe beyond the lawfull vse thereof, that apply it to things not necessary. And there can no other necessitie be pretended, but where it is to serue either religion or charitie, wherein at this day men doe too much licentiously offende, and so much the more intolierably, for that by very custome it hath ceased to be reckoned for any offence at all, which yet before the iudgement seate of God is not slenderly weyed. For euery where without regarde, the name of God is defiled in trifling talkes, and it is not thought that they doe cull, because by long suffered and vnpunished boldnesse, they are come to rest as it were in possession of so great wickednes. But the commandement of the Lorde remaineth in force, the penaltie abideth in strength, and shall one day haue his effect, whereby there is a certaine speciall reuenge proclaimed against them that vse his name in vaine. This commandement is also transgressed in another point, that in our othes we put the holy seruants of God in the place of God, with manifest yngodlinesse, for so we transerre the glorie of his Godhead to them. Neither is it without cause that the Lord hath giuen a speciall commandement to sweare by his name, and by speciall prohibition forbidden, that we should not be heard sweare by any strange gods. And the Apostle euidently testifieth the same, when he writeth, that men in swearing doe call vpon a higher than themselues, and that God which had none greater than his owne glory to sweare by, did sweare by himselfe.

26 The Anabaptistes not contented with this moderation of swearing, doe detest all othes without exception, because the prohibition of Christ is generall: I say vnto ye, sweare not at all, but let your talke be yea yea, and nay nay, whatsoever is more than this, is of euill. Bur by this meane, they doe without consideration stumble against Christ: while they make him aduersarie to his Father, and as if hee had come downe from heauen to repeale his Fathers decrees. For the eternall God doth not onely in the Law permit swearing as a thing lawfull, which were enough: but also in necessitie doth command it. But Christ affirmeth that he is all one with his Father: that he bringeth no other thing, but that which his Father commanded him, that his doctrine is not of himselfe, &c. What then? will they make God contrarie to himselfe, which shall afterward forbid and condemne the same thing in mens behauiours, which he hath before allowed by commanding it? But because there is some difficultie in the words of Christ, let vs a little weigh them. But herein we shall neuer attaine the truth, vnlesse wee bend our eyes vnto the intent of Christ, and take heede vnto the purpose that he there goeth about. His purpose is not either to release or refraine the Law, but to reduce it to the true and naturall vnderstanding, which had bene very much depraued by the false gloses of the Scribes and Pharisees. This if we holde in minde, we shall not thinke that Christ did vtterly condemne othes, but onely those othes which doe transgresse the rule of the Law. Thereby it appeareth, that the people at that time did forbear no manner of swearing, but perjuries, whereas the law doth not onely forbid perjuries, but also all idle and superfluous othes. The Lord therefore the most sure expositor of the Law, doth admonish them, that it is not onely euill to forswear, but also to sweare. But how to sweare? in vaine. But as for these othes that are commended in the Lawe, he leaueth them safe and at libertie. They seeme to fight somewhat more strongly when they take earnest hold of this word, At all, which yet is not referred to the word Sweare, but to the formes of swearing that are after rehearsed. For this was also part of their error, that when they did sweare by heauen and earth, they thought that they did not touch the name of God. Therefore after the principall kinde of offence against this commandement, the Lord doth also cut off from them all by shiftes that they should not thinke that they haue escaped, if not speaking of the name of God they call heauen and earth to witness. For hereby the way it is also to be noted, that although

*in vrush, yet was
only without any
urgens cause.*

Deu. 6. 13. & 10.
20.
Exo. 23. 13.

*The folly of Ana-
baptistes in collec-
ting the simple vn-
lawfulness of all
othes out of the
words of our Sa-
uour Christ.
Mat. 5.
Jacob. 5.
Exod. 22 11.
Iohn 7. 16.*

Mat. 5. 34.

NOTE

the name of God be not expressed, yet men by indirect formes doe 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 towards them. Neither doeth Christ in that place where he forbiddeth them to sweare by heauen and earth and Hierusalem, speake it to correct superstition, as some men falsely thinke, but he rather confuteth their sophisticall subtletie, which thought it no fault babblingly to throwe out indirect othes, as though they spared the holy name of God, which is ingrauen in all his benefits. But otherwise it is, where either a mortall man, or a dead man, or an Angell is put in the place of God: as among the prophane nations flatterie deused that stinking forme of swearing by the life or soule of the king: for then the false inaking of Gods doth obscure and minish the glorie of the one onely God. But when we meane onely, to procure credit to our saying by the holy name of God, although the same be indirectly done, yet in all such trifling othes his maiestie is offended. Christ taketh from this licentiousnesse, all pretense of excuse, in this that he forbiddeth to sweare at all. And *Iames* to the same purpose, reciting the same wordes of Christ which I haue before alleaged, because the same rash boldnesse hath alwaies bene in the worlde, which is a prophane misusing of the name of GOD. For if yec refer this word, at all, to the substance, as if without any exception it were altogether this word to sweare: wherefore serueth that exposition which is added afterwarde: Neither by heauen nor by earth, &c? Whereby it sufficiently appeareth that those cauillations are met withall, by which the Iewes thought their fault to be excused.

Iac. 5. 12.

Note.

Othes not onely publicke but also priuate soberly & reuerently taken allowable and according both to reason and to approved examples.

27 Therefore it cannot nowe bee doubtfull to sounde iudgements, that the Lorde in that place did onely reprove those othes that were forbidden by the law. For hee himselfe which shewed in his life an examplar of the perfection that hee taught, did not sticke to sweare when occasion required. And his disciples, who (we doubt not) did obey their master in all things, followed the same example: who dare say that *Paul* woulde haue sworne, if swearing had bene vtterly forbidden? but when the matter so required, he sware without any sticking at it, yea, sometime adding an execration. But this question is not yet ended, because some doe thinke that onely publicke othes are excepted out of this prohibition, as those othes that we take when the Magistrate doth offer them to vs and require them of vs. And such as Princes vse to take in stablishing of leagues, or the people when they sweare allegiance to their Prince, or the Souldiar when he is put to an oath for his true seruice in the war, and such like. And to this sort they adioyne, and that rightfully, such othes as are in *Paul*, to confirme the dignitie of the Gospell, for as much as the Apostles in their office are not priuate men but publike ministers of God. And truly I denie not that those are the safest othes, because they are defended with foundest testimonies of Scripture. The Magistrate is commanded in a doubtfull case to driue the witness to an oath, and he on the other side to answer by oathe: and the Apostle saith, that mens controuersies are by this meane ended. In this commaundement both these haue a perfect allowance of their offices. Yea, and we may note, that among the olde heathen men, the publicke and solemne oath was had in great reuerence, but common othes that were vsually spoken without consideration, were either nothing or verie little regarded, because they thought that in these they had not to doe with the maiestie of God at all. But yet it were too much dangerous to condemne priuate othes, that are in necessarie cases soberly, holly, and reuerently taken, which are maintained both by reason and examples. For if it be lawfull for priuate men in a weightie and earnest matter to appeale to God as iudge between them, much more is it lawfull to call him to witness. Put the case: thy brother will accuse thee of false breach of faith, thou endeuourest to purge thy selfe according to the dutie of charitie, and he by no means will suffer himselfe to be satisfied, If thy good

He. 6. 16.

 *safest othes.**to oblige not
by oaths face.*

good name come in perill by his obstinate maliciousnesse, thou shalt without offence appeale to the iudgement of God, that it will please him in time to make thine innocence knowne. Now if the weight of the words be considered, it is a lesse matter to call him to witness. Therefore I see not why in this case we should affirme, that the calling him to witness is vnlawfull. And wee are not without many examples thereof. For though the othe of *Abraham* and *Isaac* with *Abimelech* be said not to serue for our purpose, because it was made in the name of a publike companie, yet *Iacob* and *Laban* were priuate men, which stablished a couenant with mutuall othe betweene themselves. *Booz* was a priuate man which by the same meane confirmed his promise of marriage to *Ruth*. *Abdias* was a priuate man, a iust man and fearing God, which affirmed vnto *Elias* by oth, the thing that he meant to perswade him. Therefore I haue no better rule, but that othes be so tempered, that they be not vnadvised, that they be not common without regarde, that they be not vsed of raging lust, nor trifling, but that they serue iust necessitie, as where the Lords glory is to be maintained, or the edification of our brother furthered, to which ende the commandement of the law tendeth.

Gen. 21. 24. & 26.
31. & 31. 53.
Ruth. 3. 13.

1. Reg. 2. 8. 10.

The fourth Commandement.

Remember that thou keepe holy the Saboth day. Sixe daies shalt thou worke and doe all thy workes. But on the seventh day is the Saboth of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt doe no worke, &c.

28 The ende of this Commandement is, that we being dead to our owne afflictions and workes, should be busied in meditation of the kingdome of God, and to the same meditation should be exercised, by such meanes as he hath ordained. But because this Commandement hath a peculiar and severall consideration from the rest, therefore it must haue also a severall manner of exposition. The olde writers vse to call it a shadow with Commandement, for that it containeth the outward obseruation of the day, which by the coming of Christ was taken away with the other figures. Wherein I graunt they say truly, but they touch but halfe the matter. Wherefore we must fetch the exposition of it further off. And (as I thinke) I haue marked that there are three causes to be considered, whereupon this Commandement consisteth. For first the heavenly lawmaker meant vnder the rest of the seventh day, to set out in figure to the people of *Israel* the spirituall rest, whereby the faithfull ought to cease from their owne workes, that they might suffer God to worke in them. Secondly, his will was to haue one appointed day, wherein they should meete together to heare the Law, and execute the ceremonies, or at least bestow it peculiarly to the meditation of his workes: that by such calling to remembrance, they might be exercised to godlines. Thirdly, he thought good to haue a day of rest granted to servants, and such as liued vnder the gouernment of other, wherein they might haue some ceasing from their labor.

Three causes considerable in the fourth commandement concerning the obseruation of the Saboth day.

29 But we are many waies taught, that the same shadow of the spirituall rest, was the principall point in the Saboth. For the Lorde required the keeping of no Commandement in a manner more scuerely, than this: when his meaning is in the Prophets to declare that all religion is overthrowen, then he complaineth that his Sabbothes are pollured, defiled, not kept, nor sanctified: as though that peccer vice being omitted, there remained no more wherein he might be honored. He did set forth the obseruing thereof with high praises. For which cause the faithfull did among other oracles mauellously esteeme the reuiling of the Saboth. For in *Nebemias* thus spake the Leuites in a solemne conuocation, Thou hast shewed to our fathers thy holy Saboth, and hast giuen them the Commandements and the cere-

The Saboth a figure of spirituall rest.
Num. 13. 22.
Eze. 20. 21. and 23. 38.
Iere. 17. 12. & 27.
Exod. 31. 13. & 35. 2.
Nehc. 9. 14.

monies, and the law by the hand of *Moses*. You see how it is had in singular estimation among all the commandments of the law. All which things do serue to set forth the dignitie of the mysterie, which is very wel expressed by *Moses* and *Ezechiel*. Thus you haue in *Exodus*, See that yee keepe my Sabbath day, because it is a token betwene mee and you in your generations: that you may know that I am the Lord that sanctifie you: keepe my Sabbath, for it is holy vnto you. Let the children of *Israel* keepe the Sabbath and celebrate it in their generations, it is an euerlasting covenant betwene mee and the children of *Israel*, and a perpetuall token. Yet *Ezechiel* speaketh more at large. But the summe thereof commeth to this effect, that it is for a token whereby *Israel* should know that God is their sanctifier. If our sanctification be the mortifying of our owne will, then appeareth a most apt relation of the outward signe with the inward thing it selfe: we must altogether rest, that God may work in vs: we must depart from our owne will, we must resigne vp our heart, we must banish all lustes of the flesh. Finally, we must cease from all the doings of our own wit, that we may haue God working in vs: that we may rest in him, as the Apostle also teacheth.

Eze. 20. 12.

Heb. 3. 13. & 4. 9.

Gods appointing the seventh day for the sabbath, and his ratifying the same, by his owne example, was to confirme the perfection of that euerlasting rest whereof the sabbath day being a figure is appointed on a day which following in orderly numeration beareth the name of a perfect number.

Esa. 66. 23.
1. Cor. 15. 28.

The principall thing in the sabbath is the mysterie of perpetuall rest: the ceremoniall use thereof abrogated, the superstitious obseruation to be avoided.

Esa. 8. 13.

30 This perpetuall ceassing was represented to the Iewes, by the keeping of one day among seuen: which day, to make it be obserued with greater deuotion, the Lord commaunded with his owne example. For it auaieth not a litle to stirre vp mans endeour, that he may know that he tendeth to the following of his Creator. If any man search for a secret signification in the number of seuen: Forasmuch as that number is in the Scripture the number of perfection, it was not without cause chosen to signifie euerlasting continuance. Wherewith this also agreeth that *Moses* in the day that he declared that the Lord did rest from his works, maketh an end of describing the succeeding of daies and nightes. There may be also brought an other probable note of the number, that the Lord thereby meant to shew that the Sabbath should neuer be perfectly ended, til it cam to the last day. For in it we begin our blessed rest, in it we do daily procede in profiting more and more. But because we haue still a continuall warre with the flesh, it shall not be ended vntill that saying of *Esaie* be fulfilled, concerning the continuing of newe Moone with new moone, of Sabbath with Sabbath, euen then when God shall be in all. It may seeme therefore that the Lord hath by the seventh day set forth to his people the perfection to come of his Sabbath at the last day, that our whole life might by continuall meditation of the Sabbath, aspire to this perfection.

31 If any man mislike this obseruation of the number as a matter too curious, I am not against him, but that he may more simply take it: that the Lord ordained one certaine day, wherein his people might vnder the schooling of the lawe be exercised to the continuall meditation of the spirituall rest: And that he assigned the seventh day, either because he thought it sufficient, or that by setting forth the likeness of his own example, he might the better mooue the people to keepe it or at least to put them in mind, that the Sabbath tended to no other end, but that they should become like vnto their creator. For it maketh small matter, so that the mysterie remaine which is therein principally set forth, concerning the perpetuall rest of our workes, to consideration whereof the Prophets did now and then call backe the Iewes that they should not thinke themselues discharged by carnall taking of their rest. Beside the places already alleaged, you haue thus in *Esaie*: If thou turne away thy foote from the Sabbath, that thou do not thine owne will in my holy day, and shall call the Sabbath delicate and holy of the glorious Lord, and shalt glorifie him while thou doest not thine owne waies, and seekest not thine owne wil to speake the worde, then shalt thou be delited in the Lord, &c. But it is no doubt, that by the comming of our Lord Christ, so much as was ceremoniall herein, was abrogate. For he is the truth, by whose presence all figures do vanish away, he is the bodie at sight whereof the

the shadowes are left, he, I say, is the true fulfilling of the Sabbath, we being buried with him by Baptisme, are grafted into the fellowship of his death, that we being made partakers of the resurrection, we may walke in newnesse of life. Therefore in another place the Apostle writeth, that the Sabbath was a shadow of a thing to come: and that the true bodie, that is to say, the perfect substance of truth is in Christ, which in the same place he hath well declared. That is not contained in one day, but in the whole course of our life, vntill that we being vtterly dead to our selues, be filled with the life of God. Therefore superstitious obseruing of daies ought to be farre from Christians.

Rom. 6. 4

Col. 2. 16, & 17.

32 But forasmuch as the two latter causes ought not to be reckoned among the old shadowes, but do belong alike to all ages: since the Sabbath is abrogate, yet this hath still place with vs, that wee should meete at appointed daies to the hearing of the word, and to the breaking of the mysticall bread, and to publike praier: and then that to seruants and labourers be granted their rest from their labour. It is out of doubt that in commanding the Sabbath, the Lord had care of both these things. The first of them hath sufficient testimonie by the onely vse of the Iewes to prooue it. The second, *Moses* spake of in Deuteronomie in these wordes: that thy man seruant and thy maide seruant may rest as well as thou: remember that thou thy selfe didst serue in Ægypt. Againe, in *Exodus*: that thy Oxe and thy Assie may rest, and the sonne of thy bondwoman may take breath. Who can denie that both these things do serue for vs as well as for the Iewes? Meetings at the Church, are commended vs by the worde of God, and the necessitie of them is sufficiently knownen in the verie experiance of life. Vnlesse they be certainly appointed and haue their ordinarie daies, how can they be kept? All things by the sentence of the Apostle are to be done comely and in order among vs. But so farre is it off, that comelnesse and order can be kept without this policie and moderation, that there is at hand present trouble and rume of the Church, if it be dissolved. Now if the same necessitie be among vs, for releefe wherof the Lord appointed the Sabbath to the Iewes: let no man say that it belongeth nothing vnto vs. For our most prouident and tender Father, willed no lesse to prouide for our necessitie than for the Iewes. But thou wilt saie, why doe we not rather daily meete together, that the difference of daies may be taken away? I would to God, that were granted, and truly spirituall wisdome was a thing woorthy to haue daily a peece of the time cut out for it. But if it cannot bee obtained of the weakenes of many to haue daily meetings, and the rule of charite doth not suffer vs to exact more of them, why should we not obey the order which we see laide vpon vs by the will of God?

Although the first use of the Sabbath which was to signify spirituall rest being ceremoniall be done away, yet the second and thirde, whereby it was appointed for the people of God to meete and for labourers to cease on each sabb remaine.

Deut. 5. 14.

Exo. 25. 12.

1. Cor. 14. 40.

33 I am compelled heere to be somewhat long, because at this day many vnquiet spirits do raise trouble, concerning the Sunday. They crye out that the Christian people are nourished in Iewishnesse, because they keepe some obseuation of daies. But I answer, that we keepe those daies without any Iewishnesse; because we doe in this behalfe farre differ from the Iewes. For we keepe it not with strait religion as a ceremonie, wherein we thinke a spirituall mysterie to be figured, but we retaine it as a necessarie remedy to the keeping of order in the Church. But *Paul* teacheth that in keeping thereof they are not to be iudged Christians, because it is a shadow of a thing to come. Therefore he feared that he had laboured in vaine among the *Galathians*, because they did still obserue daies. And to the *Romanes* he affirmeth that it is superstition if any man doe make difference betweene day and day. But who, sauing these madde men onely doth not see, of what obseruing the Apostle meanth? For they had no regard to this politick end and the order of the Church, but whereas they kept them still as shadowes of spirituall things, they did euen so much darken the glorie of Christ and the light of the Gospell. They did not therefore cease from handie works, because they were things that did call them away from holy

The difference betwene Iewes and Christians in obseruing the sabbath day: they keepe it as a shadowe of a thing spirituall, we onely for politick party, and partlie for Ecclesiasticall orders sake.

Col. 2. 16.

Gal 4. 10.

Rom. 14. 5.

Cap. 8. Of the knowledge of

holy studies and meditations, but for a certaine religion, that in ceasing from worke they did dreame that they still kept their mysteries of old time deliuered them. The Apostle, I saie, inuiecieth against this disordered difference of daies, and not against the lawfull choise of daies that serueth for the quietnesse of Churkian fellowship: for in the Churches that he himselve did ordaine, the Sabbath was kept to this vse. For he appointeth the *Corinthians* the same day, wherein they should gather the collection to relieue the brethren at *Ierusalem*. If they feare superstition, there was more danger thereof in the feast daies of the Iewes, than in the Sundaies that the Christians now haue. For so as was expedient for the ouerthrowing of superstition, the day that the Iewes religiously obserued is taken away: and, so as was necessarie for keeping of comlinefle, order, and quiet in the Church, another day was appointed for the same vse.

1. Cor. 16. 2.

NOTE

The blamelesse inuent of Christians, substituting the Sunday in steed of the Iewes Saboth, & of others among Christians hauing other festiual daies appointed for the same purposes: the principall exercises whereby the Sabbath is sanctified: their rising vaine which see no difference between Iewes and Christians but the change of the day, when in the vse of the day indeed is principally differ. Hist. trip. lib. 9. cap. 38.

34 Albeit the old fathers haue not without reason of their choise, put in place of the Sabbath day, the day that we call Sunday. For whereas in the Resurrection of the Lorde is the end and fulfilling of that rest, whereof the old Sabbath was a shadow: the Christians are by the verie same day that made an end of shadows, put in mind that they should no longer stick vnto the shadowish ceremonie. But yet I doe not so rest vpon the number of seauen, that I would binde the Church to the bondage thereof. Neither will I condemne those Churches, that haue other solemne daies for their meetings, so that they be without superstition, which shall be, if they be onely applied to the obseruation of Discipline and well appointed order. Let the sum hereof be this: as the truth was giuen to the Iewes vnder a figure, so is it deliuered vs without any shadowes at all. First, that in all our life long we should be in meditation of a continuall Sabbath or rest from our owne workes, that the Lorde may worke in vs by his spirit: then that euery man priuately so oft as he hath leisure, should diligently exercise himselve in godly calling to minde the workes of God, and also, that we all should keepe the lawfull order of the Church appointed, for the hearing of the worde, for the ministracion of the Sacraments and for publike praier: thirdlie, that we should not vngently oppresse them that be vnder vs. And so do the tiffings of the false prophets vaniish away that in the ages past haue infected the people with a Iewish opinion, that so much as was ceremoniall in this commandement is taken away, which they in their tooong call the appointing of the seuenth day, but that so much as is morall remaineth, which is the keeping of one day in the weeke. But that is nothing else in effect, than for reproch of the Iewes to change the day, and to keepe still the same holinesse in their minde. For there still remaineth with vs the like signification of mysterie in the daies as was among the Iewes. And truly we see what good they haue done by such doctrine. For they that cleaue to their constitutions, do by these as much exceed as the Iewes in grosse and carnall superstition of Sabbath: so that the rebukings that are read in *Esay*, do not lesse fitly serue for them at these daies, than for those that the Prophet reprooued in his time. But this generall doctrine is principally to be kept, that least religion should fall away or waxe faint among vs, holy meetings are to be diligently kept, and those outward helps are to be vsed that are profitable for to nourish the worshipping of God.

Esay. 1. 13. & 58.

The fifth Commandement

Honour thy Father and thy Mother, that thou maist liue long vpon the lande which the Lord thy God shall giue thee.

The end of the fifth commandement is preservation of order for which

35 The end of this commandement is, that because the Lord deliteth in the preservation of his order, therefore he willet that those degrees of preminence which he hath ordeined be not broken, the summe therefore shall bee that we reuerence those

those whom the Lord hath set ouer vs, that we yeeld to them honour, obedience and thankfulness. Whereupon followeth that it is forbidden vs, to withdraw any thing from their dignity, either by contempt or obstinacie or vnthankfulness. For so doth the word Honour, in the Scripture signifie verie largely: as when the Apostle sayeth, that the elders which rule well are worthy of double honour, he meaneth not onely that reuerence is due vnto them, but also such recompence as their ministerie deserueth. And because this commaundement of subiection, doeth most of all disagree with the peruersenesse of mans nature, which as it swelleth with greedinesse of climbing high, so it hardly abideth to be brought lowe: therefore he hath set that kind of superiority for example, which by nature is most amiable and least enuious: because he might the easilier meeken and reclaime our mindes to the vse of subiection. Therefore the Lord doth by litle and litle traine vs to all lawfull subiection by that which is most easie to beare, forasmuch as the rule of all is alike. For to whom he giueth any preeminence, he doth communicate his owne name with them, so farre as is necessarie to preserue the same preeminence: The name of Father, God, and Lord, do so belong vnto him alone, that so oft as we heare one of them named, our minde must 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 they may be honorable euery one according to his degree. Therefore in him that is our father we haue to consider somewhat of the nature of God, because he beareth not the name of God without cause. He that is our Prince or our Lord, hath some partaking of honour with God.

36 Wherefore it ought not to be doubted that God doth here set a generall rule, that as we know any man to be by his ordinance set ouer vs, so we yeeld vnto him reuerence, obedience, thankfulness, and such other duties as it lieth in vs to do. And it maketh no difference, whether they be worthy or vnworthie. For of what sort soeuer they be, they haue not without the prouidence of God attained that place, by reason whereof the lawmaker would haue them to be honored. Yet namely he hath giuen commaundement of reuerence to parents, that haue brought vs into this life, to which reuerence very nature ought in a manner to instruct vs. For they are monsters and not men, that breake the authoritie of parents with dishonour or stubburnnesse. Therefore the Lord commaunded all the disobedient to their parents, to be slaine, as men vnworthie to enioy the benefite of light, that do not reknowledge by whose meanes they came into it. And by manie additions of the lawe it appeareth to be true that we haue noted, that there are three parts of honour that he here speaketh of, Reuerence, Obedience, and Thankfulness. The first of these the Lord establisheth when he commaundeth him to be killed that curseth his Father or his Mother, for there he punisheth the contempt and dishonour of them. The second he confirmeth when he appointeth the punishment of death for the disobedient and rebellious children. To the third belongeth that saying of Christ in the fifteenth of Matthew, that it is the commaundement of God that we do good to our parents. And so oft as *Paul* maketh mention of a commaundement, he expoundeth that therein obedience is required.

37 There is annexed a promise for a commendation, which doth the rather put vs in mind, how acceptable vnto God is the subiection that is here commaunded. For *Paule* vseth the same pricke to stirre vp our dulnesse when he saith: that this is the first commaundement with promise. For the promise that went before in the first Table, was not special and properly belonging to one commaundement, but extended to the whole lawe. Now this is thus to be taken: The Lord spake to the *Israelites* peculiarly of the land which he had promised them for their inheritance. If then the possession of land was a pledge of Gods bountifullnes: let vs not marueile if it pleased God to declare his fauor by giuing length of life, by which a man might long enioy

God commaunders all things belonging to the honor, and forbiddeth any thing tending to the dishonor of superiors whom he beautifieth with amiable names to meaken the mindes of men vnto obedience & subiection vnder them.

1. Tim. 1.5.

Vnto parentes so learned in respect of their preeminence be they good or bad, as also vnto our natural parents the honor of reuerence, obedience and thankfulness is required at our hands.

Exod. 21.

Leui. 20. 9.

Leui. 10. 9.

Pro. 10. 10.

Deu. 21. 18.

Mat. 15. 4.

Eph. 5. 1.

Col. 3. 20.

What is meant by the promise annexed to the first commaundement, and how it may stande with the sternnes of their lawes that are most obedient.

enjoy his benefit. The meaning therefore is thus : Honour thy Father and thy Mother, that by a long space of life thou maiest enjoy the possession of that lande that shall be vnto thee for a testimonie of my fauour. But sith all the earth is blessed to the faithful, we doe worthily reckon this present life among the blessings of God. Therefore this promise doth likewise belong vnto vs, forsomuch as the continuance of this life is a prooffe of Gods good will. For it neither is promised to vs, nor was promised to the Iewes, as though it contained blessednesse in it selfe, but because it is wont to be to the godlie a token of Gods tender loue. Therefore if it chauce that an obedient childe to his parents be taken out of this life before his ripe age, which is oftentimes seene, yet doth God no lesse constantly continue in the performance of his promise, than if he should rewarde him with a hundred Acres of land, to whome he promised but one Acre. All consisteth in this, that we should consider that long life is so farre promised vs, as it is the blessing of God, and that it is his blessing so farre as it is a prooffe of his fauour, which he by death doth much more plentifully and perfectly witnesse and shew in effect to his seruants.

The curses that fall upon the disobedient, in which number are all that withdrawe their subiection from them to whom they owe all submission in the Lord, has no other wise them in the Lord.

38 Moreouer, when the Lorde promiseth the blessing of this present life to the children that honor their parents with such reuerence as they ought, he doth withall secretly say, that most assured curse hangeth ouer the stubborne and disobedient children. And that the same should not want execution : hee pronounceth them by his lawe subiect to the iudgement of death, and commaundeth them to be put to execution : and if they escape that iudgement, he himselfe taketh vengeance on them by one meane or other. For we see how great a number of that sort of men are flaine in battels and in fraies, and some other tormented in strange vna accustomed fashions, and they all in a manner are a prooffe that this threatening is not vaine. But if any escape to olde age, sith in this life being deprived of the blessing of God, they doe nothing but miserably languish, and are reserued for greater paines hereafter, they are farre from being partakers of the blessing promised to the godly children. But this is also by the way to be noted, that we are not cōmanded to obey them but in the Lord. And that is euiden by the foundation before laied : for they sit on high in that place whereunto the Lord hath aduanced them, by communicating with them a portion of his honour. Therefore the submission that is vsed towarde them, ought to be a step towarde the honouring of that soueraigne Father. Wherefore if they mooue vs to transgresse the lawe, then are they woorthily not to be accounted parents, but strangers that labour to withdraw vs from obedience to the true Father. And so is to be thought of Princes, Lordes, and all sortes of superiours. For it is shamefull and against conuencie of reason, that their preeminence shoulde preuaile to presse downe his highnesse, sith theirs as it hangeth wholly vpon it, so ought onelic to guide vs vnto it.

The sixth Commandement

Thou shalt not kill.

The sixth commandement tending to the vnitie & thereby to the safetie of all mankind, doth vnto the name of murder both forbid all hurt & enioyn all furtherance which may growe from man to man :

39 The ende of this commandement is, that forasmuch as God hath bound together all mankind with a certeine vnitie, that euery man ought to regard the safetie of all men, as a thing giuen him in charge, in summe therefore, all violence and wrong, yea and all harme doing, whereby our neighbours bodie may be hurt, is forbidden vs. And therefore we are commanded, if there be any power of succour in our trauaile to defend the life of our neighbours, that we faithfullie employ the same, that we procure those things that may make for their quiet, that we watch to keepe them from hurt, & if they be in any danger, that we giue them our helping hand. If thou consider that it is God the lawmaker that so saith, then thinke withall that

his meaning is by this rule also to gouerne thy soule. For it were a sonde thing to thinke, that he which espieth the thoughts of the heart, and principally resteth vpon them, shoulde instruct nothing but the bodie to true rightcoulnesse. Therefore the manslaughter of the hart is also forbidden in this law, and an inward affection to preferue our brothers life is heere giuen in commandement. The hande in deede bringeth foorth the manslaughter, but the minde conceiueth it, when it is infected with wrath and hatred. Looke whether thou canst be angrie with thy brother without burning in desire to do him hurt. If thou canst not be angrie with him, then canst thou not hate him, forasmuch as hatred is nothing but an old rooted anger. Although thou dissembel and go about to winde out thy selfe by vaine circumstances: yet where anger or hatred is, there is an affection to hurt. If thou wilt still dallie out with shifts to defend it, it is already pronounced by the mouth of the holy Ghost, that he is a manslayer that hateth his brother in his hart. It is pronounced by the mouth of the Lord Christ, that he is guiltie of iudgement that is angrie with his brother: that he is guiltie of the councill that saith Rhacha: that he is guiltie of hell fire, that saith vnto him, Foole.

*which rule must
bride and direct
not onely outward
deeds, but also in-
ward thoughts.*

1. Iohn. 5.

Matth. 5. 22.

40 The Scripture noteth two points of equitie, vpon which this commaundement is grounded: because man is both the image of God and our owne flesh, wherefore vnlesse we will defile the image of God, we must haue care to touch man none other wise, than as a sacred thing: and vnlesse we will put off all naturalnes of man, we must cherish him as our owne flesh. That manner of exhortation that is fetched from the redemption and grace of Christ, shall be intreated of in another place. God willed these two things naturally to be considered in man, that might perswade vs to the preferuation of him, that we should both reuerence the image of God imprinted in him, and embrace our owne flesh. Hee hath not therefore escaped the crime of manslaughter, that hath kept himselfe from shedding of blood. If thou commit anie thing indeed, if thou go about any thing with endeavour, if thou conceiue any thing in desire and purpose that is against the safetie of an other, thou art holden guiltie of manslaughter. And againe: If thou do not trauell to thy power and as occasion may serue to defend his life, thou dost with like hainousnes offend the law. But if there be so much care taken for the safetie of his bodie, let vs hereby gather, how much studie and traualle is due to the safetie of his soule, which in the Lords sight doth infinitely excell the bodie.

*Two speciall
grounds of this co-
mandement, the
excellency of mans
creation, and the
price of his re-
demption, is re-
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if so much care be
due to his bodie, is
his soule how
much more so*

The seuenth Commandement.

Thou shalt not commit adulterie.

41 The ende of the commandement is, that because God loueth chastitie and cleannesse, therefore all vnleannesse ought to depart farre away from vs. The sum therefore shall be, that we be defiled with no vnleannes or lustfull intemperance of the flesh. Whereunto answereth the affirmatiue commandement, that we chastlie and continently order all the parts of our life. But fornication he forbideth by name, to which all vnchaste lust tendeth: that by the filthynde of that which is more grosse and sensible, for somuch as it also defileth the bodie, he might bring vs to abhorre all filthy lust. Sith man was created in this estate, not to liue a solitarie life, but to vse a helper ioyned vnto him: and since that by the curse of sinne he is driuen the more to this necessitie, the Lorde hath in this behalfe prouided helpe for him so much as was sufficient, when he ordained marriage, when he sanctified with his blessing the fellowship begunne by his authoritie. Whereby followeth, that all other fellowship of man and woman out of marriage, is accursed before him, and that the fellowship of marriage it selfe, was ordeined for remedie of necessitie, that we shoulde

*In the seuenth
commandement
chastity and clea-
nnesse being sought,
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continuing our bo-
dies and soules in
purity for prefer-
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marriage is esta-
blished.*

not run out into vnbrideled lust. Therefore let vs not flatter our selues, sith we heare that man cannot be coupled with woman out of marriage, without the curse of God.

To whom the gift of continencie is not giuen, they must vse the remedie which God hath ordained.

42 Now forasmuch as by the condition of nature, and by lust more enkindled since the fall of man, we are become doubly subiect to desire of companie of women, except it be those whom God of his singular grace hath exempted from it: let euery man looke well what is giuen vnto him. Virginitie, I grant, is a vertue not to be despised: but sith it is to some denied, and to some graunted but for a time, let them that are troubled with incontinencie, and struiuing with it, cannot get the vpper hand, resort to the helpe of marriage, that so they may keepe chastitie in the degree of their vocation. For they that cannot conceiue this worde, if they doe not succour their owne intemperance with the remedie that is offred and graunted them, they strue against God and resist his ordinance. And let no man carpe against me (as manie do at this day) that being aided with the helpe of God, he can do all things. For the helpe of God is present onely with those, that walke in his waies, that is in their vocation from which they do withdraw themselues, which forsaking the helpes of god, do trauaile to ouercome and maister their necessitie with vaine rash boldnesse. The Lord affirmeth that continencie is a singular gift of God, and of that sort that are not giuen generally, nor vniuersally to the whole body of the Church, but to a few members thereof. For first he saith, that there is a certaine kinde of men, that haue gelded themselues for the kingdome of heauen, that is, that they might the more loosely and freely applie themselues to the affaires of the heauenly kingdome. But, that no man should thinke that such gelding is in the power of man, he shewed a litle before, that all men are not able to receive it, but they to whom it is peculiarly giuen from heauen, whereupon he concluded: He that can take it, let him take it. But *Paul* yet affirmeth it more plainly, where he writeth, that euery man hath his proper gift of God, one thus, and another thus.

Psal. 19. 1. & 14.

Mat. 19. 12.

1. Cor. 7. 7.

They sinne grievously against god which rise it not although they keep themselues unstained with anie bodily vnclane act.

43 Whereas wee are by open declaration admonished, that it is not in euerie mans power to keepe chastitie in single life, although with studie and trauaile he endeavour neuer so much vnto it, and that it is a peculiar grace, which God giueth but to certaine men, that hee may haue them the more readie to his worke: doe wee not strue against God and nature which he hath institute, if we doe not apply the kinde of life to the proportion of our power? Heere the Lord forbiddeth fornication, therefore he requireth cleanness and chastitie of vs. To keepe the same there is but one way, that euery man measure himselfe by his owne measure. Neither let a man despise marriage as a thing vnprofitable or superfluous for him, nor otherwise desire single life, vnlesse he be able to liue without a wife. And therein also let him not provide onely for the quiet and commoditie of the flesh, but onely that being loosed from this bond, he may be the more in readines and prepared to al duties of godlines. And forasmuch as this benefite is giuen to many but for a time, let euery man so long abstaine from marriage as hee shall be meete to liue to keepe single estate. If strength faile him to tame his lust, let him learne that the Lord hath now laid vpon him a necessitie to marrie. This the Apostle sheweth when he commandeth that to auoide fornication euery man haue his owne wife, and euery woman haue her owne husband, that he that cannot liue continently should marrie in the Lord. First he declareth that the most part of men are subiect to the vice of incontinencie: and then of those that be subiect vnto it, he excepteth none, but commandeth all to that onelie remedie, wherewith vnchastitie is resisted. Therefore if they that be incontinent do neglect to helpe their infirmite by this meane, they sinne euen in this that they obey not the conuonement of the Apostle. Neither let him flatter himselfe that toucheth not a woman as though he could not be rebuked of vnchastitie, while in the meane season his minde burneth inwardly with lust. For *Paul* defineth chastitie to be a cleanness of the minde, ioyned with chastitie of the body. A woman vnmarried

1. Cor. 7. 1. & 9.

1. Cor. 6. 24.

(saith)

(saith he) thinketh vpon those things that are of the Lord, forasmuch as he is holy both in bodie and in spirit. Therefore when he bringeth a reason to confirme that former commandement, he doth not only say, that it is better for a man to take a wife, than to defile himselfe with company of a harlot, but he saith, that it is better to marrie than to burne.

44 Now if married folkes do confesse that their fellowship together is blessed of the Lord, they are thereby admonished not to defile it with intemperate and dissolute lust. For though the honestie of mariage do couer the filthines of incontinencie, yet it ought not forthwith to be a prouocation thereof. Wherefore let not married folkes thinke, that all things are lawfull vnto them, but let euery husband haue his owne wife soberly, and likewise the wife her husband, and so doing, let them commit nothing vnseeming the honestie and temperance of mariage. For so ought mariage made in the Lord to be restrained to meafure and modestie, and not to overflow into euery kind of extreame lasciuiousnes. This wantonnes *Amlrose* reprobued with a saying verie sore in decede, but not vnfit for it, when he calleth the husband the adulterer of his owne wife, which in vse of wedlock hath no care of shamefastnes or honestie. Last of all, let vs consider what lawmaker doeth here condemne fornication, euen he which sith of his owne right he ought to possesse vs wholly, requireth purenesse of the soule, spirit and body. Therefore when he forbiddeth to commit fornication, he also forbiddeth with wanton attire of bodie, with vncleanly gestures, and with filthie talke to laye wait to trap anothers chastitie. For that saying is not without good reason, which *Archelaus* spake to a yong man aboute meafure wantonly and deintily clothed, that it made no matter in what part he were filthily vnchast, if we haue a regard vnto God that abhorreth all filthinesse in whatsoeuer part either of our soule or body it appeareth. And to put thee out-of doubt, remember that the Lord here commendeth chastitie. If the Lord require chastitie of vs, then he condemneth all that euer is against it. Therefore if thou couet to shew obedience, neither let thy mind burne inwardly with euill lust, nor let thine eyes runne wantonly into corrupt affections, nor let thy body be trimmed vp for allurement, nor let thy tongue with filthie talke entise thy minde to like thoughts, nor let thy gluttonous belly enflame thee with intemperance. For all these vices are, as it were, certaine blots, wherewith the purenesse of chastitie is bespotted.

Marriage to be vsed as an holy remedie against euil not as a consort of dissolute lust, all actes, causes and signes whereof must be avoided in thought, looke, raiment, speech, diet.
Amb.li. de phil.

The eight Commaundement.

Thou shalt not steale.

45 The end of this commandement is; because God abhorreth vnrighteousnesse, that euery man may haue his owne rendred vnto him. The summe therefore shall be, that we are forbidden to gape for other mens goodes, and that therefore we are commaunded euery man to employ his faithfull trauaile to preferre to each man his owne goods. For thus we ought to thinke that what euery man possieth is not happened vnto him by chance of fortune, but by the distribution of the soueraigne Lord of all things: and therefore no mans goods can be gotten from him by euill meanes, but that wrong be done to the disposition of God. But of thefts there be many kindes: one standeth in Violence, when the goodes of one other are by any maner of force and robbing licentiousnesse bereaued. The other kinde consisteth in malicious deceite, where they are guilefully conueied away. An other sort there is that standeth in a more hidden suttletie, when they are wrong from the owner by colour of lawe. An other sort in flatterie, where they are sucked awy by pretence of gift. But least we should tarie too long vpon renting of all the seuerall kindes of theft, let vs knowe, that all craftie meanes whereby the possessions and money of our neighbours

That euery man may haue his owne, we are in the eighth commandement forbidden all practising whatsoeuer is to the vnjust losse and danger of others, and all withholding of anie duty whereby we are bounde to doe them good, for as much as either of these doeth make vs guilty of theft.

neighbours are conueyed vnto vs, when they once goe by crooked waies from sincereneffe of hart, to a desire to beguile, or by any meane to doe hurt, are to be accounted for thestes. Although by pleading the lawe, they may preuaile, yet God doth not otherwise weigh them. For he seeth the long captiuous subtilties, wherewith the guilefull man beginneth to entangle the simpler minde, till at length he drawe him into his nets. He seeth the hard and vngentle lawes, wherewith the mightier oppresseth and throweth downe the weaker. He seeth the allurements, wherewith as with baited hookes, the craftier taketh thee vnto. All which things are hidden from the iudgement of man, and come not in his knowledge. And this manner of wrong is not onely in money, in wares, or in lands, but in euery mans right. For we defraude our neighbour of his goods, if we denie him those duties which we are bound to doe for him. If any idle Factor or Baylife doe deuoure his masters substance, and is not heede-full to the care of his thrift, if he either doe wrongfully spoile, or doe riotously waste the substance committed vnto him, if a seruant doe mocke his master, if hee disclose his secrets by any means, if he betray his life and his goodes: againe, if the Lord doe cruelly oppresse his hould, they are before God guiltye of thest. For hee both withholdeth and conueyeth another mans goods, which performeth not that which by the office of his calling he oweth to other.

*The duties of all
sorts of men for
performance of
the lawe.*

46 We shall therefore rightly obey this commaundment, if being contented with our owne estate, we seeke to get no gaine but honest and lawfull, if we couet not to waxe rich with wrong, nor go about to spoile our neighbour of his goodes that our owne substance may encrease, if we labour not to heape vp cruell riches and wrong out of other mens blood, if we doe not immeasurably scrape together euery way, by right and by wrong, that either our couetousnesse may be filled, or our prodigalitie satisfied. But on the other side, let this be our perpetuall marke, to aide all men faithfully by counsell and helpe to keepe their owne so farr as we may: but if we haue to doe with false and deceitfull men, let vs rather be ready to yeelde vp some of our owne, then to striue with them. And not that onely, but let vs communicate to their necessities, and with our store releue their neede, whom we see to bee oppressed with hard and poore estate. Finally, let euery man looke how much he is by duetie bound vnto other, and let him faithfully pay it. For this reason let the people haue in honour all those that are set ouer them, let them patiently beare their gouernement, obey their lawes and commaundments, refuse nothing that they may beare, stil keeping God fauourable vnto them. Againe, let them take care of their people, preserve common peace, defend the good, restraints the euill, and so order all things, as readie to giue account of their office to the soueraigne iudge. Let the ministers of Churches faithfully apply their ministere, and not corrupt the doctrine of saluation, but deliuer it pure and sincere to the people of God, and let them instruct them not onely with learning, but also with example of life: finally, let them so be ouer them, as good shepherdes be ouer the sheepe. Let the people likewise receiue them, for the messengers and Apostles of God, giue them that honor whereof the highest master hath vouchsafed them, and inuise vnto them such things as are necessarie for their life. Let parents take on them to feede, rule and teach their children, as committed to them of God, and greue not, nor turne away their mindes from them with crueltie, but rather cherish and imbrace them with such lenitie and tenderneffe, as becometh their person. After which manner, we haue already saide, that children owe to their parents their obedience. Let yoong men reuerence olde age, euen as the Lord willed that age to be honorable, Let old men also gouerne the weaknes of youth with their wisdom and experience, wherein they excell yoong men, not rating with rough and loude brawling, but tempering seueritie with mildnesse and gentlenesse. Let seruants shew themselues diligent and seruiceable to obey: and that not to the eie, but from the hart, as seruing God himselfe. Also let masters shewe themselues not

testie

cessitie and hard to please, nor oppresse them with too much sharpnesse, nor reprochfully vse them, but rather acknowledge that they are their brethren and their fellow seruants vnder the heaucnly Lord, whom they ought mutually to loue and gently to intreat. After this manner, I say, let euerie man consider what in his degree and place he oweth to his neighbours, and let him pay that he oweth. Moreouer, our munde ought alwaies to haue respect to the lawmaker, that we may know that this lawe is made as well for our minds, as for our hands, that men should studie to defend and further the commodities and profit of other.

The ninth Commandement.

Thou shalt not be a lying witnes against thy neighbour.

47 The end of this commandement is, that because God which is truth abhorreth lying, we ought to obserue truth without deceitfull colour. The summe therefore shall be, that we neither hurt any mans name either with slaunders or false reportes, nor hinder him in his goods by lying: finally, that we offend no man, by lust to speake euill, or to be busie: with which prohibition is ioyned a commaundement, that so farre as we may, we employ our faithfull endcuour for euerie man in affirming the truth, to defend the safetie both of his name and goods. It seemeth that the Lord purposed to expounde the meaning of his commaundement in the three and twentie Chapter of Exodus, in these wordes: Thou shalt not vse the voice of lying, nor shalt ioyne thy hande to speake false witnes for the wicked. Againe, Thou shalt flee lying. Also in another place he doth not only call vs away from lying in this point that we be no accusers, or whisperers in the people, but also that no man deceiue his brother, for he forbiddeth them both in severall commaundements. Truly it is no doubt, but that as in the commaundements before, he hath forbidden crueltie, vnchastitie and couetounesse, so in this he restraineth falshood. Whereof there are two partes as we haue noted before. For either we offend the good name of our neighbours by maliciousnesse and froward minde to backbite, or in lying and sometime in euill speaking we hinder their commodities. There is no difference whether in this place be vnderstanded solemne and iudiciall testimonie, or common testimonie that is vsed in priuate talks. For we must alwaies haue recourse to this principle, that of all the general kinds of vices one special sort is set for an example, whereunto the rest may be referred, and that that is chiefly chosen, wherein the filthinesse of the faulte is most apparant. Albeit, it were convenient to extende it more generally to slaunders and sinister backbitings wherewith our neighbours are wrongfully grieued, for that falshood of witnesing which is vsed in iudiciall courtes, is neuer without perurie. But peruries in so much as they do prophane and defile the name of God, are already sufficiently met withal in the third commaundement. Wherefore the right vse of this commaundement is, that our tooing in affirming the truth, do serue both the good name and profite of our neighbours. The equitie thereof is more than manifest. For if a good name be more precious than any treasures, whatsoeuer they be: then is it no lesse hurt to a man to be spoiled of the goodnes of his name than of his goods. And in bereauing his substance sometime false witnes doth as much as violence of hands.

48 And yet it is maruellous with how negligent carelessnesse men doe commonly offende in this point, so that there are founde verie few that are not notably sicke of this disease: we are so much delighted with a certaine poisoned sweetnesse both in searching out and in disclosing the euils of other. And let vs not thinke that it is a sufficient excuse, if oftentimes we lie not. For he that forbiddeth thy brothers name to be defiled with lying, willet also that it be preserued vntouched so farre as the truth will suffer. For howsoeuer he taketh heed to himselfe onely, so that he tel no

To uphold truth we are in the ninth commaundement forbidden the abuse of the tongue in hindring our neighbour, & commaunded to employ it for his benefit.

Exod. 23. 1.
Leui. 19. 15.

The great libertie which men giue themselves in transgressing the law by their vnconscience to backbite, to seeke, to hurt, or to heare them that do so.

Cap. 8. Of the knowledge of

lie, yet in the same he secretly confesseth that he hath some charge of him. But this ought to suffice vs to keepe safe our neighbours good name, that God hath a care of it. Wherefore without doubt all euill speaking is vterly condemned. But we meane not by euill speaking, that rebuking which is vsed for chastisement: nor accusation, or iudiciall proccesse, whereby remedie is sought for an euill, nor publick reprehension which tendeth to put other sinners in fear, nor bewraying of faults to them for whose safety it behooueth that they should be forwarned least they shold be in danger by ignorāce: but we meane only hateful accusing, which ariseth of malicioufnesse & of a wanton wil to backbite. Also this cōmandement is extended to this point, that we couet not to vse a scoffing kind of pleasūnes, but mingled with bitter taunts, therby bitingly to touch other mens faults vnder pretence of pastime, as many do that seek praise of merie conceites with other mens shame yea and grieffe: also when by such wanton railing many times our neighbours are not a little reproched. Now if we bend our eyes to the lawmaker, which must according to his rightful authority bear rule no lesse ouer the eares and mind than ouer the toong: truly we shall finde that greedines to heare backbitings, and a hastie readinesse to euill iudgements are no lesse forbidden. For it were verie fonde if a man should thinke that God hateth the fault of euill speaking in the toong, and doth not disallow the fault of euill malicioufnesse in the heart. Wherefore if there be in vs a true feare and loue of God, let vs inducours so far as we may and as is expedient, and as charity beareth, that we gūe neither our toong, nor our eares to euill speakings, and bitter iestings, least we rashly without cause yeeld our minds to indirect suspicions. But being indifferent expositors of all mens sayings, and doings, let vs both in iudgement, cares, and toong gently preserue their honour safe.

The tenth Commaundement.

Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, &c.

As the former commaundements haue deliuered a rule of charitie to gouerne our euill studies and works: so the last commaundement requireth the verie first conceptions of the mind to be framed according to the same rule.

49 The end of this commaundement is, that because the Lordes will is that our soule be wholly possessed with the affection of loue: all lust is to be shaken out of our minde that is contrarie to charitie. The summe therefore shall bee, that no thought creepe into vs, which may moue our mindes with a concupiscence hurtfull and turning toward an others losse: wherewith on the other side agreeth the commaundement, that whatsoeuer we conceiue, purpose, will or studie vpon, be ioyned with the benefite and commoditie of our neighbours. But here as it seemeth, ariseth a hard and combersome difficultie. For if it be truly saide of vs before that vnder the names of fornication and theft are contayned the lust of fornication, and the purpose to hurt and deceiue, it may seeme superfluously spoken, that the coueting of other mens goodes should afterwarde be feuerally forbidden vs. But the distinction betweene purpose and coueting, will easily loose vs this knotte. For purpose (as wee haue meant in speaking of it in the other commaundements before) is deliberate consent of will, when lust hath subdued the minde: but coueting may be without any such either aduisement or assent, when the minde is onely pricked and tickled with vaine and peruerse obiects. As therefore the Lorde hath heretofore commaunded, that the rule of charitie should gouerne our willes, studies, and workes: so now he commaundeth the conceptions of our minde to be directed to the same rule, that there be none of them crooked and writhen, that may prouoke our minde an other way. As he hath forbidden our minde to be bowed and lead into wrath, hatred, fornication, robbetrie, and lying: so he doth now forbid vs to be moued threunto.

The last commaundement which is by some rent in

50 And not without cause doth he require so great vprightnesse. For who can denie that it is righteous, that all the powers of the soule be possessed with charitie &

But

But if any of them do swarue from the marke of charitie, who can denie that it is diseased? Now whence cometh it that so many desires hurtfull to thy neighbour, do enter in thy hart, but of this, that neglecting him thou carest onely for thy selfe? For if thy minde were altogether thoroughly foked with charitie, no parcel thereof shoulde be open to such imaginations. Therefore it must needs be void of charitie, so farre as it receiueth concupiscence. But some man will object, that yet it is not meete that fantasies that are without order tossed in mans wit, and at length doe vanish away, shoulde be condemned for concupiscence, whose place is in the hart. I answer that heere our question is of that kinde of fantasies, which while they are present before our mindes, doe together bite and strike our hart with desire, forasmuch as it neuer cometh in our minde, to wish for any thing, but that our hart is stirred vp. and leapeth withall. Therefore God commandeth a maruelous seruentnes of loue which he willeth not to be entangled with neuer so small snares of concupiscence. He requireth a maruelously framed minde, which he suffreth not so much as with slight prouocatiōs to be any thing stirred against the law of loue. To this exposition *Augustine* did first open me the way: because thou shouldest not thinke that it is without consent of some graue authoritie. And though the Lords purpose was to forbid vs all wrongfull coueting: yet in rehearsing that same, he hath brought forth for example those things that most commonly doe deceiue vs with a false image of delight: because he would leaue nothing to concupiscence when hee draweth it from these things, vpon the which it most of all rageth and triumpheth. Loe, here is the second Table of the law, wherein we are taught sufficiently what wee owe to men for Gods sake, vpon consideration whercof hangeth the rule of charitie. Wherefore you shall but vainly call vpon those duties that are contained in this Table, vnlesse your doctrine do stay vpon the feare & reuerence of God, as vpon hir foundation. As for them which seeke for two comandements, in the prohibition of coueting, the wise reader, though I say nothing, wil iudge that by wrong diuisiō, they tear in sunder that which was but one. And it maketh nothing against vs, that this word, Thou shalt not couet, is the second time repeated, for after that hee had first set the house, then hee renteth the parts thereof, beginning at the wife: whereby it plainly appeereth, that (as the Hebrewes do very well) it ought to be read in one whole sentence, & that God in effect commandeth, that al that euery man possesseth, should remaine safe and vntouched, not onely from wrong and lust to defraud them, but also from the very least desire that may moue our minds.

misse into two, containeth not bare conceptions or fancies, but such as do bite & stirre the mind with desire repugnant to that which perfect charity requireth, of which kinde of concupiscences those are rehearsed for examples sake which are most vsuall in mens mindes.

51 But now to what end the whole law tendeth, it shall not bee hard to iudge: that is, to the fulfilling of righteousness, that it might frame the life of man after the example of the purenesse of God. For God hath therein so painted out his owne nature, as if a man do perform in deeds, that which is therin commanded, he shall in a manner expresse an image of God in his life. Therefore when *Moses* went to bring the sum thereof into the mindes of the *Israelites*, he said: And now *Israel*, what doth the Lord thy God aske of thee, but that thou feare the Lord, & walke in his wayes? loue him and serue him in all thy hart, and in all thy soule, and keepe his comandements? And he ceased not still to sing the same song againe vnto them, so oft as he purposed to shewe the end of the law. The doctrine of the lawe hath such respect hereunto, that it ioyneth man, or as *Moses* in another place termeth it, maketh man to sticke fast to his God in holinesse of life. Now the perfection of that holinesse consisteth in the two principall points already rehearsed. That wee loue the Lorde God with all our hart, all our soule, and all our strength, and our neighbours as our selues. And the first indeede is, that our soule be in all parts filled with the loue of God. From that by and by of it selfe fourth floweth the loue of our neighbour. Which thing the Apostle sheweth when hee writeth, that the end of the law is loue out of a pure conscience, and a faith not fained. You see how, as it

The drift of the lawe is so much perfect holinesse, which consisteth in pure love towards God and man, and not so set downe onely certainerudiments that were afterwards to bee further perfected.
Deut. 10. 12.

Deut. 6. 5, & 11. 13.

Mat. 22.

1. Tim. 1. 15.

were, in the head is set conscience and faith vnfained, that is to say in one word true godlines, and that from thence is charitie deriued. Therefore he is deceued, whosoever thinketh that in the Law are taught onely certaine rudimentes and first introductions of righteousnesse, wherewith men became to be taught their first schooling, but not yet directed to the true marke of good woikes : whereas beyond that sentence of *Moses*, and this of *Paul*, you can desire nothing as wanting of the highest perfection. For how far I pray you, will he proceede that will not be contented with this institution, wherby man is instructed to the feare of God, to spirituall worshipping, to obeying of the Commandements, to followe the vprightnes of the way of the Lord: finally to purenes of conscience, sincere faith and loue ? Whereby is confirmed that exposition of the Law, which searcheth for and findeth out in the commandements thereof all the duties of godlinesse and loue. For they that follow onely the drie and bare principles, as if it taught but the one halfe of Gods will, know not the end thereof, as the Apostle witnesseth.

The reasons why in the Proverbs and the Gospell so often times when the keeping of the law is spoken of the duties onely of the second Table are expressly mentioned.
Mat. 5. 13.

Mat. 19. 28.

52 But whereas in rehearsing the summe of the Law, Christ and the Apostle doe sometime leaue out the first Table: many are deceiued therein while they would faine draw their wordes to both the Tables. Christ in *Mathew* calleth the chiefe points of the Law, mercie, iudgement, and faith: vnder the word Faith, it is not doubtfull to me, but that he meaneth truth or faithfulnessse toward men. But some, that the sentence might be extended to the whole Law, take it for religiousnesse toward God. But they labor in vaine. For Christ speaketh of those woikes wherewith man ought to prooue himselfe righteous. This reason if we note, we will also cease to maruell why, when a yoong man asked him what be the commandements by keeping wherof we enter into life: he answered these things onely: Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steale. Thou shalt beare no false witness. Honor thy Father and thy Mother. Loue thy neighbor as thy selfe. For the obeying of the first Table consisted in manner all either in the affection of the hart, or in ceremonies: the affection of the hart appeared not, and as for the ceremonies the hypocrites did continuallie vse. But the woikes of charitie are such, as by them we may declare a perfect righteousnesse. But this commeth eche where so oft in the Prophets, that it must needs be familiar to a reader, but meanlie exercised in them. For in a manner alway, when they exhort to repentance, they leaue out the first Table, and onely call vpon Faith, Iudgement, Mercie, and Equitie. And thus they doe not ouerskip the feare of God, but they enquire the earnest prooffe thereof by the tokens of it. This is well knowne, that when they speake of the keeping of the law, they doe for the most part rest vpon the second Table, because therein the study of righteousnesse and vprightnes is most openly seene. It is needlesse to rehearse the places, because euery man will of himselfe easily marke that which I say.

Our charitie towards one is a proffe & exercise of the law towards God.
Plal. 16.

1p'he 1.5.
Col 3. 14.
Rom 1. 3.

Mat 7. 13.

53 But thou wilt say, is it then more auailable to the perfection of righteousnes, to liue innocently among men, than with true godlinesse to honor God? No, but because a man doth not easily keepe charitie in all points, vnlesse he earnestly feare God, therefore it is thereby prooued, that he hath godlinesse also. Beside that, forasmuch as the Lord well knoweth, that no benefit can come from vs vnto him, which thing he doth also testifie by the Prophet: therefore he requirith not our duties to himselfe, but doth exercise vs in good woikes toward our neighbor. Therefore not without cause the Apostle setteth the whole perfection of the holy ones in charitie. And not inconueniently in another place he calleth the same the fulfilling of the law: adding that he hath performed the law that loueth his neighbour. Again, That all the law is comprehended in one word, Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. For he teacheth no other thing but the same which Christ doth when he saith: Whatsoeuer ye will that men doe to you, doe ye the same to them: For this is the Law and the Prophets. It is certain that in the law and the Prophets Faith and all that belongeth to
the

the true worship of God, holdeth the principall place, and that Loue is beneath it in the lower degree: But the Lords meaning is, that in the Law is onely prescribed vnto vs an obseruation of right and equitie, wherein we be exercised to testifie our godly feare of him, if there be any in vs.

54 Here therefore let vs sticke fast, that then our life shall be best framed to Gods will and the rule of his Law, when it shall be euery way most profitable to our brethren. But in the whole Law there is not read one syllable that appointeth to man any rule of such things as he shall doe or leaue vndone to the commoditie of his owne flesh. And surely sith men are so borne of such disposition naturally that they be too much carried all headlong to the loue of themselves, and howe much soeuer they fall from the truth yet still they keepe that selfe loue, there needed no law any more to enflame that loue, that was naturally of it selfe, too much beyond measure. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that not the loue of our selues, but the loue of God and of our neighbour is the keeping of the Commandements, and that he liueth best and most holily, that (so neere as may be) liueth and trauelleth least for himselfe, and that no man liueth worse and more wickedly than he that liueth and trauelleth for himselfe and onely thinketh vpon and seeketh for things of his owne. And the Lord, the more to expresse with how great earnestnesse we ought to be led to the loue of our neighbours, appointed it to be measured by the loue of our selues as by a rule, because he had no other vehementer 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 foolishly dreamed, giue the first degree to the loue of our selues, and the second to charitie, but rather that affection of loue which we doe all naturally draw to our selues, he giueth away vnto other, whercupon the Apostle saith, that Charitie seeketh not hir owne. And their reason is not to be esteemed worth a haire that the thing ruled is euer inferior to his Rule. For God doth not make the loue of our selues, a rule whercunto charitie toward other should be subiect, but whereas by peruerfenesse of nature, the affection of loue was wont to rest in our selues, he sheweth that now it ought to be elsewhere spread abroad, that we should with lesse cheerefulness, scrupulousnes, and carefulnes be ready to doe good to our neighbour than to our selues.

55 Now sith Christ hath shewed in the parable of the Samaritane that vnder the name of Neighbour euery man is contained be hee neuer so strange vnto vs: there is no cause why we should restraints the commandement of loue within the boundes of our owne friendships and acquaintances. I deny not that the neerer that any man is vnto vs, the more familiarly he is to be holden with our indeuous to doe him good. For so the order of humanitie requireth, that so many moe dueties of friendship men should communicate together, as they are bound together with streighter bondes of kined, familiaritie or neighbourhoode, and that without any offence of God, by whose prouidence we are in a manner driuen thercunto. But I say that all mankind without exception is to be imbraced with, one affection of charitie: and that in this behalfe is no difference of Barbarous or Grecian, of worthie or vnworthie, of friend or foe, because they are to be considered in God and not in themselves: from which consideration when we turne away, it is no maruell if we be entangled with many errors. Wherefore if we will keepe the true trade of louing, we must not turne our eyes vnto man, the sight of whom would offer enforce vs to hate then to loue, but vnto God which commandeth that the loue which we offer him, be powred abroad among all men: that this be a perpetuall foundation, that whatsoeuer the man be, yet he ought to be loued because God is loued.

56 Wherefore it was a most pestilent ignorance or malice, that the Schoolemen of these commandements, touching not desiring of reuengement, and louing

The law doth not teach us to loue our selues which we doe so vehemently without teaching that it setteth up our affection thv way as a marke which we ought to reach in louing others.
Aug. lib. 1. de doct. Christ. cap. 23.

who liueth best and who worst.

1. Cor. 13. 5.

Luc. 10. 36.
The commandments of the law in speaking of our neighbours, meant not that we should restraints the duties of loue and charitie to our speciall acquaintance.

A good foundation

The absurditie of schoolemen in our

Cap. 8. Of the knowledge of

*uing the comma-
ndementes of the
law into counsels
wherewith all mē
are not bound.*

our enemies, which in the old time both were giuen to the Jewes and at the same time were commonly giuen to all Christians, haue made Counsels which it is in our libertie to obey or not to obey. And the necessarie obeying of them, they haue posted ouer to Monkes which were thought but in this one point forsooth more righteous than simple Christians, that they willingly bound themselves to keepe the Counsels. And they render a reason why they receiue them not for lawes, for that they seeme too burdenous and heauie, specially for Christians that are vnder the lawe of grace. So dare they presume to repell the eternal law of God touching the louing of our neighbours. Is there any such difference in anie lease of the law? and are not therein the rather each where found commandements that doe most seuerely require of vs to loue our enemies? For what manner of saying is that, where we are commaunded to feede our enemy when he is hungrie: to set into the right waie his Oxen or Asses straying out of the way, or to ease them when they faint vnder their burden? Shall we do good to his beasts for his sake without any good will to himselfe? What? is not the word of the Lord euerlasting? Leauē vengeance to me, and I will requite it. Which alio is spoken more plainly at large in another place. Seeke not vengeance, neither be mindfull of the iniury of thy citizens. Either let them blot these things out of the law, or let them acknowledge that the Lord was a lawmaker, and not lyingly faime that he was a counsell giuer.

Pro. 25. 21.
Exod. 23. 4.

Deut. 32. 35.
Leu. 19. 18.

*We are not coun-
selled onlie in the
law, but commaun-
ded to loue, do good
to, pray for, and
bless our enemies:
as the reason an-
nexed, that yee
may be the child-
ren of your fa-
ther doeth shewe:
and so the fathers
haue vnderstood
it: neither is the
reason any thing
against it, which
they bring concer-
ning the hardnes
of performing it.*
Mat. 5. 44.
Lib. de compun-
ctiōe cordis.
Mat. 5. 46.
Lib. de doct. i.
Christ. cap. 30.
Rom. 13. 9.

57 And what I praie you meane these things that they haue presumed to mocke withall in their vnfaourie glose? Loue your enemies, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute you, blesse them that curse you, that ye may be the children of your father which is in heauen. Who cannot heare reason with Chrysofome, that by so necessary a cause it plainlie appeareth that they are no exhortations but commandements? What remaineth more when we be blotted out of the number of the children of God? But by their opinion, only Monkes shall be the children of the heauenlie father, they only shall be bold to call vpon God their Father: what shall the Church do in the meane season? it shall by like right be sent a-way to the Gentils and Publicans. For Christ saith: If ye be friendly to your friends, what fauour looke you for thereby? do not the Gentiles & Publicans the same? But we shall be in good case forsooth, if the title of Christians be left vnto vs, and the inheritance of the kingdom of heauen taken away from vs. And no lesse strong is *Augustines* argument. When (saith he) the Lord forbiddeth to commit fornication, he no lesse forbiddeth to touch the wife of thine enemy than of thy friend. When he forbiddeth theft, he giueth leaue to steale nothing at all, either from thy friend or frō thine enemy. But these two, not to steale, and not to commit fornication, *Paul* bringeth within the compass of the rule of loue, yea and teacheth that they are contained vnder this commandement, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Therefore, eether *Paul* must haue bin a false expositor of the law, or it necessarily followeth hereby, that our enemies ought also to be loued, euen by commandemēt, like as our friends. Therefore they do truly bewray themselves to be the children of Satan, that do so licentiously shake off the common yoke of the children of God. It is to be doubted, whether they haue published this doctrine with more grosse dulnes or shamelesnes. For there are none of the olde writers that do not pronounce as of a thing certain, that these are mere commandements. And that euen in *Gregories* age it was not doubted of, appeareth by his owne affirmation, for he without controurtie taketh them for commandements. And how foolish do they reason? They say that they are too weightie a burden for Christians. As though there could be deuised any thing more weighty than to loue God with all our heart, with all our soule, with all our strength. In comparison of this law any thing may be compted easie, whether it be to loue our enemy, or to lay away all desire of reuenge out of our mind. In deede all things are high and hard to our weaknes euen the least tide of the law. It is the

Lord

Lord in whom we vse strength. Let him giue what he commandeth, and command what he will. Christian men to be vnder the lawe of grace, is not vnbridledly to wander without law, but to be graffed in Christ, by whose grace they are free from the curse of the Law, and by whose spirite they haue a law written in their harts. This grace *Paul* vnproperly called a law, alluding to the law of God against which he did set it in comparison. But these men doe in the name of the law, dispute vpon a matter of nothing.

58 Of like sort it is that they called Venial sinne, both secret vngodlinesse that is against the first Table, and also the direct transgressing of the last Commandement. For they define it thus, that it is a desire without aduised assent, which resteth not long in the hart. But I say, that it cannot come at all into the hart, but by want of those things that are required in the law. We forbid to haue strange gods. When the minde shaken with the engines of distrust, looketh about elsewhere, when it is touched with a sodaine desire to remooue his blessednesse some other way: whence come these motions, although they quickly vanish away, but of this, that there is some thing in the soule empty, to receiue such tentations? And to the end not to draw out this argument to greater length, there is a commandement giuen to loue God with all our hart, with all our minde, with all our soule: if then all the powers of our soule be not bent to the loue of God, we haue already departed from the obedience of the law, because the enemies that do therein arise against his kingdome, and interrupt his decrees, doe prooue that God hath not his throne well stablished in our conscience. As for the last commandement, we haue already shewed that it properly belongeth hereunto. Hath any desire of minde pricked vs? we are already guilty of coueting, & therewithall are made transgressors of the law, because the Lord doth forbid vs, not onely to purpose and practise any thing that may be to anothers losse, but also to be pricked and swell with coueting it. But the curse of God doth alway hang ouer the transgression of the law. We cannot therefore prooue euen the very least desires free from iudgement of death. In weying of finnes (saith *Augustine*) let vs not bring false balances to weigh what we list and how we list at our own pleasure, saying: this is heauy and this is light: but let vs bring Gods balance out of the holy Scriptures, as out of the Lords treasure, and let vs therein weigh what is heauy: rather let vs not wey, but reknowledge things already weighed by the Lord. But what saith the Scripture? Truly when *Paul* saith that the reward of sinne is death, he sheweth that he knew not this stinking distinction. Sith we are too much inclined to hypocrisie, this cherishment thereof ought not to haue bene added to flatter our slothfull consciences.

59 I would to God they would consider what that saying of Christ meaneth: He that transgresseth one of the least of these commandements, and teacheth men so, shall be counted none in the kingdome of heauen. Are not they of that sort, when they dare so extenuate the transgression of the law, as if it were not worthy of death? but they ought to haue considered, not onely what is commanded, but what he is that commandeth, because his authoritie is diminished in euery transgression, how little soeuer it be, of the law that he hath giuen in commandement. Is it a small matter with them, that Gods maiestie be offended in any thing? Moreover if God hath declared his will in the law, whatsoeuer 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 himselfe hath pronounced it plainly, if they would rather finde in their harts to heare his voice, than to trouble cleare truth with their vnseasonable subtleties of argument. The soule (saith he) that sinneth, the same shall die. Again, which I euen now alleaged, the reward of sinne is death. But albeit they graunt it to be a sinne, because they cannot deny it: yet they stand stiffe in this, that it is no deadly sinne. But sith they haue hitherto too much borne

They doe in vaine diminish the weights of sinne, who make venial sinnes of the secret vnadvised desires wherein the hart of man death not long rest.

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

Mat. 5. 19. Every transgressi- on euen of the least commande- ment: diminisheth his authoritie that commandeth, & so pleases him, & pro- uoketh his wrath and is not other- wise pardonable then by mere & true desert which in selfe so be punished with eternal death. Eccl. 18. 20. Rom. 6. 23.

with their owne madnesse, let them yet at length learne to waxe wiser. But if they continue in dorage, we will bid them farewell: and let the children of God learne this, that all sinne is deadly, because it is a rebellion against the will of God, which of necessitie prouoketh his wrath, because it is a breach of the law, vpon which the iudgment of God is pronounced without exception: and that the sins of the holy ones are veniall or pardonable, not of their owne nature, but because they obtaine pardon by the mercie of God.

The ix. Chapter.

*That Christ although he was knowne to the Iewes vnder the law,
yet was deliuered onely by the Gospell.*

*Christ was knowne
to the fathers vnder
the law, but
not so clearely as
so vs he is mani-
fested in the
Gospell.
M. d. 4. 2.*

1. Pet. 1. 12.

Iohn. 5. 46.
Mat 13. 16.
Luk. 10. 23.

Iohn. 8. 56.

Iohn. 1. 18.

Heb. 1. 1.

1. Cor. 4. 6.

BECAUSE it pleased God in the olde time not vainely by expiations and sacrifices to declare himselfe a Father, and not in-vaine he did consecrate a chosen people to himselfe: euen then without doubt he was knownen in the same image, wherein he now appeareth to vs with full brightnesse. Therefore *Malachie*, after that he had bidden the Iewes to take heed to the lawe of *Moses*, and to continue in studie thereof, (because after his death there should come a certaine interruption of the office of the Prophets) did forthwith declare, that there should arise a sonne of righteousness. 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 much more light to be hoped for, when he should be come in deede. For this reason doth *Peter* say, that the Prophets did make search, and diligently enquire, of the saluation that is now opened by the Gospell: and that it was reueiled vnto them, that they should minister, not to themselues, nor to their owne age, but vnto vs, those things that are declared by the Gospell. Not that their doctrine was vnprofitable to the people in old time, or nothing auailed themselues: but because they enioyed not the treasure which God sent vnto vs by their hand. For at this day the grace whereof they testified, is familiarly set before our eyes. And whereas they did but a little sip of it, there is offered vnto vs a more plentifull enioying thereof. Therefore Christ himselfe, which affirmeth that he had witness borne him by *Moses*, yet extolleth the measure of grace whereby we excell the Iewes. For speaking to the Disciples, he said: Blessed are the eyes that see that which ye see, and blessed are the eares that heare that which ye heare. For many kings and Prophets haue wished it, and haue not obtained it. This is no small commendation of the reueiling of the Gospell that God preferred vs before the holy fathers that excelled in rare godlines. With which sentence that other place disagreeeth not, where it is said, that *Abraham* sawe the day of Christ, and reioyced. For though the sight of a thing farre distant was somewhat darke, ye he wanted nothing to the assurance of good hope. And thence came that ioy which accompanied the holy Prophet, euen to his death: And that saying of *Iohn Baptist*: No man hath seene God at any time, the onely begotten that is in the bosome of the father, hath declared him vnto vs, doth not exclude the godly which had bin dead before him, from the fellowip of the vnderstanding and light that shineth in the person of Christ: But comparing their estate with ours, he teacheth that those mysteries, which they sawe but darkely vnder shadowes, are manifest to vs: as the author of the Epistle to the *Hebrewes* doth well set out, saying, that God diuersly and manie waies spake in olde time by the Prophets, but now by his beloued sonne, although therefore that onely begotten one, which is at this day to vs the brightnesse of the glorie, and the print of the substance of God the father, was in olde time knownen to the Iewes, as ye haue in another place alleaged out of *Paul*, that he was the guide of the olde deliuerance: yet is it true, which the same *Paul* else where teacheth, that God which commanded the light to shine out of darkenesse, hath now shined

upon our hearts to set forth the knowledge of the glorie of God in the face of Iesus Christ: because when he appeared in this his image, he did in a manner make himselfe visible, in comparison of the darke and shadowish forme that had bene of him before. And so much the more foule and detestable in their vnthankfulness and peruerfenesse, that are here so blinde at mid day. And therefore *Paul* saith, that their mindes are darkened by *Sathan*, that they shoulde not see the glorie of Christ shining in the Gospell, though there be no veile set between them and it.

2 Nowe I take the Gospell for the cleere disclosing of the mysterie of Christ. I grant truly, that in that respect that *Paul* calleth the Gospell the doctrine of faith, all the promises that we here and there finde in the law, concerning the free forgiveness of sinnes, whereby God reconcileth men to himselfe, are accounted parts thereof. For he compareth faith against these terrours, wherewith the conscience should be troubled and vexed, if saluation were to be sought by works. Whereupon followeth, that in taking the name of the Gospell largely, there are contained vnder it all the testimonies that God in old time gaue to the fathers, of his mercy & fatherlie fauor: But in the more excellent signification of it, I saie it is applied to the publishing of the grace giuen in Christ. And that meaning is not onely received by common vse, but also hangeth vpon the authoritie of Christ and the Apostles. Whereupon this is properly ascribed vnto him, that he preached the Gospell of the kingdom. And *Marke* maketh his preface in this manner, The beginning of the Gospell of Iesus Christ. And there is no neede to gather places to prooue a thing sufficiently known. Christ therefore by his comming hath made cleere the life and immortalitie by the Gospell. By which wordes *Paul* meaneth, not that the fathers were drowned in darkenesse of death, vntill the sonne of God did put on flesh: but claiming this prerogative of honour to the Gospell, he teacheth that it is a newe and vnwonted kinde of message, whereby God performed those things that he had promised, that the truth of his promises should be fulfilled in the person of the sonne. For although the faithfull haue alway found by experience, that same saying of *Paul* to be true, that in Christ are all the promises, yea and Amen, because they were sealed in their hearts: yet because he hath accomplished all parts of our saluation in his flesh, therefore that selfe liuely deliuering of the things rightfully obtained a new and singular title of praise. Whereupon commeth that saying of Christ: Hereafter yee shall see the heauens open, and the Angels of God ascending and descending vpon the soine of man. For though he seeme to haue relation vnto the ladder shewed in a vision to the Patriarch *Jacob*: yet he setteth out the excellencie of his comming by this marke, that he opened the gate of heauen to all men, that the entrie thereof may stande familiarly open to all men.

3 But yet we must take heede of the diuclish imagination of *Seruetus*, which when he goeth about, or at least faineth that he goeth about, to extoll the greatnesse of the grace of Christ, vterly aboliseth the promises, as if they were ended together with the law. He layeth for him, that by the faith of the Gospell there is brought vnto vs the accomplishment of all the promises: as though there were no difference between vs and Christ. I did in deed euen now declare that Christ left nothing vnperformed of the whole summe of our saluation: but it is wrongfully gathered thereupon, that we doe already enjoy the benefits purchased by him, as though that saying of *Paul* were false, that our saluation is hidden in hope. I graunt indeede, that we by beleuing in Christ, do also passe from death to life: But in the meane season wee must hold this saying of *Iohn*, that although we knowe we be the children of God, yet it hath not as yet appeared, till we shall be like vnto him: that is, till we shall see him such as he is. Therefore although Christ offer vnto vs in his Gospell present fulnesse of spirituall good things, yet the enioying thereof lyeth still hid vnder the keeping of hope, till being vnclodded of the corruptible flesh, we be transfigured into the glorie

Although in the law and the Prophets there be many promises concerning the free forgiveness of sins, yet the name of the Gospell properly taken is not applicable vnto them but onely to the publishing of grace now giuen in Iesu Christ.

1. Tim. 4. 6.

Matt. 4. 9.
Mar. 1. 1.

2. Tim. 1. 10.

Iohn 1. 52.

We may not with Seruetus thinke that because the promises made before are accomplished in Christ, therefore they are abolished, so as Christians are not to looke for any further enioying of things promised than they haue attained already.

of him that goeth before vs. In the meane time the holie Ghost biddeth vs to rest vpon the promises, whose authoritie ought with vs to put to silence all the barkings of that filthy dogge. For as *Paul* witnesseth, godlinesse hath a promise as well of the life to come, as of the life present. For which reason hee boasteth that he is an Apostle of Christ, according to the promise of life that is in him. And in another place he putteth vs in minde, that we haue the same promises, which in the old time were giuen to the holy men. Finally, he setteth this for the summe of felicitie, that we are sealed vp with the holy spirit of promise, but yet we doe no otherwise enjoy Christ, but so farre as we embrace him clothed with his promises. Whereby it commeth to passe, that he indeed dwelleth in our harts, and yet we wander in iourney abroad from him: because we walke by faith and not by sight. And these two things doe not ill agree together: that we possesse in Christ all that pertaineth to the perfection of the heavenly life: and yet that faith is a beholding of good things that are not seene. Onely there is a difference to be noted in the nature or qualitie of the promises: because the Gospell sheweth with her finger that thing which the lawe did shadow vnder figures.

1. Tim. 4. 8.

2. Tim. 1.

2. Cor. 7.

The Gospell is not so opposite to the lawe, as teaching another way of saluation, but the same more plainly.

4 And hereby also is their error conuincd, which doe neuer otherwise compare the law with the Gospell, but as they compare the merites of workes with the free imputation of righteousnesse. Although in deede this comparison of contraries be not to be reiected: because *Paul* doth oftentimes vnderstande by the name of the lawe, a rule to liue righteously, wherein God requireth of vs, that which is his, not giuing vs any hope of life, vnlesse we in all points obey it: and on the other side adding a curse if we do neuer so little swarue from it: that is in such places as he disputeth, that we do freely please God, and are by pardon reckoned righteous, because the obseruation of the law, whereunto the reward is promised, is no where founde. Therefore *Paul* doth fitly make the righteousnes of the law and of the Gospell, contrarie the one to the other. But the Gospell did not so succede in place of the whole law, that it should bring any diuerse meane of saluation, but rather to confirme and prouue to be of force, whatsoeuer the law had promised, & to ioyne the bodie to the shadowes. For when Christ saith, that the law and the Prophets were vntill *Iohn*: he maketh not the fathers subiect to the curse, which the bondseruants of the law can not escape: but rather onely that they were instructed with certaine rudiments, so as they staid a great way beneath the height of the doctrine of the Gospell. Therefore *Paul* calling the Gospell the power of God, to saluation to euery belceuer, by and by addeth, that it hath witness of the law and the prophets. Bu: in the ende of the same Epistle, although he shew that the title of praise of Iesus Christ is the reuelation of the mysterie kept secret in the euerlasting times: yet hee doth qualifie that saying, with adding an exposition, teaching that hee is openly shewed by the writings of the Prophets. Whereupon we gather, that when we are to entreate of the whole law, the Gospell distreth from the law onely in respect of the plaine disclosing thereof. But yet for the inestimable flowing store of grace, which hath bene laide open for vs in Christ, it is now not without cause said, that at his comming the heavenly kingdome of God was erected in earth.

Rom. 1. 16.

inquire

The preaching of Iohn a meane betwene the Law & the Gospell. In which respect his office differing both from the prophets and Apostles hee is termed greater than the one and lesse than the other.

4 Now betwene the lawe and the Gospell came *Iohn*, which had an office that was meane and of affinitie to them both. For though when hee called Christ the lambe of God, and the sacrifice for the cleansing of finnes, he shewed forth the sum of the Gospell: yet because he did not expresse that same incomparable strength and glorie, which at length appeared in his resurrection, therefore Christ saith, that he was not equal to the Apostles. For so do those words of his meane: that though *Iohn* excell among the sonnes of women, yet hee that is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater than he. Because he doth not there commend the persons of men, but after he had preferred *Iohn* before the Prophets, he aduanceth the preaching of the Gospell

Gospell to the highest degree: which preaching we see in another place signified by the kingdome of heauen. But whereas *Iohn* himselfe doth answer that he is but a voice, as though he were inferiour to the Prophets, he doth not that for fained humilities sake, but meaneth to teach that the proper office of the Embassadour was not committed to him, but that he onely executeth the office of an apparitor: as it was forespoken by *Malachie*: Behold, I send *Elias* the Prophet, before that the great and terrible day of the Lord doe come. And truly he did nothing else in the whole course of his ministerie, but endeouour to get disciples to Christ: as also *Esay* proueth, that this was enioyned him from God. And in this sense Christ is called a candle burning and shining, because the broad day had not yet appeared. And yet this is no let, but that he may be reckoned among the publishers of the Gospel, like as he vsed the same Baptisme, which was afterward deliuered to the Apostles. But that which he began, was not fulfilled but by the Apostles, with free proceeding, after that Christ was taken vp from them into the heauenly glorie.

Mat. 11. 17.

Iohn. 1. 23.

Mal. 4. 5.

Iohn. 5. 35. *John*

The x. Chapter.

Of the likeness of the old and new Testament.

BY the things aforesaide it may now appeere euidently, that all the men whome from the beginning of the world God adopted into the estate of his people, were with the same lawe, and with the bonde of the same doctrine, which now remaineth in force among vs, bounde in covenant to him. But because it is of no small importance that this point be well established, I will adioine vnto it for an addition, such the fathers were partakers of all one inheritance with vs, and hoped for all one saluation by the grace of all one Mediatour, how farre their estate differed from ours in this fellowship. But although the testimonies that wee haue gathered out of the lawe and the Prophets for prooffe thereof, doe make it plaine that there was neuer any other rule of religion and godlinesse in the people of God: yet because in writers there are oftentimes many things spoken of the difference of the old and new Testament, that may make the Reader that is not of verie sharpe iudgement to bee in doubt: therefore we shall rightfully appoint one peculiar place for the better and more exact discussing of this matter: Yea, and that thing also, which otherwise should haue bene verie profitable for vs, is now made necessaie by that monstrous losell *Sernettus* and by diuers other mad men of the sect of Anabaptistes, which haue no other opinion of the people of Israel, than as of a heard of swine: which they fondly faine to haue been fattened vp by the Lord here in this earth, without anie hope of heauenly immortalitie. Therefore that we may keepe away this pestilent error from godly mindes, and also to plucke out of them all doubts which are wont by and by to arise vpon hearing mention of the diuersitie betweene the olde and the new Testament: let vs by the way looke, what they haue in them like, and what unlike one to the other: what covenant the Lorde made with the Israelites in the olde time before the coming of Christ, and what covenant he hath now made with vs since Christ hath been openly shewed.

A thing necessary so know the agreement & difference between our selves and the fathers under the law.

2 And both these points may be made plaine with one worde. The covenant of all the fathers so differeth nothing from ours in substance and in matter it selfe, that it is altogether one and the selfesame: but the ministracion is diuers. But because of so great thortnesse no man were able to attaine a certaine vnderstanding, wee must needs proceed on with a longer declaration if we meane to profite any thing at all. But in shewing how they are like or rather all one, it shall be superfluous to discourse againe of new vpon all the speciall particulars that haue already bene declared: and it shall be out of season to mingle those things together that remaine yet to be spoken in other places. Here we must chiefly rest vpon three principall pointes:

The fathers had the same covenants which we haue: they looked for immortalitie and had it promised: they expected it by mercie and not by merite: they knew that Christ was their mediator to obtaine mercie, as well as we.

First,

Cap. 10. Of the knowledge of

First, that we holde, that carnall wealth and felicitie was not the marke appointed to the Iewes 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 both by oracles, and by the lawe, and by the prophecies. Secondly, that the covenant whereby they were ioyned to the Lord, was vpholden not by any merites of theirs, but by the onely mercie of God that called them. Thirdly, that they both had and knew Christ the Mediatour, by whom they should both be ioyned to God and enjoy his promises. Of which points, because the seconde peradventure is not yet sufficiently known, it shall in place appointed for it be declared at large. For we shall confirme by many and cleere testimonies of the Prophets, that it was of his owne meere goodnesse and tender fauour, whatsoeuer good the Lord at any time did, and promised to the people of *Israel*. The third also hath already had here and there some plaine declaration of it, and we haue not left the first altogether vntouched.

3 Therefore in setting out of this point, because it most specially belongeth to this present matter, & for that they make vs most controuersie about it, we will employ the more earnest trauell: but yet so that if there want yet any thing of the explication of the other, it may be by the way supplied, or in conuenient place be added. Truly, the Apostle taketh away all doubt of them all, when he saith, that God the Father long before by the Prophets in the holy Scriptures promised the Gospell, which he afterward published according to the time appointed. Againe, that the rightousnesse of faith which is taught by the Gospell it selfe, hath witness of the lawe and the Prophets. For the Gospell doeth not holde the hearts of men in the ioy of this present life, but listeth them vp to the hope of immortalitie: doth not fasten them to earthly delights, but preaching to them a hope laide vp in heauen, doth in a manner transport them thither. For thus he defineth in another place. Since that ye beleueed 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 purchased. Againe, we haue heard of your faith in Christ Iesu, and of your charitie toward the holy ones, for the hopes sake that is laid vp for you in heauen, whereof ye haue heard by the true speech of the Gospell. Againe: He hath called vs by the Gospel to the partaking of the glory of our Lord Iesus Christ. Wherefore 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 Gospel be spirituall, and openeth the entree to the possession of an incorruptible life: let vs not thinke that they to whom it was promised and declared, did passe ouer and neglect the care of their soule, and lie dully like beastes in seeking pleasures of the bodie. Neither let any man here cauilt that the promises which are sealed in the lawe and the Prophets, concerning the Gospel, were ordained for the new people. For within a litle after, that which he spake of the Gospel promised in the lawe, he addeth, that all the things that the lawe containeth are without doubt properly directed to them that are vnder the lawe. I graunt in deede it is in another argument. But he was not so forgetfull, that when he had once saide that all the things which the lawe containeth belong to the Iewes, he did not remember what in a few verses before he had affirmed of the Gospel promised in the lawe. Wherefore the Apostle sheweth most plainly, that the olde Testament chiefly tended to the life to come, when he saith, that vnder it are contained the promises of the Gospel.

4 By the same reason followeth, both that it stode vpon the free mercie of God, and also was confirmed by the meane of Christ. For the verie preaching of the Gospel pronounceth no other thing, but that sinners are iustified by the fatherly kindnesse of God, without their owne deseruing, and the whole summe thereof is fulfilled in Christ. Who then dare make the Iewes without Christ, with whome wee heare that the covenant of the Gospel was made, whereof Christ is the onely foundation? Who dare make them strangers from the benefite of free saluation, to whom

As well to the fathers vnder the law as to vs in the Gospell promises were made of the life to come and not of temporall happines onely.
Rom. 1. 2.
Rom. 3. 21.

Ephe. 1. 13.

Col. 1. 4.

1. The. 2. 14.

Rom. 3. 19.

The same mercie by vertue of the same mediator serueth the fathers which serueth vs.

whom we heare that the doctrine of the righteousness of faith was ministred? But, that we dispute not long of an euident matter, we haue a notable sentence of the Lord. *Abraham* reioyced that he might see my day, he saw it and was glad. And the same thing which Christ there testifieth of *Abraham*, the Apostle sheweth that it was vniuersall in the faithfull people, when he saith, that Christ abideth, yesterday, this day, and for euer. For he speaketh not there onely of the eternall godhead of Christ, but also of his power, which was continually opened to the faithfull. Wherefore both the blessed virgine and *Zacharie* in their songs, do say, that the saluation reuealed in Christ, is the performance of the promises, which God in old time had made to *Abraham* and the Patriarches. If the Lord in giuing his Christ, discharged his olde oath, it cannot be saide but that the end thereof was alway in Christ an euerlasting life.

John. 8. 56.

Heb. 13. 8.

Luk. 1. 54. & 72.

5 Yea, and the Apostle doth make the Israclites equall with vs, not onely in the grace of the couenant, but also in signification of sacraments. For meaning by examples of punishments, wherewith the Scripture reciteth that they were corrected in the old time, to make the *Corinthians* afraid, that they should not runne into the like offences, he beginneth with this preface, that there is no cause why we shoulde challenge any prerogatiue vnto our selues, to deliuer vs from the vengeance of God which they susteined, forasmuch as the Lorde did not onely graunt vnto them the same benefits, but he hath gloriously set forth his grace among them with the same tokens: As if he should haue saide: If yce trust that yee be out of perill, because both Baptisme wherewith yee be marked, and the Supper which yee daily receiue, haue excellent promises, and in the meane time despising the goodnes of God, yee are licentiously wanton: Know yee, that the Iewes also were not without such sacraments, against whom yet the Lord did most seuerely put his iudgements in execution. They were Baptised in passing ouer the sea, and in the clouds wherewith they were defended from the burning heate of the Sunne. They saie, that that same passage was a carnall Baptisme, which after a certaine proportion answereth to our spirituall Baptisme. But if that were allowed true, the Apostles argument coulde not proceede, which meaneth heere to haue this taken away from the Christians, that they thinke that they excell the Iewes by the prerogatiue of Baptisme. Neither is that which by and by after followeth, subiect to this cauilation: that they did eate the same spirituall meate that we eate, and drunke the same spirituall drinke, which hee expounderth to be Christ.

Equalitie betweene the fathers and vs in the thing signified both by their & our sacraments
1. Cor. 10. 1. & 17

6 To ouerthrowe this sentence of *Paul*, they obiect that which Christ saith: Your fathers did eate *Manna* in the wilderness, and are dead: hee that eateth my flesh, shall not die for euer. Which two places are very easily made to agree together. The Lord, because he then talked to hearers that sought onely to be filled with foode of their bellies, but cared not for the meate of the soule, tempered his talke somewhat to their capacitie, but especially he frameth the comparison of *Manna* and of his bodie according to their sense. They required that he, to get himselfe some credite, would approue his power with dooing some such miracle, as *Moses* did in the Wilderness, when he obtained *Manna* from heauen. But in *Manna* they conceiued nothing but the remedie of carnall hunger, wherewith the people was then vexed: but they perceiued not to that higher mysterie which *Paul* hath respect vnto Christ therefore, to they how much greater a benefit they ought to looke for at his hande, than that which they reported that *Moses* did bestow vpon their fathers, frameth this comparison: If it were a great myracle in your opinion, and worthie to be remembered, that the Lord by *Moses* ministred food from heauen to his people, to sustaine them for a small time, that they should not perish for hunger in the wilderness: gather hereby how much more excellent is the meate that giueth immortallitie. We see why the Lorde passed ouer that thing which was principall in *Manna*, and spake onely.

The words of Christ in saying: Your fathers did eate Manna and are dead: doe not conuict the Apostle which saith: They did eate the same spirituall meate that we eat. For they vnto whom Christ speaketh gaue him occasions not to touch the mysterie but onely the carnall use of their Manna.

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onely of the basest profite of it: euen because the Iewes as it were of purpose to reproch him, did cast *Moses* in his teeth, which succoured the necessitie of the people with remedie of *Manna*: hee answered that he is the minister of a much higher grace, in comparison whereof, the carnall feeding of the people, which alone they fo much esteemed, ought of right to be nothing regarded. But *Paul*, because hee knew that the Lord when he rayned *Manna* from heauen, did not onely powre it downe for the feeding of their belly, but also did distribute it for a spirituall mysterie, to be a figure of the spirituall quickening that is had in *Christ*, did not neglect that part that was most woorthie of consideration. Wherefore it certainly and cleerely followeth, that the same promises of eternall and heauenly life, which now the Lorde vouchsafeth to graunt vnto vs, were not onely communicated vnto the Iewes, but also sealed with very spirituall Sacraments. Of which matter *Augustine* disputeth largely against *Fausstus* the *Manichee*.

Sith the fathers were enlightened and coupled vnto God by the seede of that word which is immortall, it sheweth that they had the benefite of immortallitie and eternall life.

eternall forme

1. Pet. 2. 13.
Esay. 40. 6.

7 But if the readers had rather to haue testimonies alleaged vnto them out of the lawe and the Prophets, whereby they may perceiue that the spirituall couenant was common also to the fathers, as we heare by *Christ* and the *Apostles*: I will also followe that desire, and so much the more willingly, because by that meane the aduersaries shall be more surely conuincd, so that they shall haue after ward no way to dally. And I will begin at that prooffe, which although I knowe that the *Anabaptists* pride will thinke very sonde and in a manner to be laughed at, yet shall much auaille with such readers as are willing to learne and haue their sound wit. And I take it as a principle confessed, that there is such effectuall force of life in the worde of *God*, that whome so euer *God* vouchsafeth to bee partakers thereof, it quickeneth their soules. For the saying of *Peter* hath alway beene of force, that it is the incorruptible seede which abideth for euer, as also he gathereth out of the words of *Esay*. Nowe sith *God* in the old time bounde the Iewes vnto him with this holy bonde, it is no doubt that he did also seuer them into the hope of eternall life. For when I say they imbraced the word, which should ioine them nigher to *God*, I take it for the manner of communicating it: not that generall manner, which is powred abroad throughout the heauen and earth and all the creatures of the worlde, which although it doe quicken all things, euery one after the proportion of their nature, yet it doth not deliuer them from necessitie of corruption: but I speake of this speciall maner, whereby the soules of the godly are both lightened vnto the knowledge of *God*, and in a manner coupled to him. By this enlightening of the word, sith *Adam*, *Abel*, *Noe*, *Abraham*, and the other fathers cleaued vnto *God*, I say that it is not doubtfull that they had an entrie into the immortall kingdom of *God*. For it was a sound partaking of *God*, which cannot be without the benefite of eternall life.

The forme of the couenant of God with the fathers promising to bee their God, proueth that eternall life was promised them.
Leui. 26. 12.
Psal. 144. 15.
Psal. 33. 12.

Abac. 1. 12.
Esay. 33. 21.
Deut. 33. 29.

8 But if this seeme somewhat entangled: goe to, let vs come to the very forme of the couenant, which shall not onely satisfie sober wits, but also shall sufficiently conuince their ignorance that bend themselues to speake against it. For *God* did alwaies thus couenant with his seruants: I will be to you a *God*, and ye shall be to me a people. In which words the Prophets themselues are wont to expound, that both life and saluation, and the whole summe of blessednesse is comprehended. For *Danid* doth not without cause often pronounce, that blessed is the people, whose *God* is the Lord: blessed is the nation, which he hath chosen to be his inheritance: and that not for earthly felicities sake, but because he deliuereth them from death, hee preferueth them for euer, and continually sheweth them eternall mercie, whom he hath taken to his people: as it is in the other Prophets, Thou art our *God*, we shall not die: The Lord is our king, our lawmaker, he shall saue vs. Blessed art thou, *O Israel*, because thou art faued in the Lorde *God*. But, not to labour ouermuch in a thing needelesse, this admonition is founde each where in the Prophets, that wee shall want nothing towarde all aboundance of good things, and assurance of saluation,

so that the Lord be our God. And rightfully: For if his face so soone as it beginneth to shine, is a most present pledge of saluation, to what man shall hee 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 middelt of vs: as he testified by *Moses*. But such presence cannot be obtained, but that life must be also together had in possession with it. And although there were no more expressed, yet had they a promise of spirituall life plaine ynough in these words: 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 this ioyning be present, it shall bring euerlasting saluation with it.

9 Beside that, he did not onely testifie that he was to them their God, but he also promised that he would be so alway: to the end that their hope not contented with present benefites, should be extended to eternitie. And many sayings do shewe, that the speaking in the future time meant so much, as where the faithfull not only in present euils, but also for the time to come, do comfort themselues with this, that God will neuer faile them. Now as concerning the second part of the promise, he yet more plainly assured them of the blessing of God to be prolonged vnto them beyond the bounds of this life, in saying: I will be the God of your seede after you. For if he minded to declare his good will toward them being dead, in doing good to their posteritie, much more would his fauour not faile toward themselues. For God is not like vnto men, which do therefore carie their loue to their friends children, because their power is interrupted by death, so that they can not employ their friendly doings vpo them to whom they did beare good will. But God, whose bountifullnes is not hindered by death, taketh not away fro the verie dead the fruite of the mercie, which for their sakes he poureth out into a thousand generations. Therefore the Lords will was by a notable prooffe to set forth vnto them the greatnes & flowing plentie of his goodnes, which they should feele after death, when he described it to be such as should flowe ouer into all their posteritie. And the truth of this promise the Lord did then seale, and as it were brought forth the fulfilling of it, when he named himselfe the God of *Abraham, Isaac and Iacob*, long after their death. For, what had it not bin a fond naming, if they had vtterly perished? For then had it bin all one, as if he had said, I am the God of them that are not. Wherefore the Euangelists rehearse, that with this one argument the *Sadduces* were so driuen to a strait, that they could not denie that *Moses* did testifie the resurrection of the dead, for that they had learned by *Moses*, that all the Saints were in his hand. Whereupon it was easie to gather, that they are not destroyed by death, whom he that is the iudge of life and death had receiued into his safegard, custodie, and protection.

10 Nowe (which is the principall point whereupon this controuersie hangeth) let vs looke, whether the faithfull themselues haue not bene so instructed of the Lord, that they perceiued that they should haue a better life elsewhere, and so neglecting this life, had an eye to the other. First the state of life that was enioyned them by God, was a continuall exercise, whereby they might be put in mind, that they were the most miserable of all men, if their happinesse were only in this life. *Adam*, most vnhappie, euen with only remembrance of the happinesse that he had lost, did with painfull labors hardly susteine his needinesse, and that he should not be pressed with the curse of God, in the only labours of his hands, euen there receiued he extreme sorrowe of that which remained for him to be his comfort. Of his two sonnes, the one was taken away by the wicked slaughter of his brother: the other he had left aloue, whose sight he worthily detested and abhorred. *Abel* cruelly murdered in the verie floure of his age, became an example of the wretchednes of men. *Noe*, while the whole world carelesly liued in pleasure, spent a good part of his age with great

Lcui.26.12.

Exod.6.7.

God in promising the fathers to be their God in time to come, and to continue his mercie to their children, likewise in affirming himselfe to be the God of the dead, gaue the liuing plaine hope of endlessse life.

Gen.17.7.

Exod.20.6.

Exod.3.6.

Mat.22.23.

Luk.10.32.

Deut.33.3.

The estate of Adam, Abel, and Noe, declarcth that they had an eye to a better then this present life.

Gen.3.17.

Gen.4.3.

Gen. 6.22.

great wearines in building the Arke. This that he escaped death, came to passe by his greater troubles, than if he should haue dyed an hundred deaths. For beside that the Arke was to him as a graue for tenne moneths, there is nothing more vnpleasant than to be holden so long in maner drowned in dung of beasts. When he had passed ouer so great difficulties, he fell into new matter of greefe, he sawe himselfe scorned of his owne sonne, and was compelled with his owne mouth to curse him, whom by the great benefite of God he had receiued safe from the generall flood.

Gen. 12.4.

None more miserable than Abraham, if his condition in this life only be respected.

II *Abraham* in deede may be one alone to be compared with an hundred thousand, if we consider his faith, which is set fourth vnto vs for the best rule of beleewing, of whose kinred we must be accounted, that we may be the children of God. But what more absurditie is there, than *Abraham* to be the father of all the faithfull, and not to possesse so much as the smallest corner among them? but he cannot be thrown downe out of the number, no not from the most honourable degree, but that the whole Church must be destroyed. Now as touching the experiences of his life: When he was first called by the commaundement of God, he was plucked away from his country, his parents and his friends, in whome men thinke to be the chiefe sweetenesse of life: euen as if God of determinate purpose meant to spoyle him of all the pleasures of life. So soone as he came into the land where he was commaunded to dwell, he was driuen out from thence with famine. Thither he fled for succour, where to saue himselfe, he was compelled to deliuer out his wife to be abused, which we know not whether it were not more bitter to him than many deaths. When he was returned into the land of his owne dwelling, he was driuen out againe from thence with famine. What a felicitie is this, to dwell in that land, wherein a man must so oft be hungrie, yea die for famine if he runne not away? And therewithall he was brought to that necessitie with *Abimelech*, that he must needs redeeme his life with the losse of his wife, while manie yeares long he wandred vncertainly hither and thither, he was compelled by the continuall brawlings of his seruants to put away his nephewe, whome he loued as his owne sonne. Which departing without doubt he did no otherwise take than if he had suffered the cutting off of one of his limmes. A little after, he heard that he was carried away captiue by his enemies. Whither soeuer he went, he found neighbours outragiously barbarous, which would not suffer him so much as to drinke water out of the welles that himselfe had digged with great labour. For he would not haue redeemed the vse of them at the hand of King *Gerar*, if he had not first beene forbidden. Now when he came to old age, he sawe the thing which is the most vnpleasant and bitter that that age hath, himselfe punished with hauing no children, till beside all hope he begate *Ismael*, whose birth yet he paid deere for, when he was wearied with the brawling of *Sara*, as if he in maintaining the stubbornesse of his bondwoman were himselfe the cause of the trouble of his housholde. At length *Isaac* was borne, but with this condition that his first begotten *Ismael* must, as forsaken, be cruelly cast out of doores. When onely *Isaac* was left, in whome the wearied age of the sillie good man might rest, within a little after he was commaunded to kill him. What can mans wit deuise more miserable, than the father to be made the butcher of his owne sonne? If *Isaac* had died of any sickenesse, who would not haue thought the old man most miserable, that had a sonne giuen him in mockage, for whom his grieffe of want of children should be doubled? If he had beene slaine by some stranger, the unhappinesse of the thing would haue much encreased his miserie. But this passeth all examples of miserie, to haue him slaine with his fathers owne hand. Finally, he was in all the whole course of his life so tossed and vexed, as if a man would in a table paint out an example of a miserable life, he could finde none moie fit than this of *Abraham*. And let no man obiekt that he was not altogether unhappie, for that he at length prosperously escaped from so many and so great tempciffs.

Gen. 12.12.

For we cannot say that he liueth a blessed life, which for a long space together painfully weareth out of infinit troubles, but him that without feeling of euils, quietly enjoyeth present good things.

12 *Isaac* that was lesse troubled with euils, yet scarce euer tooke any taste of sweetnesse. He also felt the same vexations, that do not suffer a man to be blessed in the earth. Famine chased him out of the land of *Chanaan*: he had his wife violently plucked away from his bosome: his neighbours oft troubled him, and by all means oppressed him, so that he was faine to strue for his water: at home in his owne house, he suffred much troublefomnesse by his childrens wiues, he was grieved with disagreements of his sons, and could notremedie that so great a mischiefe, but by the banishment of him whom he had blessed. But as for *Iacob*, he is nothing else but a notable example of extreme infelicitie. He passed his childhoode most vnquietly at home among the threatnings and terrours of his elder brother, to which at length he was compelled to giue place. When hee was fledde from his parents and his natue countrie, beside that it was a greuous thing to liue in banishment, he was nothing more kindly or gently receiued of his vncl *Laban*. Then it sufficed not that hee had serued seuen yeere a harde and cruell seruice, but that also must bee by guile defrauded of his wife. For an other wiues sake he was driuen into newe seruice, where he was all the day fried with heate of the sunne, and all the night lay waking and pained with frost & cold, as himselfe complained. While he by the space of twentie yeeres suffred so harde a life, he was daily vexed with new iniuries of his father inlawe. Neither was he quiet in his owne house, seeing it diuided and in a manner scattered abroad with the hatred, brawling and enuie of his wiues. When he was commanded to returne into his countrie, he was compelled to watch an aduantage to take his journey, much like a shamefull running away: and yet could he not so escape the vniust dealing of his Father inlawe, but was faine to suffer his reproches and rebukes in the middes of his journey. Then fell he into a much more cruell distresse. For when hee came neere to his brother, he had so manie deaths before his eyes, as might bee prepared by a cruell man and a bent enemy. So was hee about measure tormented and as it were drawn insunder with terrible feares, so long as he looked for his brothers comming, when he came once in his sight, he fell downe as halfe dead at his feete, vntil he found him more fauourable than he durst haue hoped. Beside that, at his first entrie into the lande, he lost *Rachel* his deerely beloued wife. Afterward he heard worde that the sonne which he had by her, and whome therefore he loued about the rest, was torne with wilde beasts: by whose death how great grieffe he conceiued, he himselfe declared in this that after long weeping he obstinately stopped vp all waies whereby comfort might come to him, leauing himselfe nothing, but to goe downe to his sonne wailing into the graue. In the meane time how great causes of grieffe, waiting and wearines were the rauishment and deflouring of his daughter, and the boldnesse of his sons in reuenging it, which not only made him to be abhorred in sight of al the inhabitants of that countrie, but also procured him most present perill of vter destruction? Then followed that horrible outragious offence of *Ruben* his first begotten sonne, which was such as there could not chaunce a more grieuous. For whereas the defiling of a mans wife is reckoned among the highest ill fortunes: what is to bee saide of it, when that wickednesse is committed by a mans owne sonne? Within a little while after, his house is spotted with another vnnaturall adulterie: so that so manie shames might well breake a heart, that otherwise were most constant and vnable to be vanquished with calamities. Neere before the ende of this life, while he sought to prouide succour for the famine of himselfe and other, he was stricken with tydings of a new misfortune, vnderstanding that another of his sons was kept in prison, for recouering of whom hee was compelled to leaue to the rest *Beniamin*

The Lives of Isaac and Iacob especially, how far from ourward happiness?
Gen. 26. 35.
Gen. 28. 1.

Gen. 28. 5.

Gen. 29. 20.

Gen. 31. 23.

Gen. 32. 11.

Gen. 35. 16.

Gen. 37. 35.

Gen. 34. 8.

Gen. 35. 12.

Gen. 37. 18.

Gen. 42. 32.

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his onely darling. Who can thinke, that in such a heape of mischiefes he had any one moment giuen him safely to take breath in? And therefore he himselfe the best witness of himselfe, affirmed to *Pharao*, that his daies were short and euill vpon the earth. Now truly he that declareth that he hath passed his life by continuall miseries, denieth that he felt the prosperitie which the Lord had promised him. Therefore either *Iacob* did vnkindly and vnthankfully weigh the grace of God, or he truly professed that he had bene miserable vpon the earth. If his affirmation were true, then it followeth, that he had not his hope fastened vpon earthly things.

Gen. 47.9.

As the life of the fathers sheweth, so the Apostle witnesseth that they looked for other than earthly blessednes at the hands of God.
Heb. 11.9.

13 If these holy fathers looked for (as vndoubtedly they did) a blessed life at the hand of God, truly they both thought and sawe it to be another manner of blessednes, than the blessednesse of earthly life. Which thing the Apostle also doth shew excellently wel: *Abraham* (saith he) direct by faith in the lande of promise as in a strange lande, dwelling in tents with *Isaac* and *Iacob* parteners with him of the same inheritance, for they looked for a citie set vpon a good foundation, the maker and builder whereof is God, all these are dead in faith, not receiuing the things promised, but looking at them a farre off, and beleeuing and confessing that they were guesstes & strangers vpon the land. Whereby they declare that they fought for a cuntry, and if they had bene moued with desire of that land from whence they came, they had power to returne. But they fought for a better, that is the heavenly cuntry. Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, forasmuch as he hath prepared them a citie. For they had bene duller than blockes, to follow promises so earnestly, whereof there appeared no hope in earth, vnlesse they had looked for the fulfilling of them elsewhere. But this he chiefly inforceth, & that not without good reason, that they called this life a journey from home; euen as *Moses* reporteth. For if they were strangers and forciners in the land of *Chanaan*, where is the Lords promise, whereby they were made heires of it? He sheweth plainly therefore, that the Lords promise, concerning the possession thereof, had a further respect. Wherefore they purchased not one foote in the land of *Chanaan*, but for buriall, whereby they testified, that they did not hope that they should receiue the fruit of the promise till after death. And that is the cause why *Iacob* so much esteemed to be buried there, that he compelled his son *Ioseph* to promise it him, and to sweare to performe it: and why *Ioseph* willed his bones, certaine ages after, when they were long before fallen into powder, to be remooued thither.

Gen. 47.9.

Gen. 47.29. & 30.
Gen. 50.25.

The righteous of old did account the end of ths life to be the beginning of a better.

Gen. 49.18.

Num. 23.10.
Psal. 116.15.
Psal. 34.22.

14 Finally, it appeareth plainly, that in all the trauailes of this life they had alway set before them the blessednesse of the life to come. For to what purpose should *Iacob* haue so much desired, and with so great danger sought the preeminence of the first begotten, which should procure him nothing but banishment, and in a manner to be cast off from being his childe: but no good at all, vnlesse he had respect to a higher blessing? And he declared, that he had this meaning by the words which he spake among his last breathings. Lord, I will looke for thy saluation. What saluation could he haue looked for, when he sawe that he lay readie to giue vp the Ghost, vnles he had seen in death the beginning of a new life? But what dispute we of the holy ones and children of God, when euen he was not without a taste of such vnderstanding, which otherwise was enemie to the truth? For what meant *Balaam* when he said: Let my soule die the death of the righteous, and let my last times be like vnto theirs? but that he meant the same thing that *Dauid* after ward vttered, that the death of the Saints is precious in the sight of the Lord, but the death of the wicked, is verie euill: If the furthest bound and end were in death, there could in it be noted no difference between the righteous and vnrighteous, they differ one from the other by the diuersitie of the estates that after death shall befall to them both.

The hope which Dauid had of immortalitye.

15 We are not yet come beyond *Moses*, Which (as these men say) had no other office, but to perswade the carnall people to worship God by the fruitfulnessse of the ground

ground and plentie of all things. And yet (vnlesse a man will see the light that willingly offereth it selfe) there is already a plaine declaration of the spirituall covenant. But if we come downe to the prophets, there with most full brightnesse both the life euertlasting and the kingdome of Christ do vtter themselves. And first of all *Dauid*, which as he was before the other in time, so according to the order of Gods distribution, he shewed the heavenly mysteries in shadows more darkly than the rest, yet with what plainnes and certaintie directeth he all his sayings to that end? Howe he esteemed the earthly dwelling, this sentence testifieth: I am heere a forreiner and stranger, as all my fathers were. Euerie liuing man is vanitie, euery one walketh about as a shadow. But now what is my expectation, Lord? euen to thee is my hope. Truly he that confessing that in the earth there is nothing sound or stedfast, keepeth stil a stedfastnes of hope in god, considereth his felicity laid vp in another place. To such consideration is he wont to cal all the faithful, so oft as he meaneth to comfort them truly. For in another place after he had spoken of the shortnes, and the transitorie and vanishing image of mans life, he addeth: But the mercie of the Lorde is for euer vpon them that feare him. Like whereunto is that which is in the hundred and seconde Psalme. At the Beginning Lorde thou didst lay the foundation of the earth, and the heauens are the workes of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou abidest: they shall waxe olde like a garment, and thou shalt change them as apparell, but thou remaine the selfe same, and thy yeeres shall not faile: the sonnes of thy seruants shall dwell, and thy posteritie shall be established before thee. If the godlie cease not for the decaye of heauen and earth to be stablished before the Lorde, it followeth that their saluation is ioyned with the eternitie of God. But that hope cannot stand at all, vnles it rest vpon the promise that is set forth in *Esaie*: The heauens (saith the Lord) shal vanish away like smoke, the earth shall be worne out like a garment, and the inhabitants of it shall perish like those things: But my saluation shall bee for euer, and my righteousnesse shall not faile: where euertlastingnesse is giuen to righteousnes and saluation, not in respect that they remaine with God, but in respect that they are felt of men.

Psal. 39. 13.

Psal. 101. 17.

Esaie. 51. 4.

16 Neither may we otherwise take those things, that he commonly speaketh of the prosperous successe of the faithfull, but to apply them to the open shewing of the heavenly glorie. As these sayings: The Lord keepeth the soules of the righteous, he shall deliuer them from the hand of the sinner. Light is arisen to the righteous, and ioy to the vpright in hart. The righteousnes of the godly man abideth for euer: his home 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: the righteous shall bee in eternall remembrance. Againe: the Lorde shall redeeme the soules of his seruants. For the Lorde oftentimes leaueth his seruants to the lust of the wicked, not onely to be vexed, but also to be torne in peeces and destroied: he suffereth the good to lie languishing in darkenes and filth, while the wicked doe in a manner shine among the starrs. And hee doth not so cheere them with the brightnesse of his countenance, that they enjoy long continuing gladnes. Wherefore euen he also hideth not, that if the faithfull fasten their eyes vpon the present state of things, they shall be striken with a sore temptation, as though there were no fauour or reward of innocencie with God. So much doth wickednesse for the most part prosper and flourish, while the companie of the godlie is oppressed with shame, pouertie, contempt, and all kinds of crosses. It wanteth but little (saith he) that my foote slipped not, and my steps fell not abroad, while the fortune of fooles grieueth me, and while I see the prosperitie of the wicked. At length after rehearfall of it he concludeth: I bent my thought, if I could vnderstande these things. But it is a torment to my spirit, till I enter into the sanctuarie of the Lord, and vnderstand the last end of them.

What Dauid speaketh of the faithfull mans prosperous successe, is hath relation to future blessedness in the worlde to come.

*Psal. 97. 10.
Psa. 112. 7-9.
Psal. 140. 12.
Psal. 112. 6.
Psal. 34. 23.*

Psal. 73. 17.

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The expectation which Dauid had of a iudgement to come and felicitie so follow it.

*Pfal. 17.
Pfal. 52. 10.
Pfal. 92. 13.*

Pfal. 55. 23.

Iob. 21. 13.

Pfal. 49. 7.

17 Let vs therefore learne yet by this confession of *Dauid*, that the holy fathers vnder the olde testament were not ignorant, how seldome or neuer God doth in this world performe to his seruants those things that he promisseth them, and that therefore they did lift vp their minds to Gods sanctuarie, wherein they had that laide vp in store, which appeareth not in the shadowe of this present life. That was the last iudgement of God, which when they could not see with eyes, they were content to vnderstand by Faith. Trusting vpon which assurance, whatsoever happened in the world, yet they doubted not a time would once come, when the promises of God should be fulfilled. As these sayings doe witness, I will behold the face of God in righteousness: I will be satisfied with thy countenance. Againe: I as a greene Oliue tree in the house of the Lord. Againe, The righteous shall flourish as a date tree, & shall spread in branches like the Cedar of *Libanus*, being planted in the house of the Lord, they shall flourish in the Palaces of our God: They shall still beare fruite, they shall be fat and greene in their old age. When he had said a little before: How deepe are thy thoughts? O Lord, while the wicked doe flourish, they bud out like an herbe, that they may perish for euer. Where is that faire shew and beautie of the faithfull, but when the face of this world shall be turned inward by disclosing of the kingdome of God? When they turned their eyes to that eternitie, they despised the hardnes enduring but a moment of present miseries, and boldly burst forth into these wordes: Thou shalt not suffer for euer the righteous to die, but thou shalt throw downe the wicked headlong into the pit of destruction. Where is in this world the pit of eternall destruction that may swallow vp the wicked? Among whose felicities, this is also reckened in another place, that they close vp the end of their life in a moment without long languishing. Where is that so great stedfastnesse of the holy ones, whom *Dauid* himselfe echwhere complaineth, not onely to be shaken with trouble, but also to be oppressed, and vtterly broken in peeces? Forsooth, he did set before his eyes, not what the altering course of the world beareth, which is vnstable and more vnstedfast than the ebbing and flowing of tides, but what the Lord will doe, when he shall one day sit for the eternall setting of heauen and earth. As in another place he excellently well describeth it: The foolish doe stay vpon their wealthines, and are proud 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 pay to God the price of his ransome, but whereas they see that both the wise doe die, and that the wicked also and fooles doe perish and leane their riches to strangers, yet they thinke that their houses shall abide for euer, and their dwellings to the end of ages, and they aduance their names vpon the earth, but man shall not continue in honor: he shall be like to the beastes that die. This imagination of theirs is extremest folly, which yet their posteritie doe greedilie follow. They shall be placed like a flocke in Hell, and death shall haue rule ouer them. When the light ariseth, the vpright shall haue dominion ouer them, the beautie of them shall perish, Hell is their dwelling house. First, this laughing to scorne of the foolish for that they rest on the slippery and rolling good things of the world, doth shew that the wise must seeke a far other felicitie. But there he more evidently discloseth the mystery of the resurrection, where after the destruction and extinguishment of them, he erecteth the kingdome of the godly. For what rising of light (I pray you) shall we call that, but the reuicing of the new life which followeth the end of this present life.

The faithfull could not haue comforted themselves, as both Dauid and Samuel did with the momentane shortnes of their troubles.

18 From thence did spring vp that consideration, which the faithfull oftentimes vsed for a comfort of their miseries and remedy of patience: It is but a moment in the Lords displeasure, and life in his mercy. How did they determine afflictions to end in a moment, that were in affliction in a manner their life long? where did they espie so long an enduring of Gods kindnes, wherof they scarcely felt any little tast? If they had stuck fast vpon the earth, they could haue found no such thing, but because they looked

looked vpon heauen, they acknowledged that it is but a moment of time, while the Lord exerciseth his holy ones by the crosse, but that his mercies, wherein they are gathered together, doe last the worlds age. Againe, they did foresee the eternall and neuer ending destruction of the vngodly, which were as in a dreame happy for one day. Whereupon came these sayings: The remembrance of the righteous shall be in blessing, but the name of the wicked shall rot. Precious is the death of the Saints in the sight of the Lord, but the death of the wicked most cuill. Againe, in *Sannuel*: The Lord shall keepe the feete of the holy, and the wicked shall be put to silence in darkenes. Which doe declare that they well knew, that howsoever the holy were diuersly carried about, yet their last end is life and saluation: and that the prosperitie of the wicked is a pleasant way, whereby they by litle and litle slide forward into the gulfe of death. Therefore they called the death of such, the destruction of the vncircumcised, as of them from whom the hope of the resurrection was cut away. Wherefore *Dauid* could not deuise a more grieuous curse than this: Let them be blotted out of the booke of life, and not be written with the righteous.

19 But aboue all other, notable is that saying of *Iob*: I know that my redeemer liueth, and in the last day I shall rise againe out of the earth, and in my flesh I shall see God my sauiour: This hope is laid vp in my bosome. Some that haue a mind to make a shew of their sharpe wit doe cauil that this is not to be vnderstanded of the last resurrection, but of the first day that *Iob* looked to haue God more gentle to him, which although we graunt the *n* in part, yet shall we enforce them to confesse whether they will or no, that *Iob* could not haue come to that largenesse of hope, if he had rested his thought vpon the earth. Therefore we must needs confesse, that he lifted vp his eyes to the immortalitie to come, which saw, that his redeemer would be present with him, euen lying in his graue. For to them that thinke onely of this present life, death is their vttermost desperation: which very death could not put off *Iobs* hope. Yea though he kill me (said he) neuertheles I will still hope in him. And let no trifter here carpe against me and say, that these were the sayings but of a few, whereby is not proued that such doctrine was among the *Iewes*. For I will by and by answer him, that these few did not in these sayings vtter any secret wisdome, wherunto only certaine excellent wits, were feuerally and priuately suffered to attaine, but that as they were by the holy Ghost appointed teachers of the people, so they openly published those mystreries, 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 Ghost, wherein he spake of the spirituall life so clearly and plainly in the Church of the *Iewes*, it were a point of vtolerable stubbornnes to send them away onely to the fleshly couenant, wherein is mention made of nothing, but earth and earthly wealthnes.

20 If I come downe to the later Prophets, there we may freely walke as in our owne field. For if it were not hard for vs to get the vpper hand in *Dauid*, *Iob*, and *Sannuel*, here it shall be much more easie. For God kept this distribution and order in disposing the couenant of his mercy, that how much the neerer it drew on in proccesse of time to the full performance thereof, with so much greater increasements of reuelation he did day by day more brightly shew it. Therefore at the beginning when the first promise of saluation was made vnto *Adam*, there glistered out but as it were small sparkles of it. After, hauing more added vnto it, a greater largenes of light began to be put foorth: which from thence foorth brake out more and more, and displayed his brightnes farther abroad, till at length all the cloudes were drinen away, and Christ the sonne of righteoufnesse fully lightened the whole world. We neede not therefore to feare that we shall of testimonies of the Prophets, if we seeke them to prouoe our cause, but because I see that there will arise a huge deale of matter, wherupon I should be constrained of necessitie to tarry longer than the proportion of my purpose may

bles in the world except they had made a reckoning of endlesse rest.
Psal. 30. 6.
Pro. 10. 7.
Psal. 100. 16. & 30. 23.
1. Sam. 2. 9.

Ezc. 28. 10. & 31. 1.
Psa. 69.

Iobs hope of life in death. Neither was this in him, or the like in others the speciall persuasion onely of some, but the general doctrine deliuered all men to beleeue.
Iob. 19. 25.

Iob. 13. 15.

How the Prophets haue shewed our vsiue spiri- uall seruice to come by temporall and earthly commodities presently seene & knowne.

beare, for it would so grow to a worke of a great volume, and also be cause I haue already, by those things that I haue said before, made plaine the way, euen for a reader of meane capacity, so as he may go forward without stumbling: therefore I will at this present abstaine frō long tediousnesse: which to do is no lesse necessarie: but giuing the readers warning before hand, that they remember to open their owne way with that key that we haue first giuen them in their hand. That is, that so oft as the Prophets speake of the blessednesse of the faithfull people, whereof scarcely the least steps are seene in this present life, they may resort to this distinction: that the Prophets the better to expresse the goodnesse of God, did as in a shadow expresse it to the people by temporall benefites, as by certaine rough drawing of the portraiture thereof: but that the perfect image, that they haue painted thereof, was such as might rauish mens minds out of the earth, and out of the elements of this world, and of the age that shall perish, and of necessitie raise it vp to the considering of the felicitie of the life that is to come and spirituall.

The power which God hath to giue life shewed by a vision of breath and liuelinesse restored to a field full of dead bones. Ezc. 37. 4.

Esa. 26. 19.

21 We will be content with one example. When the Israelites being caried away to *Babylon*, saw their scattering abroad to be like vnto death, they could hardly be remoued frō this opiniō that they thought that all was but fables that *Ezechiel* prophecied to their restitution: because they reckoned it euen all one as if he had told them that rotten carcases should be restored againe to life. The Lord to shewe, that euen the same difficultie could not stop him frō bringing his benefit to effect, shewed to the Prophet in a vision a field full of drie bones, to the which in a moment with the onelie power of his word he restored breath and liuelinesse. The vision in deede serued to correct the incredulitie at that present time: but in the meane season he did put the Iewes in mind how farre the power of the Lord extended beyond the account of the people, which so easilie quickened with his onelie becke, bones already rotten and scattered abroad: wherefore you shall compare that with an other saying of *Esaie*. The dead shall rise, my carcase, they shall rise againe. Awake ye and reioyce that dwell in the dust, because the dew of the Greene field is thy dew, and thou shalt plucke downe the land of the Giants into ruine. Go my people, enter into thy tents: shut thy doores vpon thee: hide thee a litle while, till my displeasure passe ouer. For behold, the Lord shall go out of his place, to visit the iniquitie of the dweller vpon the earth against him, and the earth shall shew foorth her blood, and shall no longer hide her flaine.

Immortalitie to come expressly spoken of by Esaie and Daniel.

Esa. 66. 22.

22 Albeit a man should doe fondlie, that would goe about to draw all to such a rule. For there be some places that without anie couering doe shew the immortalitie to come, that is prepared for the faithfull in the kingdome of God, of which sort we haue recited some, and of like sort are the most part of the rest, specially these two, the one in *Esaie*. As a new heauen, and a new earth which I make to stand before me, so shall your seede stand, and there shall be moneth of moneth, and Sabbath of Sabbath: all flesh shall come to worship before my face, saith the Lord. And they shall go out and see the dead carcases of the men that haue offended against me, that their worme shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched. The other of *Daniel*. In that time shall rise vp *Michael* the great prince, that standeth for the sonnes of his people, and there shall come a time of distresse, such as was not since nations first began to be, and then shall all thy people beaue that shall be found written in thy booke. And of those that sleepe in the dust of the earth, there shall awake some to eternall life, and some to euerlasting shame.

Dan. 12. 1.

Seeing that Christ promisseth vs no rest but with him, and Peter comprehendeth vs in the same couenent which God made

23 Now, as for prouing the other two points that the fathers had Christ for pledge of their couenant, and that they reposed in him all their affiance of blessing, I will not traude therein at all, because they haue both lesse controuersie and more plainnesse. Let vs therefore boldly determine this, which by no engines of the diuell may be remoued, that the old testament, or couenant which the Lord made with
his

his people *Israel*, was not limited within the compasse of earthly things, but also contained the promise of the spirituall and eternall life: the expectation whereof must needs have been imprinted in all their minds that truly consented to the covenant. But let vs put far away this mad and pernicious opinion, that either God did set forth in his promise to the *Jewes* nothing els, or that the *Jewes* sought nothing els but filling of their belly, delights of the flesh, flourishing wealth, outward power, fruitfulness of children, & whatsoeuer a naturall man esteemeth. For at this day *Christ* promiseth no other kingdome of heauen to his, but where they shal rest with *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*. And *Peter* affirmed, that the *Jewes* of his time were heires of the grace of the Gospell, for that they were the children of the Prophets, comprehended in the covenant, which the Lord had in the old time made with his people. And, that the same should not be witnessed with words onely, the Lord also approoued it by deed. For in the very moment that he rose againe, he vouchsafed to haue many of the holy men to rise againe in company with him, and made them to bee scene in the Citie: so giuing an assured token, that whatsoeuer he did and suffered for the purchasing of eternall saluation, pertaineth no lesse to the faithfull of the old Testament, than vnto vs. For as *Peter* testifieth, they were also endued with the same spirit of faith, wherby we are regenerate into life. Now when we heare that the same spirit which is in vs a certaine sparkle of immortallitie, wherupon it is also in another place called the earnest of our inheritance, did likewise dwell in them, how dare we take from them the inheritance of life? Whereby it is so much the more maruell, that in the old time the *Sadduces* fell to such grossenes of erour, that they denied both the resurrection and also the substance of soules, both which points they saw sealed with so cleare testimonies of Scripture. And no lesse to be marueiled at, euen at this day, were the folly of all that Nation in looking for the earthly kingdome of *Christ*, if the Scriptures had not long before declared, that they should haue that punishment for refusing the Gospell. For so it behooued, by the iust iudgement of God, to strike those minds with blindnes, which in refusing the light of heauen being offered them, did wilfully bring themselves into darkenes. Therefore they read and continually turne out *Moses*, but they are stopped with a veile set betwene them and him, that they cannot see the light that shineth in his countenance. And so shall it remaine couered and hidden from them, till he be turned to *Christ*, from whom now they trauaile to lead and draw him away so much as in them lieth.

with them: seeing *Christ* hath risen vnto life accompanied with many of them, and hath witnessed by *Peter*, that the spirit of faith which is in vs, was also in them: howsoeuer the *Sadduces* haue denied the heauenly, and the *Jewes* at this day doe expect an earthly kingdome, we may not take from the *Fathers* the inheritance of eternall life.
Mat. 8. 11.
Act. 3. 29.
Mat. 27. 51.
A. 2. 15. 8.

2. Cor. 3. 14.

The xj. Chapter.

Of the difference of the one Testament from the other.

What then wilt thou say: shall there be no difference left betwene the olde Testament and the New? and to what purpose serue all those places of Scripture, where they are compared one against the other, as things most contrarie? I doe willingly allow those differences that are rehearsed in the Scripture: but so that they nothing hinder the vnitie already established, as it shall be plaine to see when we shall haue intreated of them in order. Those differences are (as farre as euer I could marke or can remember) chiefly foure in number, to the which if you list to adioyne the fifth, I am not against it. I say and trust to prooue that they are all such as rather belong to the manner of ministration, than to the substance of them. And by this meane they shall nothing hinder, but that the promises of both the old and new Testament may remaine all one, and all one foundation of the same promises, *Christ*. Now the first difference is, that although, euen in the old time also, the Lords will was to direct the mindes of his people, and to haue them raised vp to the heauenly inheritance: yet, that they might be the better nourished in hope thereof, he gaue it to bee scene or rather to bee tasted of, vnder earthly benefites: but nowe hauing revealed the grace of the life to come, by the Gospell, he more clearly and

The first difference of the old and new Testament. God did in that by the shadow of earthly things, and in this doth plainly direct vnto heauen.

plainly directeth our mindes the straight way to the meditation thereof, leauing the inferior manner of exercising which he vsed with the Israelites. They that marke not this purpose of God, do not thinke that the oldē people climbed any higher than to the good things promised to the bodie. They so often heare the land of *Chanaan* named, as the excellent, or rather onely reward for the keepers of Gods lawe. They heare that God threateneth nothing more seuerely to the transgressors of the same lawe, than that they shall be druen out of the possession of the same land, and scattered abroad into strange regions. They see that in a manner to this effect come all the blessings & curses that are pronounced by *Moses*. Hereby they do vndoubtedly determine, that the *Iewes* not for their own sakes, but for others, were seuered frō other nations, that is, that the church of Christ might haue an image, in whose outward forme she might see examples of spirituall things. But sith the scripture doth sometimes shew, that God himselfe directed all the earthly benefits that he did for them to this end, that so he might lead thē by the hand to the hope of heavenly benefits: it was too much vnskillfulness, I wil not say blockishnes, not to consider this order of disposition. The issue or point of our contouersie with this sort of men is this, that they teach that the possession of the land of *Chanaan* was to the *Israelites* their chiefe & last blessednes, and that to vs after the reuealing of Christ, it doth but figuratiuely signifie the heauenly inheritance. On the other side we affirme, that they did in the earthly possession which they enioyed, as in a looking glasse behold the inheritance to come which they beleued to be prepared for them in heauen.

Gal 4.1.
The fathers and we are one heire vnto whom one and the same inheritance doth belong But they being that heire in a younger which we are in an elder age, had a raising though not another thing yet after another sort than we.

2 That shall better appeare by the similitude that *Paul* vsed to the *Galathians*. He cōpareth the nation of the *Iewes* to an heire, within age, which being not yet able to gouerne himselfe followeth the guiding of the tutor or schoolmaster, to whose custodie he is committed. And whereas he applyeth that similitude to the ceremonies, that nothing hindreth but that it may also verie fitly serue to this purpose. The same inheritance was appointed for them, that was appointed for vs: but such as yet for want of age, they were not of capacitie to enter vpon and vse. The same church was among them, but whereof the age was yet but childish. Therefore the Lorde kept them vnder this schooling, that he gaue them not the spirituall promises so naked and openly, but as it were thadowed with earthly promises. Therefore, where he called *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and their posteritie vnto hope of immortalitie, he promised them the land of *Chanaan* to be their inheritance: not to determine their hopes vpon it, but that in beholding of it, they should exercise and confirme themselves in the hope of that true inheritance that did not yet appeare. And that they might not be deceiued, there was giuen them a higher promise to testifie that that land was not the highest benefit of God. So *Abraham* was not suffered to lie slothfull in the promise receiued of the land, but his mind was with a greater promise raised vp vnto the Lord. For *Abraham* heard this said vnto him: I am thy protector, and thy reward exceeding great. Here we see, that *Abraham* hath the end of his reward set forth in the Lord, that he should not account vpon a transitorie and slippery reward in the elements of this world, but rather thinke it to be such as can not wither away. Afterward he adioineth the promise of the land to no other intent, but that it should be a token of the good will of God, and a figure of the heavenly inheritance. And that the holy men had this meaning, their own sayings do declare. So *Dauid* riseth vpward from temporall blessings, to that same highest and last blessing, My hart (saith he) and my flesh taint for desire of face. God is my portion for euer. Againe, the Lord is the part of my inheritance, and of my cup: thou art he that sanctifiest mine heritage for me. Againe, I haue cried vnto thee, O Lord, I haue saide, Thou art my hope, my portion in the land of the liuing. Truly they that dare so speake, doe without doubt professe that with their hope they climbe aboute the worlde, and all the good things here present, But the Prophets do oft describe this blessednesse of the worlde to come, vnder

Gen. 15.1.

Psal. 73. 26. & 34. 4.
Psal. 116. 5.
Psal. 142. 6.

vnder the figure that they had receiued of the Lorde. And so are these sayings to be vnderstanded. That the godly shall possess the land by inheritance, and the wicked shall be destroyed out of it. That *Hierusalem* shall abound with all kinde of riches, and *Sion* overflow with plentie of all things. All which we see, cannot properly be spoken of the land of our wayfaring, or the earthly *Hierusalem*, but of the true cōuntry of the faithfull, and that heauenly citie wherein the Lorde hath commaunded blessing and life for euer.

Job. 18. 17.
Psal. 133. 3.

3 This is the reason why it is read that the holy men in time of the olde testament did cōteeme the morrall life and the blessings thereof more than is nowe meete to do. For although they knew well that they should not rest in it, as in the end of their race, yet when they called to minde, what markes of his grace the Lorde had pointed them, to exercise them according to the small rate of their tendernes, they felt a greater sweetenes of it, than if they had considered it by it selfe. But as the Lord in testifying his good will toward the faithfull, by present good things, did as in shadowe expresse the spirituall felicitie, by such figures and signes: so on the other side he did in corporall paines shew examples of his iudgement against the reprobate. Therefore as the benefits of God were to be seene in earthly things, so were also his punishmentes. While the vnskillfull do not weye this comparitōn or agreement, as I may call it betwene the punishmentes and the rewards, they maruell at so much alteration in god, that in old time was so sodenly readie to take vengeance on euery offence of man with sterne and horrible punishmentes, and nowe as if he had laide away the affliction of his old angrines, he punisheth both much more gently & seldomer, yea, & for the same cause they do almost imagine seuerall gods of the old and new testament: which the Manichees did in deed. But we shall easily be deliuered from such doubties, if we lay our mindes to consider this orderly disposition of God that I haue spoken of, whose will was for the time to signifie and set foorth in figure both the grace of the eternall felicitie to come, by temporall benefits, and the greeneoufnesse of the spirituall death, by corporall paines. Whereby he deliuered his Testament to the Israclites, as yet after a certaine manner folded vp.

Gods figuring of heauenly by earthly blessednes in the olde lawe is the cause, why then his temporall benefits doe seeme to haue bene more sweete to the righteous & his punishmentes more grieuous then now.

4 Another difference of the old and new testament is said to be in the figures: for that the old testament did shew onely an image in absence of the truth, and a shadow in steed of the body. But the new testament giveth the truth present, and the sounde body it selfe. And this difference is mentioned commonly where soeuer the newe testament is in comparitōn set against the olde: but it is more largely entreated of in the Epistle to the *Hebrues* than any where else. There the apostle disputeth against them, which thought that the obseruatōn of *Moses* law might not be taken away, but that they shoulde also drawe with them the ruine of religion. To confute this error, hee vseth that which had bene forespoken by the Prophet concerning the priesthood of Christ, For whereas there is giuen him an eternall priesthood, it is certaine, that that priesthood is taken away, wherein new successors were daily put in, one after another. But he proueth that the institution of this new priesthood is to be preferred, because it is stablished with an oth. He after addeth further, that in the same change of the priesthood, 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 law was such that it could helpe nothing to perfection. Then he proceedeth in declaring what was that weakenes, euen this, that it had certaine outward righteousness of the flesh, which could not make the obseruers of them perfect, according to conscience: that by sacrifices of beastes, it coulde neither wipe away sinnes, nor purchase true holinesse. He concludeth therefore that there was in it a shadowe of good things to come, but not the liuely image of the things themselves: and that therefore it had no other office, but to bee as an introduction into a better hope, which is deliuered in the Gospel. Here is to be seen, in what point the cōuenant of the

The seconde difference between the two testaments is, that the new doth exhibit that foundation of the cōuenant which the old did teach them to expect.

Psal. 100. 10.

Heb. 7. 11. & 19.
& 9. 9. & 10. 1.

Cap. 11. Of the knowledge of

law is compared with the covenant of the Gospell, and the ministry of Christ, with the ministrie of *Moses*. For if the comparison concerned the substance of the promises, then were there great difference betweene the two testaments: but sith the point of our case leadeth vs another way, we must tend to this end, to finde out the truth. Let vs then set fourth heere the covenant which hee hath stablished to be eternall, and neuer to perish. The accomplishment therof, whereby it attaineth to be stablished and continuing in force, is Christ. While such establishment was in expectation, the Lord did by *Moses* appoint ceremonies, to bee as it were solemne signes of the confirmation. Now this came there in question, whether the ceremonies that were ordained in the law ought to giue place to Christ or no. Although these ceremonies were indeed onely accidents, or verily additions and things adioined, or (as the people call them) accessarie things to the covenant, yet because they were instruments or means of the administration therof, they beare the name of the covenant it selfe, as the like is wont to be attributed to other Sacraments. Therefore in summe: the old Testament is in this place called the solemne forme of confirming the covenant, contained in ceremonies and sacrifices. The apostle saith, that because in it is nothing perfect, vnlesse we passe further, therefore it behooued that they shoulde be discontinued and abrogate that place might be giuen to Christ the assure and mediator of a better testament, by whom eternall sanctification is once purchased to the elect, and the transgressions blotted out that remained vnder the law. Or if you like it better, thus: That the olde testament of the Lorde was that which was deliuered, wrapped vp in the shadowish and effectuall obseruations of ceremonies: and that therefore it was but for a time, because it did but (as it were) hang in suspense vntill it might staie vpon a more stedfast and substantiall confirmation: and that then onely it was made newe and eternall, after that it was consecrate and stablished by the blood of Christ. Whereupon Christ calleth the cup that he gaue at his supper to his Disciples, The cup of the new Testament in his blood: to signifie that then the testament of God attaineth his truth: by which it becommeth new and eternall, when it is sealed with his blood.

Mat. 26. 20.

The kingdome is now manifested which in former times was darklie beheld.

Gal. 3. 24. & 4.

5 Hereby appeereth in what sense the Apostle said: that in the schooling of the law, the *Iewes* were brought vnto Christ, before that he was shewed in the flesh. And he confesseth, that they were the children and heires of God, but yet such, as for their young age were to be kept vnder the custodie of a schoolemaister. For it behooued, that ere the sonne of righteoufnesse was yet risen, there shoulde neither be so great brightnesse of reuelation, nor so great deepe sight of vnderstanding. Therefore God so gaue them in measure the light of his worde, that they sawe it as yet farre off and darkely. Therefore *Paul* expresth this slendernes of vnderstanding by the rearme of young age, which the Lordes will was to haue to be exercised with the elements of this worlde and with outward obseruations, as rules of instruction for children vntil Christ should shine abroad, by whom it behooued that the knowldege of the faithfull people should grow to full age. This distinction Christ himselfe ment of, when he said, that the law and the prophets were vntil *Iohm*, and that from thence forth the kingdome of God is preached. What did the law and the Prophets open to men of their time? euen this, they gaue a taste of that wisedome which in time to come should be plainly disclosed: and they shewed it before as it were twinklingly shining a far off. But when it came to passe that Christ might be pointed too with the finger, then was the kingdome of God set open. For in him are laid abroad the treasures of all wisedome and vnderstanding, whereby we attaine, euen in a maner, into the secret closets of heauen.

Mat. 11. 13.

Col. 1. 9.

The Prophets themselves did not so cleerely knowe Christ, but that

6 And it maketh not against vs, that there can scarcely any one be found in the christian Church, that in excellencie of faith may be compared with *Abraham*, or that the Prophets excelled in such force of spirite, that euen at this day they lighten

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the whole worlde withall. For our question is not heere, what grace the Lorde hath bestowed vpon a few, but what ordinarie disposition he vsed in teaching his people: such as is declared in the Prophets themselues, which were endued with peculiar knowledge aboue the rest. For euen their preaching is darke and enclosed in figures, as of things a far off. Moreouer how maruellous knowledge soeuer appeered in them about other, yet forasmuch as they were driuen of necessitie to submit them to the common childish instruction of the people, they themselues also were reckoned in number of children. Finally, there neuer chaunced any such cleere sight to any at that time, but that it did in some part sauour of the darkenesse of the time. Whereupon Christ said, Many kings and Prophets haue desired to see the things that yee see, and haue not seene them: and to heare the things that yee heare, and haue not heard them. Therefore blessed are your eies, because they see, and your eares because they heare. And truely it is meete that the presence of Christ should haue this excellency of prerogatiue, that from it should arise the cleere reuealing of the heauenly mysteries. And for this purpose also maketh that, which euen we nowe alleaged out of the first Epistle of *Peter*, that it was opened to them, that their trauell was profitable,

euen in them; there appeereth a difference betweene those times and these.

*Matt. 13. 17.
Luk. 10. 24.*

1. Pet. 1. 12.

7 Nowe I come to the thirde difference, which is taken out of *Ieremie*, whose wordes are these: Behold the day shall come, saith the Lorde, and I will make a new couenant with the house of *Israell*, and the house of *Iuda*, not according to the couenant that I made with your Fathers, in the day when I tooke them by the hande, to lead them out of the lande of *Aegypt*, the couenant that they made voide although I ruled ouer them: But this shall be the couenant that I will make with the house of *Israell*: I will put my law in their bowels, and I will write it in their harts, and I will be mercifull to their iniquitie. And no man shall teach his neighbour, and no man his brother. For they shall all know me, from the least vnto the most. Of which words the Apostle tooke occasion to make this comparison betweene the law and the Gospell, that he called the law a literall, and the Gospell a spirituall doctrine: the law, he said, was fashioned out in Tables of stone, the Gospell written in harts: that the lawe was the preaching of death, the Gospell the preaching of life: the lawe the preaching of damnation, the Gospell the preaching of righteousnesse: that the lawe is made voide, that the Gospell abideth. Sith the Apostles purpose was but to declare the meaning of the Prophet, it shall be sufficient that we weigh the wordes of one of them, to attaine the meaning of them both. Albeit, there is some vnlikenesse betweene them. For the Apostle speaketh more odiously of the law than the Prophet doth: and that not in simple respect of the lawe, but because there were certaine naughty men, hauing a wrong zeale to the lawe, which did with peruerse loue of the ceremonies, obscure the brightnesse of the Gospell. He disputeth of the nature of the lawe, according to their errour and foolish affection. Therefore it shall be good to note that peculiarly in *Paul*. But both of them, because they do by comparison set the olde and the new Testament, the one against the other: doe consider nothing in the lawe, but that which properly belongeth vnto it. As for example: The lawe doth commonly in euerie place containe promises of mercie, but because they are borrowed from elswhere, therefore they are not reckoned as part of the lawe, when the meere nature of the lawe is spoken of. The onely thing they ascribe vnto it, to command things that are right, and to forbid wicked doings: to promise rewardes to the followers of righteousnesse, and to threaten punishment to the transgressors: but in the meane time neither to change nor amend the peruerse of hart, that is naturally in all men.

*Ier. 31. 31.
The third difference betweene the old couenant and the new, mentioned by the apostle out of Ieremy.*

1. Cor. 2. 6.

8 Now let vs expound the Apostles comparison, one piece after another. The old Testament is literall, because it was published without the effectuall working of the spirit: The new is spirituall which the Lord hath spirituallly grauen in the harts of

The several branches of the third difference betweene the two Testaments.

of men: Therefore the second diuersitie is as it were a declaration of the first. The old is deadly, because it can do nothing but wrap all mankind within the curse: The new is the instrument of life, because it deliuereth from curse, and restreth into fauour with God. The olde is the ministerie of damnation, because it condemneth all *Adams* children of vnrighteousnesse: The new is the ministerie of righteousnesse, because it reuealeth the mercie of God, by which we are made righteous. The last diuersitie is to be referred to the ceremonies. Because the old testament had an image of things absent, it behooued that it should in time decay & vanish away: but the Gospell, because it giueth the true bodie in deede, keepeth still a firme and perpetuall steadfastnesse. *Jeremie* indeed calleth euen the morall law, a weake and fraile couenant: but that is for another reason, because by the sudden falling away of the vnthankfull people, it was by and by broken, but forasmuch as such breaking of it was the fault of the people, it cannot properly be laid vpon the testament. But the ceremonies, forasmuch as by their owne weaknesse were dissolved by the coming of Christ, had the cause of their weaknesse within themselues. Nowe, that difference of the letter and spirit is not so to be taken, as though the Lord had giuen his lawes to the *Iewes* without any fruit at all, hauing none of them conuerted vnto him. But it is spoken by way of comparison, to aduance the abundance of grace, wherewith the same lawmaker as it were putting on a new personage, did honorably set forth the preaching of the Gospell. For if we reckon vp the multitude of thesē whom the Lord out of all peoples hath by the preaching of the Gospell regenerate with his spirit, and gathered into the communion of his Church, we shall say, that there were very fewe, or in a manner none in the olde time in *Israel*, that with affection of minde and entirely from their hart embraced the couenant of the Lord: who yet were very many, if they be reckoned in their owne number without comparison.

The fourth difference, the one held the conscience in shraldom & feare, the other giueth libertie and ioy.
Rom. 8. 15.
Heb. 12. 18.

9 Out of the thirde difference riseth the fourth. For the Scripture calleth the old Testament, the testament of bondage, for that it ingendreth feare in mens minds: but the newe Testament, the testament of libertie, because it raiseth them vp to confidence and assurednesse. So saith *Paul* in the eight to the *Romaines*. Yee haue not received the spirite of bondage againe to feare, but the spirite of adoption, by which we erie *Abba* father. Hereunto serueth that in the Epistle to the *Hebrues*, that the faithfull are not nowe come to the bodily mount, and to kindled fire, and whirlewinde, darkenesse and tempest, where nothing can bee heard or seene but that striketh mens mindes with terrour, in so much that *Moses* himselfe quaked for feare, when the terrible voice sounded, which they all besought, that they might not heare: But that we are come to the Mount *Sion*, and the citie of the liuing God, the heauenly *Hierusalem*. But that which *Paul* shortly toucheth in the sentence that we haue alleaged out of the Epistle to the *Romaines*, hee setteth out more largely in the Epistle to the *Galathians*, when hee maketh an allegorie of the two sonnes of *Abraham*, after this manner, that *Agar* the bond woman is a figure of the Mount *Sinai*, where the people of *Israel* received the lawe: *Sara* the free woman is a figure of the heauenly *Hierusalem*, from whence proceedeth the Gospell. That, as the seede of *Agar* is borne bonde, which may neuer come to the inheritance, and the seede of *Sara* is borne free, to whom the inheritance is due: so by the law we are made subiect to bondage, by the Gospell onely we are regenerate into freedome. But the summe commeth to this effect that the olde Testament did strike into consciences feare and trembling: but by the benefite of the newe Testament it commeth to passe, that they are made ioyfull. The olde did holde consciences bounde vnto the yoke of bondage, by the libertie of the newe they are discharged of bondage, and brought into freedome. But if out of the people of *Israel* they obiect against vs the holy fathers, who sith it is evident, that they were endued with the same spirite that wee are, it followeth that they were also partakers both of the selfsame freedome and ioy.

Gal. 4. 21.

We answer, that neither of both came of the lawe. But that when they felt themselves by the lawe to be both oppressed with estate of bondage, and wearied with vniquietnesse of conscience, they fled to the succour of the Gospell, and that therefore it was a peculiar fruite of the new Testament, that beside the common law of the old testament they were exempted from these euils. Moreouer, we will denie that they were so endued with the spirit of freedome and assurednesse, that they did not in some part feele both feare and bondage by the law. For howsoeuer they enoyed that prerogatiue which they had obtained by grace of the Gospell, yet were they subiect to the same bonds and burdens of obseruation, that the common people were. Sith therefore they were compelled to the carefull keeping of those ceremonies, which were the signes of a schooling much like vnto bondage, and the hand-writings whereby they confessed themselves guiltie of sinne, did not discharge them from being bond: it may rightfully be said, that in comparison of vs they were vnder the testament of bondage and feare, while we haue respect to that common order of distribution that the Lord then vsed with the people of *Israel*.

10 The three last comparisons that we haue recited, are of the lawe and the Gospell. Wherefore in them by the name of the Olde Testament is meant the lawe, and by the name of the New Testament is meant the Gospell. The first stretched further, for it comprehendeth vnder it the promises also that were published before the lawe, but whereas *Augustine* denieth that they ought to be reckoned vnder the name of the old testament, therein he thought verie well, and meant euen the same thing that we do now teach, for he had regard to those sayings of *Hieremie* and *Paul*, where the olde testament is seuered from the word of mercie and grace. And this also he verie aptly adioyneth in the same place, that the children of promise regenerate of God, which by faith working through loue haue obeyed the commandements, doe from the beginning of the world belong to the New testament, and that in hope not of fleshly, earthlie and temporall, but spirituall, heauenlie, and eternall good things, principallie beleeuing in the Mediator, by whom they doubted not that the spirit was not ministred vnto them, both to do good, and to haue pardon so oft as they sinned. For the same thing it is that I minded to affirme, that all the Saines whome the Scripture rehearseth to haue bene from the beginning of the world chosen by God, were partakers of the selfe same blessing with vs vnto eternall saluation. This difference therefore is betweene our diuision and *Augustines*: that ours (according to that saying of Christ: The lawe and the Prophets were vnto *Iohn*: from thence forth the kingdome of God is preached) doth make distinction betweene the cleerenesse of the Gospell, and the darker distribution of the word that went before: and *Augustine* doth onely seuer the weaknesse of the law from the strength of the Gospell. And heerd also is to be noted concerning the holie fathers, that they so liued vnder the olde testament, that they stayed not there, but alway aspired to the newe, yea and embraced the assured partaking thereof. For the Apostle condemneth them of blindness and accursednes: which being contented with present shadowes, did not stretch vp their minde vnto Christ. For (to speake nothing of the rest) what greater blindness can be imagined, than to hope for the purging of sinne by the killing of a beast? than to seeke for the cleansing of the soule in outward sprinkeling of water? than to seeke to appease God with colde ceremonies, as though he were much delighted therewith? For to all these absurdities do they fall, that stick fast in the obseruations of the law without respect of Christ.

11 The fifth difference that we may adde, lieth in this: that vntill the coming of Christ the Lord had chosen out one nation, within which he would keepe seuerall the covenant of his grace. When the highest did distribute the nations, when he diuided the sonnes of *Adam* (saith *Moses*) his people fel to his possession: *Iacob* the cord

The last three differences are made of the law, seuered from those intermingled promises of grace and mercie, the first including them: whereunto Saint Augustine though he seeme notwithstanding is not repugnant.
Lib. 3. ad Bonif. cap. 4.

Mat. 11. 13.

The first and last difference betweene the two testaments: the olde was given onlie to the Iewe, the new to all nations.
Deut. 31. 8.

Cap. 11. Of the knowledge of

Deut. 10. 14.

of his inheritance. In another 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 seede after them, euen your selues out of all nations. Therefore he vouchsafed to graunt the knowledge of his name to that people onely, as if they onely of all men belonged vnto him : he laide his couenant as it were in their boosome : to them he openly shewed the presence of his Godhead: them he honored with all prerogatiues. But (to omit the rest of his benefices, and speake that which onely here is to our purpose) he bound them to him by the communicating of his word, that he might be called and counted their God. In the meane season he suffered other nations to walke in vanitie, as though they had not any entercourse or any thing to doe with him : neither did he to helpe their destruction, giue them that which was onely the remedie, namely the preaching of his worde. Therefore *Israel* was then the Lorde sonne that was his dearling, other were strangers : *Israel* was knowne to him and receiued into his charge and protection, other were left to their owne darknesse : *Israel* was sanctified by God, other were prophane : *Israel* was honored with the presence of God, other were excluded from comming nigh vnto him. But when the fulnesse of time was come, appointed for the restoring of all men, and that same reconciler of God and men was deliuered indeede, the partition was plucked downe, which had so long holden the mercie of God enclosed within the boundes of *Israel*, and peace was preached to them that were farre off, euen as to them that were neere adioyned, that being together reconciled to God, they might growe into one people. Wherefore, now there is no respect of *Greece* or *Iew*, circumcision or vncircumcision, but Christ is all in all, to whome the nations are giuen for his inheritance, and the endes of the earth for his peculiar possession, that vniuersally without difference he might haue dominion from sea to sea, and from the riuers to the vttermost endes of the world.

Act. 14. 16.

Gal. 4. 4.
Eph. 2. 14.
Gal. 6. 15.
Psal. 2. 8.
Tsal. 6. 2.

The calling of the Gentiles vnder the new testament spoken of by the Prophets, nor suddenly proceeded vnto by Christ, by the apostles scarce admitted, wondrous at by the very angels themselves.

Phil. 2.

Mat. 15. 24.

12 Therefore the calling of the Gentiles is a notable token, whereby is cleerely 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 Prophets, but so as the performance thereof was still deferred vnto the kingdome of Messias. And Christ himselfe did not proceede vnto it at the first beginning of his preaching, but deferred it so long vntill that all the parts of our redemption being performed, and the time of his abatement ended, he receiued of his father a name that is about all names : before whom all knees should bow. For which cause when this conuenience of time was not yet fulfilled, he said to the woman of *Chanaan*, that he was not lent but to the lost sheepe of the house of *Israel*. And he suffred not his Apostles at the first sending, to passe these bounds. Go not ye (saith he) into the way of the *Gentiles*, nor enter into the cities of the *Samaritans*, but rather go ye to the lost sheepe of the house of *Israel*. But how soeuer it was before vttered by so many testimonies, yet when the Apostles were first to begin it, it seemed so newe and straunge a thing vnto them, that they were affraide of it, as of some monster. Truly very fearefully and not without sticking at it they first did set vpon it. And no maruell, for it seemed against reason, that the Lorde which by so many ages had chosen out *Israel* from all other nations, should now vndoe that choise, as it were suddenly changing his purpose. It was indeede spoken off afore by prophecies : but they coulde not giue so great heede to the prophecies, as to be nothing moued with the newnesse of the thing that they sawe. And these examples which the Lorde had shewed of the calling of the Gentiles that shoulde one day come to passe, were not sufficient to moue them. For beside this that hee had called very fewe, hee did after a certaine manner ingraffe them into the houholde of *Abraham*, to adde them vnto his people as parcell of them : but by this generall calling, the *Gentiles* were not only made equall with the *Iewes*, but alio it appeared that they came into the place of the *Iewes*, that were become dead. And

yet all those strangers whom God hath before that time brought into the bodie of the Church, were neuer made equall with the *Iewes*. And therefore not without a cause doth *Paul* so extoll his myserie hidden from ages and generations, and which he also saith to be maruellous to the verie Angels. Col. 1. 16.

13 In these foure or siue points, I thinke I haue well and faithfully set foorth the whole difference of the old and newe Testament, so much as sufficeth to the simple order of teaching. But because many report this varietie in gouerning the Church, this diuerse manner in teaching, so great alteration of vsages and ceremonies, to be a great absurditie: they are also to be answered before that we passe foorth to other things. And that may be done shortly, because the obiections are not so strong that they neede a curious confutation. It hangeth not together (say they) that God which doeth alway stedfastly agree with himselfe, should suffer so great an alteration, as afterward to disallow the same thing, which he had before both commaunded and commended. I aunswere that God ought not therefore to be counted mutable, for that he applied diuerse formes to diuerse ages, as he knew to be expedient for euery one. If the husbandman appoint to his household one sort of businesse in winter, and an other in sommer, shall we therefore accuse him of inconstancie, or thinke that he swaructh from the right rule of husbandrie which agreeth with the continuall order of nature? Likewise if a father of a household do instruct, rule and order his children of one sort in childehood; of another in youth, and of an other in mans state, we cannot therefore say that he is fickle and forsaketh his owne purpose. Why therefore do we charge God with reproch of inconstancie, for that he hath seuered the diuersitie of times, with fit and agreeable marks? The last similitude ought fully to satisfie vs. *Paul* maketh the *Iewes* like vnto children and Christians to yong men. What disorder is there in this gouernement of God that he helde them in their childish lessons, which according to the capacite of their age were fit for them, and instructed vs with stronger and as it were more manly discipline. Therefore herein appeareth the constancy of God, that he taught one selfe same doctrine in all ages, and continueth in requiring the same worship of his name, which he commaunded from the beginning. But whereas he changed the outward forme and manner thereof, in that he shewed not himselfe subiect to change: but so farr he tempered himselfe to the capacite of man, which is diuers and changeable.

These alterations not vnmeeite but expedient for the Church.

14 But whence (say they) commeth this diuersity, but because God willed it to be such? Could he not as well from the beginning as since the comming of Christ, reueale the eternall life in plaine words without any figures, instruct those that are his with a few sacraments and easie to perceiue, giue his holie spirit, and powre abroad his grace throughout the whole world? This is euen like as if they should quarell with God for that he hath created the world so late, sith he might haue created it from the beginning: or for that his will was to haue enterchanged courses betweene winter and sommer, betweene day and night. But as for vs, euen as all godly men ought to thinke, let vs not doubt that whatsoeuer God hath done, is wisely and righteously done, although oftentimes we know not the cause why it ought so to haue bene done. For that were to take presumptuously too much vpon vs, not to giue God leaue to haue the causes of his owne purpose secret to himselfe from vs. But it is maruellous (say they) that he now refuseth and abhorreth the sacrificing of beasts, and all that furniture of the Leuitical priesthood, wherewith in the old time he was delighted: As though these outward and transitorie things did delite God, or any way moue affection in him. We haue already said that he did none of these for his own cause, but disposed them all for the saluation of man. If a Phisition do heale a yong man after one very good meane from his disease, and afterward do vse another maner of healing with the same man being olde: shall we therefore say, that he hath refused the manner of healing which before pleased him, but rather continuing still in the same,

God may diuerslie deale wth his Church & people vpon causes kept secret vnto himselfe, neither may we without intolerable presumption carp & quarell at his manner of dealing.

Cap. 12. Of the knowledge of

he hath consideration of age? So behooued it, that Christ being absent, should be expressed in figure by one sort of signes, and by another sort, be before shewed that hee was to come: and it is meete that now being already deliuered, he be represented by other signes. But concerning Gods calling, now at the coming of Christ more largely spread abroad among all people than it was before, and the graces of the holy Ghost more plentifully powred out: who, I pray you, can denie it to be right, that God haue in his owne hand and will the disposing of his owne graces, to giue light to what nations it pleased him? to raise vp the preaching of his word in what places it pleaseth him? to giue what doctrine and how great profiting and successe of doctrine it pleaseth him? and in what ages he will, to take away the knowledge of his name out of the world for their vnthankfulnesse? and againe when he wil to restore it for his owne mercie? We see therefore, that the cauillations are too much vnmeet, wherewith wicked men doe in this point disquiet the mindes of the simple, to make them call either the righteoufnesse of God, or the faith of the scripture into doubt.

The xij. Chapter.

That it behooued, that Christ, to performe the office of the Mediator, should be made man.

It was necessarie that he which should vnseuerably ioyne man so God should himselfe be both.

Now it much behooued vs that he should be both God & man, which should be our Mediator. If a man aske of the necessitie, it was not indeede a simple or absolute necessitie, as they commonly call it, but it proceedeth from the heavenly decree, whereupon hanged all the saluation of men. But the most mercifull father appointed that which should be best for vs. For whereas our owne iniquities had, as it were cast a cloud betweene him and vs, and vtterly excluded vs from the kingdome of heauen, no man could be the interpreter for restoring of our peace, but he that could attaine vnto God. But who could haue attained vnto him? could any of the sonnes of Adam? But all they did with their fathers shun the sight of God for feare. Could any of the Angels? but they also had neede of a head, by whose knitting together they might perfectly and vnseuerably cleaue vnto God. What then? It was past all hope, vnlesse the very maiestie of God would descend vnto vs, for we could not ascende vnto it. So it behooued that the son of God should become for vs *Immanuel*, that is, God with vs: and that in this sort, that by mutuall ioyning, his godhead and the nature of man might growe into one together. Otherwise neither could the neerenesse be neere enough, nor the alliance strong enough for vs to hope by, that God dwelleth with vs. So great was the disagreement betweene our filthinesse, and the most pure cleannesse of God. Although man had stood vndefiled without any spot, yet was his estate too base to attaine to God without a Mediator. What could he then doe being plunged downe into death and hell with deadly fall, defiled with so many spots, stinking with his owne corruption, and ouerwhelmed with all accurfednesse? Therefore not without cause, *Paul* meaning to set foorth Christ for the Mediator, doth expressely recite that he is Man. One Mediator (saith he) of God and man, the man Iesus Christ. He might haue said, God: or at the least he might haue left the name of Man as well as of God. But because the holy Ghost speaking by his mouth, knew our weaknesse: therefore to prouide for it in time, he vsed a most fit remedie, setting among vs the sonne of God familiarly as one of vs. Therefore least any man should trouble himselfe to knowe where the Mediator is to be sought, or which way to come vnto him, in naming Man, he putteth vs in minde that he is neere vnto vs, yea so neere that he toucheth vs, for as much as he is our owne flesh. Truly he meaneth there euen the same thing that in another place is set out with moe wordes: that we haue not a bishop that cannot haue compassion of our infirmities, for as much as he was in all things tempted as we are, onely sinne excepted.

*undefiled to
affaine to
God a particlar.*

1. Tim. 2. 3.

Heb. 4. 15.

2 That shall also appeare more plainly, if we consider how it was no meane thing that the Mediator 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 heires of hell, the heires of the kingdome of heauen. Who could do that, vnlesse the sonne of God were made also the sonne of man, and so take ours vpon him to conuey his vnto vs, and to make that ours by grace, which was his by nature? Therefore by this earnest we trust, that we are the children of God, because the naturall sonne of God hath shapen for himselfe a bodie of our bodie, flesh of our flesh, bones of our bones, that he might be all one with vs. He disdaind not to take that vpon him which was proper vnto vs, to make againe that to belong to vs which he had proper to himselfe, and that so in common together with vs, he might be both the sonne of GOD and the sonne of man. Hereupon commeth that holy brotherhoode which he commendeth with his owne mouth, when he saith: I go 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 onely son of God, to whom it wholly did properly belong, hath adopted vs into his brethren: because if we be brethren, than are we partakers of the inheritance. Moreouer it was for the same cause very profitable, that he which should be our redeemer, should be both very God and verie man. It was his office to swallow vp death: who could doe that but life it selfe? It was his office to ouercome sin: who could do that but righteousnesse it selfe? It was his office to vanquish the powers of the world and of the aire: who could do that but a power aboue both world and aire? Now in whose possession is life, or righteousnesse, or the empire and power of heauen, but in Gods alone? Therefore the most mercifull God, in the person of his onely begotten son, made himselfe our redeemer, when his will was to haue vs redeemed.

3 Another principall point of our reconciliation with God was this, that man which had lost himselfe by his disobedience, should for remedy set obedience against it, should satisfie the iudgement of God, and pay the penaltie of sin. Therefore there came forth the true man, our Lord, he put on the person of Adam, and tooke vpon him his name to enter into his steed in obeying his father, so yeeld our flesh the price of the satisfaction to the iust iudgement of God, and in the same flesh suffer the paine that we had deserued. For as much as therefore neither being onely God, he could feele death, nor being onely man he could ouercome death, he coupled the nature of man with the nature of God, that he might yeeld the one subiect to death to satisfie for sinnes, and by the power of the other he might wraffle with death, and get victorie for vs. They therefore, that spoile Christ either for his godhead or for his manhoode, do indeede either diminish his maicstie and glorie, or obscure his goodnes: but on the other side they do no lesse wrong vnto men whose faith they do thereby weaken and ouerthrow, which cannot stand but resting vpon this foundation. Beside that, it was to be hoped, that the Redeemer should be the sonne of Abraham and David, which God had promised in the law and the Prophets. Wherby the godly mindes do gather this other fruite, that being by the verie course of his pedigree brought to David and Abraham, they do the more certainly know that this is the same Christ that was spoken of by so many oracles. But thus which I euen now declared, is principally to be holden in minde, that the common nature betweene him and vs is a pledge of our fellowship with the sonne of God: that he clothed with our flesh vanquished death and sin together, that the victorie so might be ours and the triumph ours: that he offered vp for sacrifice the flesh that he receiued of vs, that hauing made satisfaction, he might wipe away our guiltines, and appease the iust wrath of his father.

4 He that shall be diligently heedfull in considering these things as he ought, will easily neglect these wandring speculations that rauish vnto them light spirites

The sonne of God becoming man, hath confirmed vs in the state of being sonnes to the same father, and hauing right to the same inheritance with him: & being God hath suffered death, conquered sin, subdued powers, and bestowed life, which els he could not haue done.
Iohn. 10. 17.

Rom. 8. 17.

The manhood of Christ is a warrant vnto vs that man hath satisfied God, that he is the promised seed, & that we haue fellowship with him and interest in the fruite of all his actions.

Since Christ from the beginning was promised to

no other ende, but the restoration of the world, no other wise for fourth in sacrifices, taught by Prophets, spoken of by his Apostles and by himselfe: sith no other ende can stand with his priesthood, his titles, that which the scripture speaketh euery where of him, it were too much rashnes to affirme that the sonne of God had taken flesh although this cause had neuer bene.

Col. 1. 15.
Esa. 53. 45.

John. 1. 9.

John. 1. 14.

John. 3. 16.
John. 5. 25.
John. 11.
Mat. 13.
Mat. 9.

Heb. 5. 12.
2. Cor. 5. 19.

Rom. 8. 3.

Tit. 2. 11.

Luc. 24. 26.
John. 10. 17.
John. 3. 14.
John. 12. 27.
& 28.

and desirous of nouelties: of which sort is, that Christ should haue bene man, although there had been no need of remedie to redeeme mankind. I graunt that in the first degree of creation, and in the state of nature vncorrupted, he was set as head ouer Angels and men. For which cause *Paul* calleth him the first begotten of all creatures. But sith all the scripture crieth out that he was clothed with flesh, that he might be the redeemer: it is too much rash presumption to imagine any other cause or end. To what ende Christ was promised from the beginning, it is well ynough knowne: euen to restore the world fallen into ruine, and to succour men being lost. Therefore vnder the law, the image of him was set fourth in sacrifices, to make the faithfull to hope that God would be mercifull to them, when after satisfaction made for sinne, he should be reconciled. But whereas in all ages, euen when the lawe was not yet published, the Mediator was neuer promised without blood: we gather that he was appointed by the eternall counsell of God to purge the filthines of men, for that the shedding of blood is a token of expiation. The Prophets so preached of him; that they promised that he should be the reconciler of God and men. That one specially notable testimonie of *Esai*e shall suffice vs for all, where he foretelleth, that he shal be stricken with the hand of God for the sinnes of the people, that the chastisement of peace should be vpon him: and that he should be a priest that should offer vp himselfe for sacrifice: that of his woundes should come health to other: and that, because all haue strayed and been scattered abroad like sheepe, therefore it pleased God to punish him, that he might beare the iniquities of all. Sith we heare that Christ is properly appointed by God to helpe wretched sinners, whosoever passeth beyonde these bounds, he doeth too much follow foolish curiositie. Now when himselfe was once come, he affirmed this to be the cause of his comming to appease God, and gather vs vp from death into life. The same thing did the Apostles testifie of him. So *John* before that he teacheth that the Word was made flesh, declareth of the falling away of man. But he himselfe is to be heard before all, when he speaketh thus of his owne office: So God loued the world, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne, that whosoever beleueth in him should not perish, 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 lue. I am the resurrection and life: he that beleueth in me, although he be dead, shal lue. Againe, The sonne of man commeth to saue that which was lost. Againe: The whole need not a Phisition. I should neuer make an end, if I should rehearse all. The Apostles do all with one consent cal vs to this fountaine. And truly if he had not come to reconcile God, the honour of the priesthoode should haue come to nought. For as much as the priest appointed meane betweene God and man to make intercession: and he should not be our righteousness, because he was made a sacrifice for vs, that God should not impute sinnes vnto vs. Finally, he should be spoiled of all the honourable titles, wherewith the Scripture doth set him out. And also that saying of *Paul* should proue vaine, that that which was impossible to the law, God hath sent his owne sonne, that in likenes of the flesh of sin he should satisfie for vs. Neither will this stand that he teacheth in another place, that in this glasse appeared the goodnes of God and his infinite goodnes toward men, when Christ was giuen to be the redeemer. Finally, the Scripture euerie where assigneth no other end why the sonne of God would take vpon him our flesh, and also receiued this commandment of his father, but to be made a sacrifice to appease his father toward vs. So it is written, and so it behooued that Christ should suffer, and repentance be preached in his name. Therefore my father loueth me, because I giue my life for the sheepe, this commandment he gaue me. As *Mosis* lifted vp the Serpent in the desert, so must the sonne of man be lifted vp. In another place: Father, saue me from this houre. But I am therefore come euen to this houre. Father, glorifie thy sonne. Where he plainly speaketh of the ende why he tooke flesh, that

he might be a sacrifice and satisfaction to do away sinne. After the same sort doth *Zacharie* pronounce, that he came according to the promise giuen to the fathers, to giue light to them that sat in the shadowe of death. Let vs remember that all these things are spoken of the sonne of God: in whom *Paul* in another place testifieth, that all the treasures of knowledge and wisdome are hidden, and beside whom he gloryeth that he knoweth nothing.

Luk. 1. 17.
Col. 2. 3.
1. Cor. 2. 2.

5 If any man take exception and say, that none of all these things prouoe the contrarie, but that the same Christ that redeemed men being damned might also in putting on their flesh testifie his loue toward them, being preferred and safe. The answer is short, that forasmuch as the holie Ghost pronounceth, that by the eternall decree of God these two things were ioyned together, that Christ shoulde be our redeemer, and also partaker of all one nature with vs, therefore it is not lawfull for vs to search any further. For whosoever is tickled with desire to know any more, hee being not contented with the vncchangeable ordiuance of God, doth shewe also that he is not contented with the same Christ that was giuen vs to be the price of our redemption. But *Paul* not onely rehearseth to what end he was sent, but also climbing to the high mysterie of predestination, he verie sily represseth all wantonneſſe and itching desire of mans wit. The father chose vs in Christ before the creation of the world, to make vs his sonnes by adoption, according to the purpose of his will: and he accepted vs in his beloued sonne, in whom we haue redemption by his blood. Truly heere is not the fall of *Adam* set before as though it were foremost in time, but is shewed what God determined before all-ages, when his will was to helpe the miserie of mankinde. If the aduerſarie obiect againe, that this purpose of God did hang vpon the fall of man which he did foresee: it is enough and more for me, to say that they with wicked boldnes breake forth to faine them a new Christ, whosoever snffer themselves to search for more, or hope to know more of Christ then God hath foreappointed them by his secret decree. And for good cause did *Paul*, after he had so discoursed of the proper office of Christ, wish to the Ephesians the spirit of vnderstanding, to comprehend what is the length, height, bredth, & depth, euen the loue of Christ that surmounteth all knowledge: euen as if of purpose hee woulde set barres about our mindes, that when mention is made of Christ, they should not, be it neuer so litle, swaue from the grace of reconciliation. Wherefore, sith this is a faithfull saying (as *Paul* testifieth) that Christ is come to saue sinners, I doe gladly rest in the same. And whereas in another place the same Apostle teacheth, that the grace which is now disclosed by the Gospell, was giuen vs in Christ before the times of the worlde: I determine that I ought constantly to abide therein to the end. Against this modestie *Osiander* carpeeth vniuſtly which hath againe in this time unhappily stirred this question before lightly mooued by a few. He accuseth them of presumption that say, that the sonne of God should not haue appeered in the flesh, if *Adam* had not fallen, because this inuention is confuted by no testimonie of Scripture. As though *Paul* did not bridle froward curiositie, when after he had spoken of redemption purchased by Christ, he by and by commandeth to auoid foolish questions. The madnesſe of some did burst out so farre, that while they disorderly coucted to seeme witty, they mooued this question, whether the sonne of God might haue taken vpon him the nature of an Asse. This monstrousnesſe which all the godly doe worthilie abhorre as detestable, let *Osiander* confute with this pretense, that it is neuer expresse confuted in the Scripture. As though when *Paul* accompteth nothing precious or worthwhile to be knownen, but Christ crucified, he doth therefore admit an Asse to be the authour of saluauon. Therefore he that in another place reporteth that Christ by the eternall counsell of his father was ordeined to be a head to gather all things together, will neuer the more acknowledge another that hath no office of redeeming appointed him.

It is not for vs to examine curiosly whether Christ might haue bene without this cause, when God hath set downe, that for this cause he purposed before all worldes Christ should be, and commaunded to auoid foolish questions. Eph. 4. 5.

Eph. 3. 16.
1. Tim. 1. 15.
1. Tim. 3. 9.

Eph. 4. 22.

Cap. 12. Of the knowledge of

A vaine principle whereupon Osiander gathereth, is that although Adam had neuer sinned, Christ neuertheless had bene made man.

6 But as for the principle that he braggeth of, it is very trifling. He would haue it that man was created after the image of God, because he was fashioned after the patterne of Christ to come, that he might resemble him, whom the father had already decreed to cloth with our flesh. Whereupon he gathereth, that if *Adam* had neuer fallen from his first and vncorrupted originall state, yet Christ should haue been man. How trifling this is and wrested, all men that haue sound iudgement, doe easily perceiue of themselves. In the meane time first he thinketh that he hath seene what was the image of God, that forsooth the glory of God did not onely shine 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 *Adam* did beare the image of God, in so much as he was ioyned to God, (which is the true and highest perfection of dignitie) yet I say, that the likenesse of God is no where else to be sought, but in those marks of excellency wherewith he had garnished *Adam* above other liuing creatures. And that Christ was then the image of God, all men doe graunt with one consent, and therefore that whatsoeuer excellencie was grauen in *Adam*, it proceeded from this, that by the onely begotten sonne he approached to the glory of his creator. Therefore man was created after the image of God, in whom the creators will was to haue his glory seene as in a looking glasse. To this degree of honor was he aduanced by the benefite of the onely begotten sonne: But I say further, that the same son was a common head as well to Angels as to men, so that the same dignitie that was bestowed vpon man, did also belong vnto Angels. For when we heare them called the children of God, it were inconuenient to deny, that there is something in them wherein they resemble their father. Now if his will was to haue his glory to be represented as well in Angels as in men, and to be seene in both natures, *Osiander* doth fondly trifle in saying, that the Angels were then set behinde men, because they did not beare the image of Christ. For they could not continually enjoy the present beholding of God, vnlesse they were like him. And *Paul* teacheth, that men are no otherwise renewed after the image of God, but if they be coupled with Angels, that they may cleaue together vnder one head. Finally, if we belceue Christ, this shall be our last felicitie, to be made of like forme to the Angels, when we shall be receiued vp into heauen. But if *Osiander* will conclude, that the originall paterne of the image of God was in Christ as he is man, by the same reason a man may say, that Christ must needs haue bene partaker of the nature of Angels, because the image of God pertaineth also to them.

Gen. 1. 27.

Gal. 3. 10.

The rest of Osianders reasons answered.

7 Therefore, *Osiander* hath no cause to feare, that God should be found a liar, vnlesse it had bene first stedfastly and vchangeable decreed in his minde, to haue his sonne incarnate: because if the integritie of *Adam* had not fallen, he should with the Angels haue bene like vnto God, and yet it should not therefore haue bene necessary, that the sonne of God should be made either man or Angell. And in vaine he feareth that absurditie, least vnlesse the vchangeable counsell of God had bene before the creation of man that Christ should be borne, not as the redeemer but as the first man, he should haue lost his prerogative: for as much as now he should be borne man onely by an accident cause, that is to restore mankind being lost, and so it might be gathered thereupon, that Christ was created after the image of *Adam*. For why should he so much abhor that which the Scripture so openly teacheth, that he was made like vnto vs in all things, except sinne? Whereupon *Luke* doubteth not to reckon him the sonne of *Adam* in his Genealogie. And I would faine know why *Paul* calleth Christ the second *Adam*, but because the estate of man was appointed for him, that he might raise vp the posteritie of *Adam* out of their ruine. For if he were in order before that creation, he should haue been called the first *Adam*. *Osiander* boldly affirmeth, that because Christ was already before known man in the mind of God, men were formed after the same paterne. But *Paul* in naming him the second

Heb. 4. 15.

Luk. 3. 38.

1. Cor. 15. 47.

second *Adam*, setteth meane betweene the first beginning of man and the restitution which we obtaine by Christ, the fall of man whereby grew the necessitie to haue nature restored to his first degree. Whereupon it followeth, that this same was the cause why the Sonne of God was borne to become man. In the meane time, *Osiander* reasoneth ill and vsfaourily, that *Adam*, so long as he had stand without falling, should haue bene the image of himselfe and not of Christ. I answere by the contrary, bicause though the Sonne of God had neuer put on flesh, neuertheless both in the body & in the soule of man should haue shined the image of God, in the bright beames whereof it alway appeared, that Christ is verily the head, and hath the soueraigne supremacie in all. And so is that foolish subteltie assailed, which *Osiander* bloweth abroad, that the Angels should haue lacked this head, vnlesse it had bene purposed by God to cloth his Sonne with flesh, yea, though there had bene no fault of *Adam*. For he doth too rashly snatch holde of that which no man in his right wit will graunt, that Christ hath no supremacie ouer Angels, that they should haue him for their Prince, but inasmuch as he is man. But it is easily gathered by the wordes of *Paul*, that in as much as he is the eternall word of God, he is the first begotten of all creatures, nor that he is create, or ought to be reckoned among creatures: but because the state of the world in integritie, such as it was at the beginning garnished with excellent beautie, had no other originall: and then, that in as much as he was made man, he was the first begotten of the dead. For the Apostle in one short clause setteth forth in both these points to be considered: that all things were create by the Sonne, that he might beare rule ouer Angels: and that he was made man, that he might begin to be the Redeemer. Of like ignorance is it that he saith, that men should not haue had Christ to their King, if hee had not bene man. As though the kingdome of God could not stande, if the eternall Sonne of God, although not clothed with the flesh of man, gathering together both Angels and men into the fellowship of his heauenly glory and life, should himselfe beare the souerainetie. But in this false principle hee is alway deceiued, or rather deceiuech himselfe, that the Church should haue bene without a head, vnlesse Christ had appeared in the flesh. As though, euen as the Angels enioyed him their head, he could not likewise by his diuine power rule ouer men, and by the secret force of his spirite quicken and nourish them like his owne body, till being gathered vp into heauen, they might enioy all one life with the Angels. These trifles that I haue hitherto confuted, *Osiander* accounteth for most strong oracles: euen so as being drunke with the sweetness of his owne speculations, he vseth to blow out fond *Bacchus* cries of matters of nothing. But this one that he bringeth after, he saith is much more strong, that is the prophetic of *Adam*, which seeing his wife said, this now is a bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. But how proueth he that to be a prophetic? Because in *Matthew* Christ giueth the same saying to God. As though that whatsoever God hath spoken by men, containeth some prophetic. Let *Osiander* seeke propheties in every Commandement of the Law, which, it is certaine to haue come from GOD the Author of them. Beside that, Christ should haue bene grosse and earthly, if hee had rested vpon the literall sence. Because he speaketh not of the mysticall vnion whereunto he hath vouchsafed to receiue his Church, but onely of faithfullnesse betweene man and wife: for this cause he teacheth, that God pronounced that man and wife shall be one flesh, that no man should attempt to breake that insoluble knot by diuorce. If *Osiander* loath this simplicitie, let him blame Christ, for that he led not his disciples further to a mysterie, in more subtely expounding the saying of his Father. Neither yet doth *Paul* maintaine his error, which after he had said that we are flesh of the flesh of Christ, by and by addeth, that this is a great mysterie, for his purpose was not to tell in what meaning *Adam* spake it, but vnder the figure and similitude of marriage to set forth the holy coupling together, that maketh vs one with

Col. 1. 15.

Col. 1. 18.
Col. 1. 19.

Gen. 1. 18.

Christ. And so doe the words sound. Because when he giueth warning that he speaketh this of Christ and his Church, he doth as it were by way of correction, seuer the spirituall ioyning of Christ and his Church from the lawe of mariage. Wherefore this sickle reason easily vanissheth away. And I thinke I neede no more to shake vp any more of that sort of chaffe, because the vanitie of them all is soone found out by this short confutation. But this sobrietie shall aboundantlie suffice to feede soundly the children of God: that when the fulnesse of times was come, the sonne of God was sent, made of woman, made vnder the lawe, to redeeme them that were vnder the lawe.

The xiiij. Chapter.

That Christ tooke vpon him the true substance of the flesh of man.

The truth of Christ's humane nature proued against the Manichees and Marcionites.

Gen 17.2 & 12.
18. & 26. 4.
Psal. 45. 7.

Mat. 1. 1.
Rom. 1. 3.
Rom. 9. 5.

Gal. 4. 4.

Heb. 2. 16.

Heb. 1. 10. & 17.
Heb. 4. 15.

Rom. 8. 3.
Iohn. 1. 16.

Iohn. 1. 17.

Now, vlesse I be deceiued, it were superfluous to entreate againe of the Godhead of Christ, which hath alreadie in another place bene proued with plaine and strong testimonies. It remaineth therefore to be seene, how he being clothed with our flesh, hath fulfilled the office of Mediator. The trueth of his humane nature hath in the old time bene impugned both by the *Manichees* and the *Marcionites*: of whome, the *Marcionites* fained a ghost in steede of the body of Christ, and the *Manichees* dreamed that he had a heauenly flesh. But both many and strong testimonies of the Scripture do stand against them both. For the blessing is promised neither in a heauenly seede, nor in the counterfait shape of man, but in the seede of *Abraham* and *Iacob*. Neither is the eternall throne promised to a man made of aire, but to the sonne of *Dauid*, and to the fruite of his womb. Therefore being deliuered in the flesh, he is called the sonne of *Dauid* and *Abraham*: not because he is only borne of the wombe of the Virgin, and create in the aire, but because (as *Paul* expoundeth it) he is according to the flesh made of the seede of *Dauid*: as in another place the Apostle teacheth, that he descended of the *Jewes*. For which cause the Lord himselfe not contented with the bare name of man, doth oftentimes call himselfe the sonne of man, meaning to expresse more plainly that he was man truly issued of the seede of mankinde. Sith the holy Ghost hath so oft, by so many meanes, with so great diligence and simplicitie declared a thing not obscure of it selfe, who would haue thought any men to be so shamelesse as to presume yet to spread mistes to darken it? And yet wee haue other testimonies at hand, if we listed to heape vp more of them. As is that saying of *Paul*: that God sent his sonne made of woman. And innumerable other places, whereby appeareth 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 may most auaille to edifie our mindes in true confidence. As, where it is said, that he gaue not so great honour to the Angels, as to take their nature vpon him but tooke our nature, that in flesh and bloud he might, by death, destroy him that had the power of death. Again, that by benefit of that communicating we are reckoned his brethren. Again, that he ought to haue bin made like vnto his brethren, that he might be made mercifull & faithfull intercessor: that we haue not a bishop that cannot be compatient of our infirmities, and such like. And for the same purpose serueth that which we touched a little before, that it behooued that the finnes of the world should be cleansed in our flesh, which *Paul* plainly affirmeth. And tuely, whatsoeuer the father hath giuen to Christ, it doeth therefore belong to vs, because he is the head, from which the whole bodie being knit together, groweth into one. Yea, and otherwise that will not agree together, which is saide: that the Spirit was giuen him without measure, that all we should draw of the fulnesse thereof. Forasmuch as there is no greater absurditie than to say, that God is enriched in his essence

essence by any accidentall gift. And for this cause Christ saith in another place: I doe sanctifie my selfe for them.

2 As for the places that they bring foorth to confirme their error, they doe too vnaptly wrest them, and they nothing preuaile by their trifling suttleties, when they goe about to wipe away those things that I haue alleaged for our part. *Marcion* imagineth that Christ did put on a fantastlicall body in steede of a true bodie: because in some places it is said, that he was made after the likenesse of a man, and that he was found in shap as a man. But so he nothing weigheth what is *Pauls* purpose in that place. For his meaning is not to teach what manner of body Christ tooke vpon him, but that whereas he might haue shewed foorth his Godhead, he made no other shew of himselfe, but as of an abiect and vnregarded man. For, to exhort vs by his example to submission, he sheweth that forasmuch as he was God, he might haue by and by set forth his glory to be seene to the world: but yet that he gaue ouer some of his owne right, and of his owne accord abased himselfe, because he did put on the image of a seruant and contented with that humilitie, suffred his Godhead to be hidden with the veile of the flesh. Hee doth not here teach what Christ was, but how he behaued himselfe. And also by the whole proceffe of the text it is easilie gathered, that Christ was abased in the true nature of man. For what meaneth this, that in shap he was found as man, but that for a time the glorie of his godhead did not shine foorth, but onely the shap of man appeared in base and abiect estate? For otherwise that place of *Peter* could not stand together, that he was dead in the flesh, but quickened in the spirite, if the Sonne of God had not beene weake in the nature of man: which *Paul* expresth more plainly in saying, that he suffred by reason of the weakenesse of the flesh. And hereunto serueth the exaltation: because it is exprefly said, that Christ attained a new glory after that he abased himselfe, which could not well agree to be spoken of any, but of a man hauing flesh and Soule. *Manichees* framed Christ a body of aire, because Christ is called the second *Adam*, heauenly of heauen. But neither in that place doth the Apostle bring in a heauenly essence of the bodie, but a spirituall force which being powered abroad by Christ, doth quicken vs. Now, as we haue already seene, *Peter* and *Paul* doe seuer the same from his flesh. But rather that doctrine which is receiued among the true teachers, concerning the flesh of Christ, is very vell prooued 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 followeth: that if Christ be risen againe, we shall also rise againe: and if we doe not rise, then that Christ also is not risen. By what cauillations so euer either the olde *Manichees* or their new Disciples goe about to escape, they shall not winde themselues away. It is a foule shift, that they fondly say, that Christ is called the sonne of man, insomuch as he is promised of men. For it is plaine, that after the Hebrew phrase, very man indeede is called the sonne of man. And Christ without doubt kept the phrase of his owne toong. Also it ought to make no question, what ought to bee vnderstande by the children of *Adam*. And (not to goe farre off) the place of the eight Psalme, which the Apostles apply to Christ, shall be sufficient enough: What is man that thou art mindefull of him, or the sonne of man that thou visitest him? In this figure is exprefied the true manhood of Christ. For though he were not immediatly begotten of a mortall father, yet his race came from *Adam*. For else that place could not stand which we haue already alleaged that Christ is made partaker of flesh and blood, that he might gather to him yoong children to the seruice of God. In which words it is plainly determined, that Christ is made fellow and partaker of all one nature with vs. In which meaning *Heb. 2. 14.* also he saith, that both the Author of holinesse and they that are made holy, are all of one. For it is prooued by the proceffe of the text, that the same is referred to the fellowship of nature: because he by and by addeth. Therefore he is not ashamed

The groundes whereupon the Marcionites and Manichees founded their error. Phil. 2. 7.

1. Pet. 3. 18.

2. Cor. 13. 4.
1. Cor. 15. 47.

1. Cor. 15. 16.

Heb. 2. 14.

Cap. 13. Of the knowledge of

to call them brethren. For if he had said before, that the faithfull 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 and vnnoble, therefore it is said, that he is not ashamed. But in vaine they object, that by this meane the wicked shall become the brethren of Christ: because we know that the children of God are not borne of flesh and blood, but of the holy Ghost by faith. Therefore onely flesh maketh not a brotherly ioyning. But although the Apostle giue this honour to the faithfull onely, to be of one with Christ, yet it followeth not, but that the wicked may be borne of the same originall. As when we say that Christ was made man, to make vs the sonnes of God: this saying extendeth not to all men, because faith is the meane which spiritually graffeth vs into the bodie of Christ. Also they foolishly moue a brawle about the name of First begotten. They say that Christ should haue bene borne of *Adam* straight at the beginning, that he might be the first begotten among brethren. For the title of First begotten, is not referred to age, but to the degree of honour, and excellencie of power. And more colour hath that which they babbe, that Christ tooke to him man and not Angels, because he receiued mankind into fauour. For, to set out more largely the honour which God vouchsafed to giue vs, he compared the Angels with vs, which were in this behalfe set behind vs. And if the testi monie of *Moses* be wel weighed, where he saith that the seede of the woman shall breake the serpents head, it shall vriterly end the controuersie. For onely Christ is not there spoken of, but al mankind. Because the victorie was to be gotten by Christ for vs, he generally pronounceth that the posteritie of the woman should get the ypper hand of the duell. Whereunto followeth, that Christ issued of mankind, because it was Gods purpose there to raise vp *Eue*, whom he spake vnto with good hope, that she should not faint with sorrow.

Rom. 8. 29.

Heb. 2. 16.

Gen. 3. 15.

The shifts which
new Marcionites
haue to auoid the
evidence of scrip-
ture which ma-
keth against them
Gal. 3. 18.

3 They do no lesse wickedly than foolishly entangle with allegories these testi monies where Christ is called the seede of *Abraham*, and the fruite of the wombe of *Dauid*. For if the name of Seede had been spoken in an allegorie, truly *Paul* would not haue left it vtold, where he plainly and without figure affirmeth, that there are not many sonnes of *Abraham* redeemers; but one Christ. Of like sort is it that they alleadge that he is no otherwise called the son of *Dauid*, but because he was promi sed & at length in his due time deliuered. For after that *Paul* had once named him the son of God: in that he by and by addeth, According to the flesh, he truly meaneth of nature. And so in the ninth Chapter calling him the blessed God, hee saith seuerally beside, that according to the flesh he descended of the Iewes. Now if he were not truly begotten of the seede of *Dauid*, to what purpose shall be this saying, that he is the fruite 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 reliearfed of *Matthew*, they doe Sophistically mocke. For though he do not rehearse the parents of *Marie* but of *Ioseph*, yet because he speaketh of a thing sufficiently knowen abroad among the people, he reckoneth it enough to shew that *Ioseph* came of the seede of *Dauid*, when it was well knowen that *Marie* was of the same stocke. But *Luke* more expresseth them in teaching that saluation brought by Christ, is common to all mankind: because Christ the author of saluation proceeded from *Adam* the common parent of all. I graunt in deede, that by the Genealogie it can none otherwise be gathered that Christ was the sonne of *Dauid*, but in so much as he was begotten of the Virgine. But the new Marcionites to colour their error do too proudly, in this that to prooue that Christ tooke his body of nothing, they as firme that women are seedeles, and so they ouerthrow the principles of nature. But because that is no question of diuinitie, & the reasons that they bring are so fickle that they may verie easily be confuted: therefore I will not touch those things that belong to Philosophie and Phisicke, and will hold me contented to wipe away those things

Rom. 1. 3.

Bsa. 132. 11.

that

they alleadge out of Scripture : that is , that *Aaron* and *Loiadah* tookewiues of the tribe of *Iehudah*, and so the difference of tribes had then been confounded, if woman had engendering seed in her. But it is well enough knowen that as touching ciuill order, the kindreds are reckoned by the seede of the man , and yet the excellencie of the kinde of man aboue woman proueth not the contrarie , but that in generation the seede of woman must meete. And this solution extendeth to all the Genealogies. Oftentimes when the Scripture reckoneth vp a Genealogie, it nameth the men only: shall we therefore say, that the women are nothing? But very children doe know, that women are comprehended vnder the name of men. And after this sort is saide, that women bring forth to their husbandes, because the name of the household alway remaineth with the males. Now as this is graunted to the excellencie of the male kinde, that the children are counted noble or vnnoble, according to the estate of their fathers: so also in the state of bondage the issue followeth the wombe, according to the iudgement of the Ciuill lawyers. Whereby we may gather, that the issue is ingendred of the seed of the woman. And it hath of long time bin receiued in common vse of all nations, that the mothers are called Genetrices, that is engendrers. Wherewith Gods law also agreeth, which else should wrongfully forbid the marriage of the vnle with his sisters daughter, because there were no consanguinitie betwene them : and also it were lawfull for a man to marrie his sister by the mothers side, so that she were begotten of another father. But as I grant that there is a passiuie 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 saide to be made by the woman, but of the woman. But some of their companie shaking off all shame do too lightly aske, whether we will say that Christ was engendred of the mensuall seede of the Virgin, for I will likewise aske of them, whether he did not congeale in the bloud of his mother, which they shall be constrained to confesse. Therefore it is fitly gathered of *Matthewes* wordes, that because Christ was begotten of *Marie*, he was engendred of her seed: as a like engendring is ment when it is saide, that *Eooz* was begotten of *Rahab*. Neither doth *Matthew* here describe the Virgin as a conduit pipe through which Christ passed: but he seuereth this maruellous manner of generation from the common manner, for that by her was Christ begotten of the seede of *Dauid*. For euen in the same sort, that *Isaac* was begotten of *Abraham*, *Salomon* of *Dauid*, and *Ioseph* of *Iacob*, likewise it is said that Christ was begotten of his mother. For the *Euangelist* so frameth the order of his speech, and willing to prouoe that Christ came of *Dauid*, is contented with this one reason, that hee was begotten of *Marie*. Whereby it followeth, that he tooke it for a matter confessed, that *Marie* was of kinne to *Ioseph*.

Gal. 4. 4.

Math. 1. 5.

4. The absurdities wherewith they would charge vs, are stuffed full of childish caulliations: They thinke it a shame and dishonour to Christ, if he should haue taken his originall of men: because he so could not be exempt from the vniuersall lawe that encloueth all the offspring of *Adam* without exception vnder sinne. But the comparison that we reade in *Paul* doth easily assoile this doubt: that as by one man came sinne, and by sinne death, so by the righteousnes of one man grace hath abounded. Wherewith also agreeth another comparison of his: the first *Adam* of earth earthly, and naturall; the second of heauen heavenly. Therefore in another place, the same Apostle, where he teacheth that Christ was sent in the likenesse of sinfull flesh to sauisie the law, doth so expressely seuer him from the common estate of men, that he be verie man without fault and corruption: But very childishly they trifle in reasoning thus: If Christ be free from all spot, and was by the secret working of the holy Ghost begotten of the seed of *Marie*, then is not the womans seed, but onely the mans seed vnclaine. For weldo not make Christ free from all spot, for this cause that hee is onely engendred of his mother without copulation of man, but because

It is no dishonour vnto Christ so haue taken his originall of man.

Rom. 5. 12.

1. Cor. 15. 47.

Rom. 8. 3.

he is sanctified by the holy Ghost, that the generation might be pure and vncorrupted, such as shoulde haue beene before the fall of *Adam*. And this alway remained stedfastly determined with vs, that so oft as the Scripture putteth vs in minde of the cleannesse of Christ, it is ment of his true nature of manhood: because it were superfluous to say that God is cleane. Also the sanctification that hee speaketh of in the fouenteenth of *Iohn*, could haue no place in the nature of god. Neither are there fained two seedes of *Adam*, although there came no infection to Christ: because the generation of man is not vncleane or vitious of it selfe, but accidental by his falling. Therefore it is no maruell, if Christ, by whom the estate of innocencie was to be restored, were exempted from common corruption. And whereas also they thrust this vpon vs for an absurditie, that if the Worde of God did put on flesh, then was it inclosed in a narrow prison of an earthly body: this is but meere waewardnesse: because although the infinite essence of the worde did growe together into one person with the nature of man: yet do we faine no inclosing of it. For the sonne of God descended maruellously from heauen, so as yet he left not heauen, it was his will to be maruellously borne in the Virgins wombe, to be conuersant in earth, and hang vpon the crosse, yet that he alway filled the worlde euen as at the beginning.

The xiiij. Chapter.

How the two natures of the Mediator doe make one person.

The diuine & humane natures of Christ united in his person, yet in their properties distinguished, as the body and the soule in one and the same man.

NOW where it is saide, 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 because 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 vnite of person. For we so affirme the Godhead ioyned and vnited to the manhood, that either of them haue their whole property remaining, and yet of them both is made one Christ. If any thing in all worldly things may be found like to so great a mysterie, the similitude of man is most fit, whom we see to consist of two substances, whercof yet neither is so mingled with other, but that either keepeth the propertie of his owne nature. For neither is the soule the bodie, nor the bodie the soule. Wherefore both that thing may be feuerally spoken of the soule, which can no way agree with the bodie: and likewise of the bodie that thing may be said, which can by no meane agree with the soule: and that may be saide of the whole man, which can be but vnfitly taken neither of the soule nor of the bodie feuerally. Finally, the properties of the soule are sometime attributed to the bodie, and the properties of the bodie sometime to the soule; and yet he that consisteth of them is but one man and not many. But such formes of spech doe signifie both that there is one person in man compounded of two natures knit together, and that there are two diuers natures which doe make the same person. And so doe the Scriptures speake of Christ: sometime they giue vnto him those things that ought singularly to be referred to his manhood, and sometime those things that doe peculiarly belong to his Godhead, and sometime those things that doe comprehend both natures, and doe agree with neither of them feuerally. And this conioyning of the two natures that are in Christ, they doe with such religiounesse epresse, that sometime they doe put them in common together: which figure is among the olde authors called Communicating of properties.

Things in scripture sometimes spoken of his person of Christ & agreeing

2 These things were but weake, vnlesse many phrases of Scripture, and such as be eachwhere ready to finde, did prooue that nothing heereof hath been deuised by man. That same thing which Christ spake of himselfe, saying: Before that *Abraham*

was, I am, was farre disagreeing from his manhood. Neither am I ignorant with what caullation the erroneous spirits do deprave this place: For they say that he was before all ages, because he was already foreknown the Redeemer, as well in the counsell of the father, as in the mindes of the godly. But whereas he openly distinguisheth the day of his manifestation from his eternall essence, and of purpose pronounceth vnto himselfe an authoritie by antiquitie wherein he excelleth about *Abraham*, hee doth vndoubtedly challenge to himselfe that which is proper to the Godhead. Whereas *Paul* affirmeth that he is the first begotten of all creatures, which was before all things, and by whom all things keepe their being: and whereas hee himselfe reporteth that he was in glory with the Father before the creation of the world, and that he worketh together with the father these things, do nothing more agree with the nature of men. It is therefore certaine, that these and such like are peculiarie ascribed to the Godhead. But whereas he is called the seruant of the Father: and whereas it is saide, that he grewe in age, wisdom and fauour with God and men: that he seeketh not his owne glorie: that he knoweth not the last day: that he speaketh not of himselfe: that he doth not his owne will: where it is saide, that he was seene and felt: this wholly belongeth to his owne manhood. For in respect that he is God, neither can he increase in any thing, and he worketh all things for his owne sake, neither is any thing hidden from him, he doth all things according to the free choise of his owne will, and can neither be seene nor felt. And yet he doth not severallie ascribe these things to his nature of man onely, but taketh them vpon himselfe, as if they did agree with the person of the mediator. But the communicating of properties is in this that *Paul* saith, that God did by his owne blood purchase vnto him a Church: and the Lord of glorie crucified. Again, where *Iohn* saith, that the Word of life was felt. Truly God neither hath blood, nor suffereth, nor can be touched with hands. But because he which was both very God and man, Christ being crucified, did shed his blood for vs: those things that were done in his nature of man, are vnproperly, and yet not without reason giuen to his Godhead. A like example is, where *Iohn* teacheth that God gaue his soule for vs: therefore there also the propriety of the manhood is communicate with the other nature. Again, when Christ said being yet conuerfant in earth, that no man haue ascended into heauen, but the sonne of man that was in heauen: truly according to his manhood, and in the flesh that he had put on, he was not then in heauen: but because himselfe was both God & man, by reason of the vnitie of both natures, he gaue to the one that, which belonged to the other.

3 But most plainly of all do these places set forth the true substance 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 read is singularly belonging neither to his godhead nor to his manhood, but both together, that he hath receiued of his father power to forgive sinnes, to raise vp whom he will, to giue righteousnes, holinesse and saluation, to be made iudge ouer the quicke and the dead, to be honoured euen as the father is: Finally, that he is called the light of the worlde, the good shepheard, the onely dore, the true Vine. For such prerogatiues had the sonne of God, when he was shewed in the flesh, which although he enioyed with his father before the world was made, yet hee had them not in the same maner or the same respect, and which could not be giue to such a man as was nothing but man. In the same meaning ought we to take that which is in *Paul*: that Christ after the iudgement ended, that yeeld vp the kingdome to God & the Father: Euen the kingdome of the sonne of God, which had no beginning, nor shall haue any ending: but euen as he lay hid vnder the baseness of the flesh, & abased himselfe, taking vpon him the forme of a seruant, and laying aside the port of maiestie, he shewed himselfe obedient to his father: and hauing performed all such subiection, at length is crowned with honor and glory, & aduanced to the highest dominion, that all knees shall bow before him: so shall he then yeelde

in respect of the one nature onely, sometimes of one nature and agreeing in respect of the other.
Ioh. 8. 38.

Col. 1. 15.

Iohn. 17. 5.
Iohn. 5. 17.

Esa. 47. 1.
Luk. 17. 20.
Ioh. 8. 50.
Matt. 13.
Ioh. 13. 10.
& 6. 36.
Luk. 24. 39.

Act. 20. 28.
1. Cor. 2. 6.
1. Ioh. 1. 1.

1. Ioh. 3. 16.

Iohn. 3. 13.
Things spoken of the person of Christ and agreeing no more to one nature than another, but indifferently to either, and truly to him that consists of both. In which kinde his office of mediation is.
Ioh. 1. 29. & 5. 21.
Ioh. 9. 5.

Ioh. 2. 1.
1. Cor. 24.

Phil. 2. S.

Cap. 14. Of the knowledge of

Heb. 2.6.
Phil. 2.10.
1. Cor. 15. 28.

vp to his father both that name and crowne of glorie, and whatsoeuer he hath receiued of his father, that God may be all in all. For to what purpose is power and dominion giuen him, but that the father should gouerne vs by his hande? In which sense it is also saide, that he sitteth at the right hand of the father. But this is but for a time, till we may enjoy the present beholding of the godhead. And here the error of the old fathers cannot be excused, which while they tooke no heede to the person of the Mediator, haue obscured the naturall meaning of almost all the doctrine that is read in the Gospel of *Iohn*, and haue entangled themselves in many snares. Let this therefore be vnto vs the key of right vnderstanding, that such things as belong to the office of the Mediator, are not spoken simply of the nature of God, nor of the nature of man. Therefore Christ shall reigne till he come fourth to iudge the world, in so much as he ioyneth vs to his father, according to the small measure of our weaknesse. But when we being made partakers of the heauenly glorie, shall see God such as he is, then he hauing performed the office of Mediator, shall cease to be the embassadour of his father, and shall be contented with that glorie which he enjoyed before the making of the world: and the name of Lord doth in no other respect peculiarly agree with the person of Christ, but in this, that it signifieth the meane degree betweene God and vs. For which purpose maketh that saying of *Paul*: One God, of whome are all things, and one Lord, by whom are all things, euen he to whome the dominion for a time is committed by the father, vntill his diuine maiestie be to be scene face to face. From whom so farre is it off that any thing shall decay, by yielding vp the dominion to his father, that he shall become so much the more glorious. For then shall God also cease to be the head of Christs because Christ godhead shall then shine of it selfe, whereas yet it is couered with a certaine veile.

Things spoken of
Christ doe neede
wise and sober ex-
positors for the a-
voiding as of other
errors, so of those
wherein Nestorius
and Eutiches are
condemned.
Aug. in enchir.
ad Lauren. c. 36.

4. And this obseruation shall doe no small seruice to assoile many doubtles, if the readers doe fitly apply it. For it is maruellous how much the vnskillfull, yea some not vtterly vnlearned, are cumbered with such formes of speech, which they see spoken by Christ, which doe well agree neither with his godhead nor with his manhood, because they consider not that they doe agree with his person wherein he is shewed both God and man, and with the office of Mediator. And it is alway easie to see, how wel all things hang together, if they haue a sober expositor, to examine so great mysteries with such deuout reuerence as they ought to be. But there is nothing that these furious and frantike spirits trouble not. They catch hold of those things that are spoken of his manhood, to take away the godhead: and likewise of those things that are spoken of his godhead to take away his manhood: and of those things that are so ioynedly spoken of both natures, that they seuerally agree with neither, to take away both. But what is that else but to say, that Christ is not man, because he is God: and that he is not God, because he is man: and that he is neither man nor God, because he is both man and God? We therefore do determine that Christ, as he is both God and man, consisting of both natures, vnited, though not confounded, is our Lord and the true sonne of God, euen according to this manhood, though not by reason of his manhood. For the error of *Nestorius* is to be driuen far away from vs, which when he went about rather to drawe in sunder, then to distinguish the nature, did by the meane imagine a double Christ. Whereas wee see that the Scripture crieth out with loude voice against it, where both the name of the sonne of God is giuen to him that was borne of the Virgin, and the Virgin her selfe is called the mother of our Lord. We must also beware of the madnesse of *Eutiches*, least while we go about to shew the vnitie of person, we destroy either nature. For we haue already alleaged so many testimonies, and there are euery where so many other to be alleaged, where his godhead is distinguished from his manhood: as may stop the mouthes euen of the most contentious. And a litle hereafter I will adioine some testimonies to confute better that fained deuise, but at this present, one place shall content vs. Christ woulde not haue called

Euk. 1. 33. & 44.

called his body a Temple, vnlesse the godhead did distinctly dwell therein. Wherefore as *Nestorius* was worthily condemned in the Synode at *Ephesus*, so also was *Eutiches* afterward condemned in the Synode of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*: forasmuch as it is no more lawfull to confound the two natures in Christ, than it is to draw them in sunder.

5 But in our age also there hath risen vp no lesse pestilent a monster, *Michael Seruetus*, which did thrust in place of the sonne of God, a fained thing made of the essence of God, of spirit, flesh and three elements vncreat. And first 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 end tendeth his futeletie, that the distinction of the two natures being once ouerthrowne, Christ might be thought to be a certaine thing mingled of God and man, and yet neither God nor man. For in his whole proceffe he trauaileth toward this point, that before Christ was openly shewed in the flesh, there were only certaine shadowish figures in God, whereof the truth or effect then at length was in being, when that word which was ordained to that honor, began truly to be the sonne of God. And we in deede do confesse that the Mediator which is borne of the Virgin, is properly the sonne of God. For Christ in that he is man, could not be the mirror of the inestimable fauour of God, vnlesse this dignitie were giuen him to be, and be called the only begotten sonne of God. But in the meane season the definition of the Church standeth stedfastly grounded, that he is counted the sonne of God, because he being the Word begotten of the father before all worlds, did by hypostaticall vnion take vpon him the nature of man. Now the hypostaticall vnion is called with the old fathers, that which maketh one person of two natures, which phrase of speech was deuised to ouerthrowe the doting error of *Nestorius*, because he fained that the sonne of God did so dwell in flesh, that yet he the same was not man. *Seruetus* slandereth vs, that we make two sonnes of God when we say that the eternall Word was alreadie the sonne of God before that it was clothed with flesh, as if we did say any thing else, but that he was manifested in the flesh. Neither doth it follow, that if he were God before that he was man, he began to be a new God. And no more absurditie it is to say, that the sonne of God appeared in the flesh, which yet had this alway from eternall begetting to be the sonne, which the Angels words to *Maria* do secretly shew, That holy thing that shall be borne of thee, shall be called the sonne of God: as if he should haue sayd, that the name of the Sonne which was obscure in time of the lawe, should now become famous and euery where known abroad. Wherewith agreeth that saying of *Paul*, that now by Christ we are the children of God, freely and with boldnesse to crie *Abba*, Father. But were not the holy fathers in the old time also accounted among the children of God? Yea, and bearing them bold vpon that interest, they called vpon God by name of their Father. But because since the only begotten sonne of God was brought forth into the world, the heavenly fatherhood is become more plainly known: therefore *Paul* 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 Angels or men, but in respect of the onely begotten sonne: and that men specially, whom their own wickednesse maketh hatefull to God; are his children by free adoption because he is the sonne of God by nature. And there is no cause why *Seruetus* should cauil, that this hangeth vpon filiation or becomming a sonne, which God had determined with himselfe, because our purpose is not here to speake of the figures how the expiation was shewed in the blood of beasts: but because they could not in the deede be the children of God, vnlesse their adoption were grounded vpon the head, it is without reason to take that from the head which is common to all the members. I go yet further: Whereas the Scripture calleth the Angels the sonnes of God, whose so great dignitie did not hang vpon the redemption to come; yet must it needes be, that

Iohn.2.19.

The monstrous impietie of *Seruetus*, denying Christ to haue bin actually the sonne of God before he was borne of the virgin *Maria*:

Rom.8.15.

1 Pet.2.7.

the

the sonne in sin order before them, which maketh the father to be their father. I will repeate it againe shortly, and adde the same of mankind. Sith from at their first beginning both Angels and men were created with this condition, that God shoulde be cōmon father to them both, if that saying of *Paul* be true, that Christ was alway the head and the first begotten of all creatures, to haue the first degree in all: I thinke I do rightly gather that he was also the sonne of God before the creation of the world.

Col. 1. 15.

Christ truly and properly the sonne of God in the flesh, but not in respect of the flesh which before heooke vpon him, he was the sonne.

6 But if his Filiation (if I may so terme it) began since he was manifested in the flesh, it shall follow, that he was also sonne in respect of his nature of man. *Seruetus* and other such frantike men would haue it, that Christ which appeared in the flesh, is the sonne of God, because out of the flesh he could not be called by that name. Now let them answer me whether he be the sonne according to both natures, and in respect of both. So indeede they prate, but *Paul* teacheth farre otherwise. We graunt in deede, that Christ is in the flesh 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 vouchsafeth to giue the name of his sonnes to vs, that are regenerate into a new life: but the name of the true and onely begotten sonne, he giueth to Christ onely. How can he be the onely sonne in so great a number of brethren, but because he possiſseth that by nature, which we haue receiued by gift? And the honor we extend to the whole person of the Mediator, that he be truly and properly the sonne of God, which was also borne of the Virgin, and offered himselfe for sacrifice to his father vpon the crosse: but yet in respect of his Godhead, as *Paul* teacheth, when he saith, he was seuered out to preach the Gospell of God, which he had before promised of his sonne, which

Rom. 1. 2.

was begotten of the seede of *Dauid* according to his flesh, and declared the sonne of God in power. But why, when he nameth him distinctly the sonne of *Dauid* according to the flesh, should he seuerally say, that he was declared the sonne of God, vnlesse he meant to shew that this did hang vpon some other thing, than vpon the very flesh? For in the same sence in another place he saith, that he suffered by the weakness of the flesh, and rose againe by the power of the spirit, euen so in this place he maketh a difference of both natures. Truly they must needs graunt, that as he hath that of his mother for which he is called the sonne of *Dauid*, so he hath that of his father for which he is called the sonne of God: and the same is another thing and seuerall from the nature of man. The Scripture giueth him two names, calling him here and there sometimes the sonne of God, and sometimes the sonne of Man. Of the second there can be no contention mooued: but according to the common vse of the Hebrue tongue he is called the sonne of man, because he is of the offspring of *Adam*. By the contrarie I affirme, that he is called the sonne of God in respect of the Godhead and eternall essence: because it is no lesse meete that it be referred to the nature of God, that he is called the sonne of God, than to the nature of man, that he is called the sonne of man. Againe, in the same place that I alleaged, *Paul* doth meane that he which was according to the flesh begotten of the seede of *Dauid*, was no otherwise declared the sonne of God in power, than he teacheth in another place, that Christ which according to the flesh descended of the Lewes, is God blessed for euer. Now if in both places the distinction of the double nature be touched, by what right will they say, that he which according to the flesh is the sonne of man, is not also the sonne of God, in respect of the nature of God.

Rom. 9. 5.

Places of scripture wrested by Seruetus from their true meaning to prooue that Christ began to be the sonne of God when he became the sonne of man.

Rom. 8. 32.

7 They doe in deede disorderly enforce for the maintenance of their error, the place where it is said, that God spared not his own sonne, and where the Angel commaunded, that the very same he that should be borne of the Virgin, should be called the sonne of the highest. But, least they should glorie in so fickle an obiection, let them wey with vs a little, how strongly they reason For if it be rightly concluded, that from his conception he began to be the sonne of God, because he that is conceived

is called the sonne of God, then shall it follow, that he began to be the word at his manifesting in the flesh, because *Iohn* saith, that he bringeth them tidings of the Word of life, which his hands haue handled. Likewise that, which is read in the Prophet: Thou *Bethleem* in the land of *Iuda*, art a little one in thousands of *Iuda*: Out of thee shall be borne to me a guide to rule my people *Israell*, and his coming forth from the beginning, from the dayes of eternitie. How will they be compelled to expound this, if they will be content to follow such manner of reasoning? For I haue protested, that we do not agree with *Nestorius*, which imagined a double Christ: whereas by our doctrine, Christ hath made vs the sonnes of God with him, by right of brotherly conioyning, because he is the onely begotten sonne of God in the flesh which he tooke of vs. And *Augustine* doeth wisely admonish vs, that this is a bright glasse, wherein to beholde the marueilous and singular fauour of God, that he attained honor in respect that he is man which he could not deserue. Therefore Christ was adorned with this excellency euen according to the flesh from the wombe of his mother, to be the sonne of God. Yet is there not in the vnite of person to be fained such a mixture, as may take away that which is proper to the godhead. For it is no more absurdity, that the eternall word of God and Christ, by reason of the two natures vnited into one person, be diuers wayes called the Sonne of God, than that he be according to diuers respects, called sometime the Sonne of God, and sometime the sonne of Man. And no more doeth that other cauillation of *Seruetus* accomber vs: that before that Christ appeared in the flesh, he is no where called the Sonne of God, but vnder a figure; because although the describing of him, then was somewhat darke: yet where as it is already cleerely proued that he was no otherwise eternall God, but because he was the word begotten of the eternall father, and that this name doth no otherwise belong to the person of the Mediator which he hath taken vpon him, but because he is God openly shewed in the flesh: and that God the Father had not bene called Father from the beginning, if there had not then bin a mutual relation to the Sonne, by whome all kinred or fatherhood is reckoned in heauen and in earth: hereby it is easie to gather, that euen in the time of the law and the Prophets, he was the Sonne of God, before that this name was commonly known in the Church. But if they stitue onely about the onely word, *Salomon* discoursing of the infinite highnesse of God, affirmeth as well his Sonne as himselfe to be incōprehensible. Tell his name if thou canst (saith he) or the name of his sonne. Yet I am not ignorāt, that with the contentious this testimonie wil not be of sufficient force: neither do I much ground vpon it, sauing that it sheweth that they do maliciously caull, that deny Christ to be the Sonne of God, but in this respect that he was made man. Beside that, all the oldest writers with one mouth and consent haue openly testified the same: so that their shamelesnesse is no lesse worthy to be scorned than to be abhorred which dare obiect *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* against vs, both which do confesse that the Sonne of God was inuisible, which afterward appeared visible.

8 But although *Seruetus* hath heaped vp horrible monstrous deuses, which peraduenture the other would not allow: yet if ye presse them hard, ye shall perceiue that all they that do not acknowledge Christ to be the sonne of God but in the flesh, do grant it only in this respect, that he was conceiued in the wombe of the Virgin by the holy Ghost, like as the *Manichees* in olde time did foolishly affirme, that man hath his soule (as it were) by deriuation from God, because they read that God breathed into *Adam* the breath of life. For they take so fast holde of the name of Sonne, that they leaue no difference betweene the natures, but babble disorderly that Christ being man, is the Sonne of God, because according to his nature of man, he is begotten of God. So the eternall begetting of Wisedome that *Salomon* speaketh of, is destroyed, and there is no account made of the godhead in the Mediator, or a fantasied Ghost is thrust in place of the Manhoode. It were indeede profitable to confute

Luk. 1. 32.

1. Ioh. 1. 1.

Mic. 5. 2.

Eph. 3. 13.

Pro. 30. 4.

The sandrie grosse absurdities vherinto Seruetus fell, by denying Christ to haue bin really and actually the son of God before he was manifested in the flesh.

Ecc. 2. 14.

the

founde matter of saluation in Christ, and so rest in him, this principle is to be established, that the office which is committed to him by his Father, consisteth of three partes. For he is giuen both a Prophet, a King, and a Priest. Albeit, it were but small profite to knowe those names, without knowledge of the ende and vse of them. For they are also named among the Papistes, but coldly and to no great profite, where it is not knowne what each of these titles containeth in it. Wee haue saide before, how though God sending Prophets by continual course one after another, did neuer leaue his people destitute of profitable doctrine, & such as was sufficient to saluation: that yet the mindes of the godly had alway this perswasion, that full light of vnderstanding was to be hoped for onely at the comming of *Messias*: yea and the opinion thereof was come, euen to the *Samaritans*, who yet neuer knew the true religion, as appeereth by the saying of the woman: When *Messias* commeth he shall teach vs all things. And the *Iewes* had not rashly gathered this vpon presumptions in their minds: But as they were taught by assured oracles, so they beleued. Notable among the other is that saying of *Esai*: Beholde, I haue made him a witnesse to peoples, I haue giuen him to be a guide and Schoolemaster to peoples: euen as in another place he had called him the Angel or interpreter of the great counsell. After this manner the Apostle commending the perfection of the doctrine of the Gospell, after that he had said, that God in the olde time spake to the Fathers by the Prophets diuersly, and vnder manifold figures, addeth that last of all he spake vnto vs by his beloved sonne. But because it was the common office of the Prophets to keepe the Church in suspense, and to vphold it vntill the comming of the Mediator, therefore we reade that in their scattering abroad, the faithfull complained that they were deprived of that ordinarie benefite, saying: We see not our tokens: there is not a prophet among vs: there is no more any that hath knowledge. But when Christ was now not farre off, there was a time appointed to *Daniel* to scale vp the vision and the Prophet, not onely that the Prophecie, which is there spoken of, should be stablished in assured credit, but also that the faithfull shoulde learne with contented minde to want the Prophets for a time, because the fulnesse and closing vp of all reuelations was at hand.

2 Now it is to be noted, that the title of commendation of Christ belongeth to these three offices. For we knowe that in the time of the lawe, as well the Prophets as Priests and kings were annointed with holy oyle. For which cause the renowned name of *Messias* was giuen to the promised Mediator. But though in deede I confesse (as I haue also declared in another place,) that he was called *Messias*, by peculiar consideration and respect of his kingdome: yet the annointings in respect of the office of Prophet and of Priest, haue their place, and are not to be neglected of vs. Of the first of these two is expresse mention made in *Esai*, in these words. The spirit of the Lord *Iehua* vpon me. Therefore the Lord hath annointed me, that I should preach to the mecke, should bring health to the contrite in hart, should declare deliuerance to captiues, should publish the yere of good will, &c. We see that he was annointed with the Spirit, to be the publisher and witnesse of the grace of the Father. And that not after the common manner: for he is seuered from other teachers that had the like office. And here againe is to be noted, that hee tooke not the annointing for himselfe alone, that he might execute the office of teaching, but for his whole bodie, that in his continuall preaching of the Gospell, the vertue of the Spirit shoulde ioyne withall. But in the meane time this remaineth certaine, that by this perfection of doctrine which he hath brought, an ende is made of all prophecies, so that they doe diminish his authoritie, that being not content with the Gospell, doe patch any forraine thing vnto it. For that voice which thundred from heauen, saying: This is my beloved sonne, heare him: hath aduanced him by singular priuiledge aboue the degrees of all other. Then this ointment is powred abroade from the head vnto all the members: as it was forespoken by *Joel*. Your children shall prophesie, and your

of God before his comming, looked for more lights of knowledge as his handes when he should come, where they receiued by their other Prophets.
Enchirad Laur. cap. 5.
Col. 2. 19.

Ioh. 4. 25.

Esai. 53. 4.

Heb. 1. 1.

Psal. 74. 9.

Dan. 9. 24.

Christ more than a common instructor, as the blessing ioynd with his doctrine, and the excellencie of what hee taught doe plainly shew.

Esai. 51. 1.

Mat. 3. 17.

Joel. 2. 28.

Cap. 15. Of the knowledge of

1. Cor. 1. 30.

Col. 2. 3.

Cor. 2. 2.

The eternall continuance of Christs kingdome prometh the perpetuall of his Church.

Psal. 89. 36.

Esa. 53. 2.

Psa. 2. 3. 4.

Psa. 110.

John. 18. 36.

daughters shall see visions, &c. But where *Paul* saith, that he was giuen vs vnto wisdom, and in another place, that in him are hidden all the treasures of knowledge and vnderstanding: this hath somewhat another meaning: that is, that out of him there is nothing profitable to know, and that they which by faith perceiue what he is, haue comprehended the whole infinitenes of heauenly good things. For which cause he writeth in another place, I haue counted it precious to know nothing, but Iesus Christ, and him crucified: which is most true, because it is not lawfull to passe beyond the simplicitie of the Gospel. And hereunto tendeth the dignitie of a Prophets office in Christ, that we might know that in the sum of the doctrine, which he hath taught, are contained all points of perfect wisdom.

3 Now come I to his kingdome, of which were vaine to speake, if the readers were not first warned, that the nature thereof is spirituall. For thereby is gathered, both to what purpose it serueth, and what it auaileth vs, and the whole force and eternitie thereof, and also the eternitie which in *Daniel* the Angell doth attribute to the person of Christ, and againe the Angell in *Luke* doth worthily apply to the saluation of the people. But that is also double or of two sorts, for the one belongeth to the whole bodie of the church, the other is proper to euery member. To the first is to be referred that which is said in the Psalme: I haue once sworn by my holines to *Dauid*, I will not lie, his seede shall abide for euer, his seat shall be as the Sunne in my sight, it shall be established as the Moone for euer, and a faithfull witness in heauen. Neither is it doubtfull, but that God doth there promise, that he will be by the hand of his sonne an eternall gouerner and defender of his Church. For the true performance of this prophesie can he found no where else but in Christ: forasmuch as immediately after the death of *Salomon*, the greater part of the dignitie of the kingdome fell away, and was to the dishonour of the house of *Dauid* conuicid ouer to a priuate man, and afterward by litle and litle was diminished, till at length it came to vtter decay, with heauie and shamefull destruction. And the same meaning hath that exclamation of *Esa*: Who shall shew forth his generation? For he so pronounceth that Christ shall remaine aliuie after death, that he ioyneth him with his members. Therefore so oft as we heare that Christ is armed with eternal power, let vs remember that the euerlasting continuance of the Church is vpholden by this support, to remaine still safe among the troublesome tossings, where with it is continually vexed, and among the grieuous and terrible motions that threaten innumerable destructions. So when *Dauid* scorneth the boldnesse of his enemies, that goe about to breake the yoke of God and of Christ, and sayeth, that the kings and peoples raged in vaine, because he that dwelleth in heauen is strong enough to breake their violent assaults: he assureth the godly of the continuall preseruatiou of the Church, and encourageth them to hope well so oft as it happeneth to be oppressed. So in another place, when he saith, in the person of God: sit at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool: he warneth vs, that howe manie and strong enemies soeuer doe conspire to besiege the Church, yet they haue not strength enough to preuaile against that vnchangeable decree of God, whereby he hath appointed his sonne an eternall king: whereupon it followeth, that it is impossible that the Decill with all the preparation of the worlde, may be able at any time to destroy the Church, which is grounded vpon the eternall seat of Christ. Now for so much as concerneth the speciall vse of euerie 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 world, endureth but for a time, yea and is verie fraile. Therefore Christ, to lift vp our hope vnto heauen, pronounceth, that his kingdome is not of this world. Finally, when any of vs heareth, that the kingdome of Christ is spirituall, let him be raised vp with this saying, and let him pearce to the hope of a better life: and whereas he is now defended by the hande of Christ, let him looke for the full fruit of this

grace.

grace in the world to come.

4 That, as we haue saide, the force and profite of the kingdome of Christ cannot otherwise be perceiued by vs, but when we know it to be spirituall, appeereth sufficiently though it were but by this, that while we must liue in warfare vnder the crosse, during the whole course of our life, our estate is hard and miserable: what then should it profite vs to be gathered together vnder the dominion of a heavenly king, vnlesse we were certaine to enioy the fruite thereof out of the state of this earthly life? And therefore it is to be knowen, that whatsoever felicitie is promised vs in Christ, it consisteth not in outward commodities, that we should lead a merrie and quiet life, flourish in wealth, be assured from all harmes, and flow ful of those delightful things that the flesh is wont to desire: but that it wholly belongeth to the heavenly life. But as in the worlde the prosperous and desired state of the people is partly maintained by plentie of good things and peace at home, and partly by strong forceable defences, whereby it may be safe against outward violence: so Christ also doth enrich his with all things necessarie to eternal saluation of soules, and fortifieth them with strength, by which they may stande inuincible against all assaults of principall enemies. Whereby we gather, that he reigneth more for vs then for himselfe, and that both within and without: that being furnished so farre as God knoweth to be expedient for vs, with the gifts of the spirite, whereof we are naturally empiric, we may by these first fruits perceiue that we are truly ioyned to god vnto perfect blessednesse. And then, that bearing vs bolde vpon the power of the same spirit, we may not doubt that we shall alway haue the victorie against the Diuell, the world, and euerie kinde of hurtfull thing. To this purpose tendeth the answer of Christ to the Pharisees, that because the kingdome of God is within vs, it shall not come with obseruation. For it is likely that because he professed that he was the same king, vnder whom the foueraigne blessing of God was to be hoped for, they in scorne required him to shewe forth his signes. But he, because they (who other wise are too much bent to the earth) should not foolishly rest vpon worldly pompes, biddeth them to enter into their owne consciences, because the kingdome of God is righteousness, peace and ioy in the holy Ghost. Hereby we are briefly taught, what the kingdom of Christ auaieth vs. For, because it is not earthly or fleshly, subiect to corruption, but spiritual: he listeth vs vp euen to eternal life, that we may patiently passe ouer this life in miseries, hunger, cold, contempt, reproches, and other greefes, contented with this one thing, that our king will neuer leaue vs destitute, but succour vs in our necessities, till hauing ended our warre, we be called to triumph. For such is his maner of reigning, to communicate with vs all that he hath receiued of his father. Now whereas he armeth and furnissheth vs with power, and garnissheth vs with beauty and magnificence, enricheth vs with wealth: hereby is ministred vnto vs most plentifull matter to glorie vpon, and also bolde courage to fight without feare against the diuell, sinne and death. Finally, that clothed with his righteousness, we may valiantly ouercome all the reproches of the world, and as he liberally filleth vs with his gifts, so we againe for our part, may bring forth fruite to his glorie.

5 Therefore his kingly anointing is set forth vnto vs, not done with oyle or ointments made with spices, but he is called the anointed of God because vpon him hath rested the spirit of wisdom, vnderstanding, counsell, strength and feare of God. This is the oyle of gladnesse, wherewith the Palme reporteth that he was anointed about his fellowes, because if there were not such excellencie in him, we should be all needie and hungrie. For, as it is already said, he is not priuately enriched for himselfe, but to poure his plentie vpon vs, being hungry and dry. For as it is saide, that the father gaue the spirit to his sonne, not by measure, so there is expressed a reason why, that all we should receiue of his fulnes, and grace for grace. Out of which fountaine floweth that liberall giuing, whereof Paul maketh mention, whereby grace is diuersly

To know the eternall kingdome of Christ is cannot profite vs at all except we know it to be spirituall, and so consist of two parts, the enriching of his subiectes with good things, and the forcible defending of them against the assaults of principall enemies: out of this our comfort floweth.

Luk. 17. 28.

Rom. 14. 17.

Christ spirituallie anointed a king that is to say royally enriched with gifts of the spirite which last for euer, that in him Christians might euer be rich, neither is any thing taken from this, when it is saide that he shall yeelde vp his kingdome to his father.

Ephe. 4. 7.
Ioh. 1. 32.
Luk. 3. 22.

distributed to the faithfull, according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Hereby is that which I said sufficiently confirmed, that the kingdome of Christ consisteth in the spirite, not in earthly delightes or pomps, and therefore we must forsake the world that we may be partakers of it. A visible signe of this holy anointing was shewed in the baptisme of Christ, when the holy Ghost rested vpon him in the likenesse of a dove. That the holy Ghost and his giftes are meant by the word Anointing, ought to seeme neither noueltie nor absurditie. For we are none other way quickened, specially for so much as concerneth the heavenly life: there is no drop of liuely foecce in vs, but that which the holy Ghost poureth into vs, which hath chosen his seat in Christ, that from thence the heavenly riches might largely flow out vnto vs, whereof we are so needy. And whereas both the faithfull stand inuincible by the strength of their King, and also his spirituall riches plenteously flow out vnto them, they are not vnworthy called Christians. But this eternitie wherof we haue spoken, is nothing derogate by that saying of *Paul*: Then he shall yeelde vp the kingdome to God and the Father. Again: the Sonne himselfe shall be made subiect, that God may be all in all things: for his meaning is nothing else, but that in that same perfect glorie, the administration of the kingdome shall not be such as it is now. For the Father hath giuen all power to the Sonne, that by the Sonnes hand he may gouerne, cherish and sustaine vs, defende vs vnder his safegarde, and helpe vs. So while for a little time we are wauering abroad from God, Christ is the meane betweene God and vs, by little and little to bring vs to perfect conioyning with God. And truly, whereas he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, that is as much in effect, as if he were called the Fathers deputie, vnder whome is the whole power of his dominion, because it is Gods will to rule and defend his Church by a meane (as I may so call it) in the person of his Sonne. As also *Paul* doth expounde it in the first chapter to the *Ephesians*, that he was set at the right hand of the Father, to be the head of the Church, which is his bodie. And to no other meaning tendeth that which he teacheth in an other place, that there is giuen him a name aboue all names, that in the name of Iesus all knees should bow, and all tongues confesse that it is to the glory of God the Father. For euen in the same words also hee setteth out in the kingdome of Christ an order necessarie for our present weakenesse. So *Paul* gathereth rightly, that God shall then be by himselfe the onely heade of the Church, because Christes office in defending of the Church, shall be fulfilled. For the same reason the Scripture commonly calleth him Lord, because his Father did set him ouer vs to this ende, to exercise his owne Lordlie power by him. For though there be many Lordships in the world, yet is there to vs but one God the Father, of whome are all things and we in him, and one Lorde Christ, by whom are all things and we by him sayeth *Paul*. Whereupon is rightlie gathered that he is the selfe same God, which by the mouth of *Isaie* affirmed himselfe to be the King and the Law maker of the Church. For though he doe euery where call all the power that hee hath, the benefite and gift of the Father, yet he meaneth nothing else, but that he reigneth by power of God: because he hath therefore put on the personage of the Mediator, that descending from the bosome and incomprehensible glory of the Father, he might approach nie vnto vs. And so much more rightfull it is, that we be with al consent prepared to obey, and that with great cheerefulnes we direct our obediences to his commandement. For as he ioyne the offices of King and Pastor toward them that willingly yeelde themselves obedient: so on the other side, we heare that he beareth an yron scepter, to breake and bruse all the obstinate like potters vessels: we heare also that he shall be the iudge of nations, to couer the earth with dead corpses, and to ouerthrow the height that standeth against him. Of which thing there are some examples scene at this day: but the full prooffe thereof shall be at the last iudgement, which may also properly be accounted the last act of his kingdom.

1. Cor. 15. 24.
1. Cor. 15. 28.

Phi. 2. 9.

Esay. 33. 22.

Psal. 2. 9.
Psal. 110. 6.

6 Concerning his Priesthood, thus it is briefly to be holden, that the ende and *The office and use of Christes Priesthood* nesse reconcile vs to God. But because the iust curse possesseth the entrie; and God according to his office of Judge is bent against vs, it is necessary that some expiation be vsed, that he being a Priest may procure fauour for vs, to appease the wrath of God. Wherefore, that Christ might fulfill this office, it behooued that he should come forth with a sacrifice. For in the Law it was not lawfull for the Priest to enter into the Sanctuary without blood, that the faithfull might know, that though there were a Priest become meane for vs to make intercession, yet God could not be made fauourable to vs before that our sins were purged. Vpon which point the Apostle discourseth largely in the Epistle to the *Hebrues*, from the seuenth Chapter almost to the end of the tenth. But the summe of all commeth to this effect, that the honour of Priesthood can be applied to none but to Christ, which by the sacrifice of his death hath wiped away our guiltinesse, and satisfied for our sinnes. But how weighty a matter it is, we are conformed by that solemne oath of God, which was spoken without repentance: Thou art a Priest for euer, according to the order of *Melchisedech*. For without doubt his will was to establish that principall point, which he knew to be the chiefe ioynt whereupon our saluation hanged. For as it is saide, there is no way open for vs or for our prayers to God, vnlesse our filthinesse being purged, the Priestes doe sanctifie vs and obtaine grace for vs, from which the vncleannesse of our wicked doings and sinnes doth debarre vs. So doe we see, that we must begin at the death of Christ, that the efficacie and profite of his Priesthoode may come vnto vs. Of this it followeth that he is an eternall intercessor, by whose mediation we obtaine fauour, whereupon againe ariseth not onely assistance to pray, but also quietnesse to godly consciences, while they safely leane vpon the fatherly tenderesse of God, and are certainly perswaded that it pleaseth him whatsoever is dedicated to him by the Mediator. But whereas in the tyme of the Law, God commanded sacrifices of beastes to be offered to him: there was an other and a new order in Christ, that one should be both the sacrificed host, and the Priest: because there neither could be found any other satisfaction for sinnes, nor any was worthy so great honor to offer vp to God his onely begotten Sonne. Now Christ beareth the person of a Priest, not onely by eternall meane of reconciliation to make the Father fauourable and mercifull vnto vs, but also to bring vs into the fellowship of so great an honor. For we that are defiled in our selues, yet being made Priestes in him doe offer vpon our selues, and all ours to God, and doe freely enter into the heavenly sanctuary, that all the sacrifice of prayer and praise that come from vs, may be acceptable and sweete smelling in the sight of God. And thus farre doth that saying of Christ extend: For their sakes I sanctifie my selfe: because, hauing his holines powred vpon vs, in as much as he hath offered vs with himselfe to his Father, we that otherwise doe stinke before him, doe please him as pure and cleane, yea, and holy. Herunto serueth the anointing of the sanctuary, whereof mention is made in *Daniel*. For the comparison of contrarietic is to be noted betweene this anointing, and that shadow with anointing that then was in vse: as if the Angell should haue said, that the shadowes being driuen away, there should be a cleare Priesthood in the person of Christ. And so much more detestable is their inuention, which not contented with the sacrifice of Christ, haue presumed to thrust in themselves to kill him: which is daylie enterprised among the Papists, where the Masse is reckoned a sacrificing of Christ.

Psal. 110.4.

Reuc. 1.6.

Ioh. 17. 15.

Dan. 9. 24.

The xvj. Chapter.

How Christ hath fulfilled the office of Redeemer, to purchase saluation for vs, wherein is intreated of his death, and Resurrection and his Ascending into Heauen.

Cap. 16. Of the knowledge of

The summe of all which wee seeke for in Christ is saluation. In which respect he hath the name of Saviour giuen him: which name conserueth all good things.
 Act. 4. 12.
 Mat. 1. 22.
 Luk. 1. 31.

Bern. in cant.
 serm. 15.

How God can be saide to haue been our enemy till Christ reconciled vs, & yet giue vs his sonne, by whom we might be reconciled, seeing this worke to reconcile vs sheweth loue before reconciliation.
 Rom. 5. 10.
 Gal. 3. 10.
 Col. 1. 11.

AL that we haue hitherto said of Christ, is to be directed to this marke, that being damned, dead, and lost in our selues, we may seeke for righteousnes, deliuerance, life and saluation in him: as we be taught by that notable saying of *Peeter*, that there is none other name vnder heauen giuen to men wherein they must be saued. Neither was the name of *Iesus* giue him vnadvisedly, or at chauceable aduenture, or by the will of men, but brought from heauen by the Angell the publisher of Gods decree, and with a reason also assigned: because he was sent to saue the people from their sinnes. In which words that is to be noted, which we haue touched in another place, that the office of redeemer was appointed him, that he should be our Saviour: but in the meane time our redemption should be but vnperfect, vlesse he should by continuall proceedings conuey vs forward to the vtermost marke of saluation. Therefore, so soone as we swaue neuer so little from him, our saluation by little and little vanisheth away, which wholly resteth in him: so that all they wilfully spoile themselues of all grace, that rest not in him. And the admonition of *Bernard* is worthy to be rehearsed, that the name of *Iesus* is not only light, but also meat, yea & oile also, without which all the meate of the soule is drie, and that it is also salt, without the seasoning wherof all that is set before vs is vnfauorie. Finally, that it is hony in the mouth, melodie in the eare, and ioyfulnesse in the heart, and also medicine, and that whatsoeuer is spoken in disputation is vnfauorie, but where this name soundeth. But here it behoueth to weigh diligently how saluation is purchased by him for vs: that we may not onely be perswaded that he is the author of it, but also embracing such things as are sufficient to the stedfast vpholding of our faith, we may refuse all such things as might draw vs away hither or thither. For sith no man can descend into himselfe, and earnestly consider what he is, but feeling God angrie and bent against him, he hath neede carefully to seeke a meane and way to appease him, which demandeth satisfaction: there is no common assurednesse required, because the wrath and curse of God lyeth alway vpon sinners, till they be loofe from their guiltinesse: who, as he is a righteous iudge, suffereth not his lawe to be broken without punishment, but is ready armed to reuenge it.

2 But before we goe anie further, it is to be seene by the way, how it agreed together, that God which preuented vs with his mercie, was our enemy vntill he was reconciled to vs by Christ. For how could he haue giuen vs in his onely begotten sonne a singular pledge of his loue, vnlesse he had already before that embraced vs with his free fauour? Because therefore here ariseth some seeming of contrarietie, I will first vndoe this knot. The holy Ghost commonly speaketh after this manner in the scriptures, that God was enemy to men, till they were restored into fauour by the death of Christ: that they were accursed till their iniquitie was purged by his sacrifice: that they were seuered from God, till they were received into a conioyning by his bodie. Such manner of phrascs are applied to our capacitie, that we may the better vnderstand how miserable and wretched our estate is being out of Christ. For if it were not spoken in expresse words, that the wrath and vengeance of God, and euerlasting death did rest vpon vs, we would lesse acknowledge how miserable we should be without Gods mercie, and would lesse regard the benefite of deliuerance. As for example. If a man heare this spoken to him: If God at such time as thou wast yet a sinner, had hated thee, and cast thee away as thou hadst deserved, thou shouldest haue suffered horrible destruction: but because hee hath willinglie and of his owne free kindnesse kept thee in fauour, and not suffered thee to be estranged from him, hee hath so deliuered thee from that perill: truly hee will be moued with, and in some part feele how much he oweth to the mercie of God. But if hee heare on the other side that which the Scripture teacheth, that hee was by sinne estranged from God, the heire of wrath, subiect to the curse of eternall death, excluded from all hope of saluation, a straunger from all blessing

of God, the bondslawe of Sathan, captiue vnder the yoke of sinne: Finally, ordained vnto and already entangled with horrible destruction, that in this case Christ became an intercessor to entreat for him, that Christ tooke vpon him and suffered the punishment which by the iust iudgement of God did hang ouer all sinners, that he hath purged with his blood those euils that made them hatefull to God, that by his expiation is sufficient satisfaction and sacrifice made to God the Father, that by this intercessor his wrath was appeased: that within this foundation resteth the peace betweene God and men: that vpon this bond is contained his good will toward them: shall not he be so much the more moued with these, as it is more luelly represented out of how great misery he hath bene deliuered? In a summe: because our minde can neither desirously enough take holde of life in the mercie of God, nor receiue it with such thankfulness as we ought, but when it is before stricken and throwne downe with the feare of the wrath God and dread of eternall death, we are so taught by holy Scripture, that without Christ we may see God in manner wrathfully bent against vs, and his hand armed to our destruction: and that we may embrace his good will and fatherly kindnes no otherwhere, but in Christ.

3 And although this be spoken according to the weaknesse of our capacitie, yet it is not falsely said. For God which is the highest righteousness, cannot loue wickednesse which he seeth in vs all. Therefore wee all haue in vs that, which is worthy of the hatred of God. Therefore in respect of our corrupted nature, and then of euill life added vnto it, truely we are all in displeasure of God, guiltie in his sight, and borne to damnation of hell. But because the Lord will not looke that which is his in vs, he findeth yet somewhat that he of his goodnesse may loue. For howsoeuer we be sinners by our owne fault, yet we remaine his creatures. Howsoeuer we haue purchased death to our selues, yet he made vs vnto life. So is he moued by meeke and free louing of vs to receiue vs into fauour. But sith there is a perpetuall and vnappeasable disagreement betweene righteousness and iniquitie, so long as we remaine sinners, he cannot receiue vs wholly. Therefore, that taking away all matter of disagreement, he might wholly reconcile vs vnto him, he doth by expiation set forth in the death of Christ, take away whatsoeuer euill is in vs, that we, which before were vnclene and vnpure, may now appeare righteous and holy in his sight. Therefore God the Father doth with his loue preuent and goe before our reconciliation in Christ, yea, because he first loued vs, therefore he afterward doth reconcile vs vnto himselfe. But because vntill Christ with his death come to succour vs, they remaineth wickednesse in vs, which deserueth Gods indignation, and is accursed and damned in his sight, therefore we are not fully and firmly ioyned to God, vntill Christ doe ioine vs. Therefore if we will assure our selues to haue God made well pleased and fauourable vnto vs, we must fasten our eyes and mindes vpon Christ onely: as indeede we obtaine by him onely, that our finnes be not imputed to vs, the imputing whereof, draweth with it the wrath of God.

4 And for this reason *Paul* saith, that the same loue, wherewith God embraced vs before the creation of the world, was stayed and grounded vpon Christ. These things are plaine and agreeable with the Scripture, and doe make those places of Scripture to accord very well together, where it is said: that God declared his loue toward vs in this, that hee gaue his onely begotten Sonne to death: and yet that he was our enemy till he was made fauourable againe to vs by the death of Christ. But that they may be more strongly prooued to them that require the Testament of the olde Church I will alleadge one place of *Augustine*, where he teacheth the very same that we doe. The loue of God (saith hee) is incomprehensible and vnchangeable. For hee beganne not to loue vs, since the time that we were reconciled to him by the blood of his Sonne. But before the making of the worlde hee loued vs, euen before that we were any thing at all, that wee might also be his children

God louing vs freely as his creature; but having that iniquitie which is in vs, gaue his Sonne to take away that which hindered vs from the benefits of his loue.

1. Ioh. 4. 19.

S. Augustines iudgement: that we were loued euen when we were hated.
Ioh. 3. 16.
Rom. 5. 10.

T. 2. St. in Euang.
Ioh. 1. 10.

with his onely begotten soone. Therefore whereas we are reconciled by the death of Christ, it is not so to be taken as though the son did therefore reconcile vs vnto him, that he might now beginne to loue vs whom he hated before: but we are reconciled to him that alreadie loued vs, to whom we were enimies by reason of sinne. And whether this be true or no that I saye, let the Apostle beare witness. He doth commend (saith he) his loue toward vs, because when we were yet sinners, Christ died for vs. He therefore had a loue to vs, euen then when we were enimies to him and wrought wickednesse. Therefore after a marvellous and diuine manner he loued vs, euen then when he hated vs. For he hated vs in that we were such as he had not made vs, and because our wickednes had on euerie side wasted away his worke, he knewe how in euery one of vs, both to hate that which we our selues had made, and to loue that which he had made. These be the words of *Augustine*.

5 Now where it is demanded, how Christ hath done away our finnes, and taken away the strife betwene vs and God, and purchased such righteousnesse as might make him fauourable and well willing toward vs: it may be generally answered, that he hath brought it to passe by the whole course of his obedience. Which is prooued by the testimonie of *Paul*. As by one mans offence many were made sinners, so by one mans obedience we are made righteous. And in another place he extendeth the cause of the pardon that deliuereth vs from the curse of the law, to the whole life of Christ, saying: When the fulnes of time was come, God sent his son made of a woman, subiect to the law, to redeeme them that were vnder the law: And so affirmed that in his very baptisme was fulfilled one part of righteousnesse, that he obediently did the commandment of his father. Finally, from the time that he tooke vpon him the person of a seruant, he began to pay the rancome to redeeme vs. But the scripture to set out the manner of our saluation more certainly, doth ascribe this as peculiar and properly belonging to the death of Christ. He himselfe pronounced that he gaue his life to be a redemption for many. *Paul* teacheth that he died for our sins. *John Baptist* cried out that Christ came to take away the sins of the world, because he was the Lamb of God. In another place *Paul* saith, that we are iustified freely by the redemption that is in Christ, because he is set forth the reconciler in his own blood. Againe, that we are iustified in his blood & reconciled by his death. Againe, he that knew not sin, was made sin for vs, that we might be the righteousnes of God in him. I will not recite all the testimonies, because the number would be infinit, and many of them must be hereafter alleged in their order. Therefore in the summe of beleefe, which they call the Apostles creed, it is verie orderly passed immediately from the birth of Christ to his death and resurrection, wherein consisteth the summe of perfect saluation. And yet is not the rest of his obedience excluded, which he performed in his life: As *Paul* comprehendeth it wholly from the beginning to the end in saying, that he abased himselfe, taking vpon him the forme of a seruant, and was obedient to his father to death, euen the death of the crosse. And tuely euen in the same death his willing submission hath the first degree, because the sacrifice, vnlesse it had bene willingly offered, had nothing profited toward righteousnesse. Therefore, where the Lord testified, that he gaue his soule for his sheepe, he expressly addeth this, no man taketh it away from his selfe. According to the which meaning, *Esaie* saith, that he held his peace like a lambe before the shearer. And the historie of the Gospell rehearseth, that he went forth and met the souldiers, and before *Pilate* he left defending of himselfe, and stood still to yeelde himselfe to iudgement to be pronounced vpon him. But that not without some strife: for both he had taken our infirmities vpon him, and it beloued that his obedience to his father, should be this way tried. And this was no slender shew of his incomparable loue toward vs, to wraastle with horrible feare, and in the midst of these cruell torments to cast away all care of himselfe, that he might prouide for vs. And this is to be beleued, that there could

Rom. 5. 8.

Although Christ wrought our redemption by the whole course of his life, yet he is said to haue reconciled vs especially by death, wherein we are so sure, that he died willingly, was reputed worthy, and yet pronounced vs worthy so die.

Rom. 5. 19.

Gal. 4. 4.

Mat. 3. 25.

Mat. 10. 18.

Rom. 4. 25.

Iohn. 1. 29.

Rom. 3.

Rom. 5.

1. Cor. 5. 21

Phil. 1. 7.

Iohn. 10. 15.

Esa. 53. 7.

Iohn. 18. 4.

Mat. 27. 2.

could no sacrifice be well offered to God any other wise, but by this that Christ forsaking all his own affection, did submit & wholly yeeld himselfe to his fathers wil. For prooffe whereof, the apostle doth fitly alleage that testimonie of the Psalm: in the booke of the lawe it is written of me, that I may do thy will, O God, I will, & thy law is in the midst of my hart. Then I said: Loe, I come. But because trembling consciences finde no rest but in a sacrifice and washing whereby sinnes are cleansed: therefore for good cause we are directed thither, and in the death of Christ is appointed for vs the matter of life. Now forasmuch as by our owne guiltinesse, curse was due vnto vs, before the heavenly iudgement seate of God, therefore first of all is recited how he was condemned before *Ponce Pilate* president of *Iurie*: that we should know that the punishment whereinto we were subiect, was iustly laide vpon vs. We could not escape the dreadfull iudgement of God: Christ, 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 president is expressed not onely to procure credite to the historie, but that we should learne that which *Esay* teacheth, that that chastisement of our peace was vpon him, and that by his stripes we are healed. For to take away our damnation, euery kinde of death sufficed not for him to suffer, but to satisfie our redemption, one speciall kinde of death was to be chosen, wherein both drawing away our damnation to himselfe, and taking our guiltinesse vpon himselfe, he might deliuer vs from them both. If he had beene murdered by theeues, or had beene ragingly slaine in a commotion of the common people: in such a death there should haue beene no apparance of satisfaction. But when hee was brought to be arraigned before the iudgement seate, when hee was accused and pressed with witnesse against him, and was by the mouth of the iudge condemned to die: by these tokens we vnderstande, that he did beare the person of a guiltie man and of an euill doer. And heere are two things to be noted, which both were aforespoken by the prophecies of the Prophets, and do bring a singular comfort and confirmation of Faith. For when we heare that Christ was sent from the iudges seat to death, and was hanged among theeues, we haue the fulfilling of that prophecie, which is alleaged by the Euangelist. He was accounted among the wicked. And why so? euen to take vpon him the steede of a sinner, not of a man righteous or innocent, because 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 whereby he was condemned, for *Pilate* was compelled openly more then once to beare witness of his innocencie: let that come in our minde which is in the other prophet: that hee repayed that which he had not taken away. And so we shall beholde the person of a sinner and euill doer represented in Christ: and by the open appearance of his innocencie it shall become plaine to see, that he was charged rather with other offence than his owne. He suffred therefore vnder *Ponce Pilate*, and so by the solemne sentence of the President, was reckoned in the number of wicked doers: but yet not so, but that he was by the same iudge at the same time pronounced righteous, when he affirmed that he founde no cause of condemnation in him. This is our acquittall, that the guiltinesse which made vs subiect to punishment, is remooued vpon the head of the Sonne of God. For this setting of one against the other, we ought principally to holde fast, least we tremble and be carefull all our life long, as though the iust vengeance of God did hang ouer vs, which the sonne of God hath taken vpon himselfe.

6 Beside that, the verie manner of his death is not without a singular mysterie. The Crosse was accused, not onely, by opinion of men, but also by decree of the law of God. Therefore when Christ was lifted vp to the Crosse, he made himselfe subiect to the curse. And so it behooued to be done, that when the curse was remooued from vs to him, we might be deliuered from all curse that for our sinnes was prepared

Heb. 10. 5.
Psal. 40. 9.

Esay. 53. 9.

Esay. 53. 21.
Mar. 15. 18.

Psal. 99. 5.

Ioh. 18. 30.

The mysterie of
the crosse in the
death of Christ

Cap. 16. Of the knowledge of

prepared for vs, or rather did already rest vpon vs. Which thing was also by shadow expressed in the law. For the sacrifices and satisfactorie oblations that were offered for sinnes, were called *Ashemolh*. Which worde properly signifieth sinne it selfe. By which figuratiue change of name, the holy Ghost ment to shewe, that they were like vnto clesing plaisters to draw out to themselves, and beare the curse due to sinne. But that same which was figuratiuely represented in the sacrifices of *Moses*, is indeed deliuered in Christ the originall patterne of all the figures. Wherefore he, to performe a perfect expiation, gaue his owne soule to be an aham, that is a satisfactorie oblation, as the prophet calleth it, vpon the which our filth and punishment might be cast, and so cease to be imputed to vs. The Apostle testifieth the same thing more plainly, where he teacheth, that hee which knewe no sinne, was by his father made sinne for vs, that wee might bee made the righteousnesse of God in him. For the sonne of God being most cleane from all fault, did yet put vpon him the reproch and shame of our iniquities, and on the other side couered vs with his cleanness. It seemeth that he meant the same when he speaketh of sinne, that sinne was condemned in his flesh. For the Father destroyed the force of sinne, when the curse thereof was remooued, and laide vpon the flesh of Christ. It is therefore declared by this saying, that Christ was in his death offered vp to his father for a satisfactorie sacrifice, that the whole satisfaction for sinne being ended by his sacrifice, wee might cease to dread the wrath of God. Nowe is it plaine, what that saying of the Prophet meanneth, that the iniquities of vs all were laide vpon him, that is, that he intending to wipe away the filthinesse of our iniquities, was himselfe as it were by way of enterchanged imputation, couered with them. Of this, the crosse wherunto he was fastened was a token, as the Apostle testifieth. Christ (saith hee) redeemed vs from the curse of the lawe, when he was made a curse for vs. For it is written: A cursed is euerie one that hangeth on a tree: that the blessing of *Abraham* might in Christ come to the *Gentiles*. And the same had *Peter* respect vnto, where hee teacheth that Christ did beare our sinnes vpon the tree. Because by the very token of the curse we doe more plainly learne that the burden wherewith we were oppressed was laide vpon him. And yet it is not so to be vnderstanded, that he tooke vpon him such a curse, wherewith himselfe was ouerladen, but rather that in taking it vpon him, hee did tread downe, breake and destroy the whole force of it. And so faith conceineth ac quitall in the condemnation of Christ, and blessing in his being accursed. Wherefore *Paul* doth not without a cause honourable report the triumph that Christ obtained to himselfe on the crosse, as if the crosse which was full of shame, had beene turned into a Chariot of triumph. For he saith, that the hand writing which was against vs, was fastened to the crosse, and the princely powers were spoiled and led openly. And no maruell: because (as the other Apostle testifieth) Christ offered vp himselfe by the eternall spirit. And thereupon proceeded that turning of the nature of things. But that these things may take stedfast roote, and be thoroughly settled in our harts, let vs alway thinke vpon his sacrifice and washing. For we could not certainly beleue that Christ was the ransome, redemption, and satisfaction, vnlesse hee had beene a sacrificed hoste. And therefore there is so often mention made of blood, where the Scripture sheweth the manner of our redeeming. Albeit the blond of Christ, that was shed, serued not onely for sacrifice, but also in steede of washing, to clesse away our filthinesse.

7 It followeth in the Creede, that he was dead and buried. Where againe it is to be seen, how he did euery where put himselfe in our steed, to pay the price of our redemption. Death held vs bound vnder his yoke. Christ in our steed did yeeld himself into the power of death, to deliuer vs from it. This the Apostle meaneth where he writeth that he tasted of death for all men. For he by dying brought to passe that we shoulde not die, or (which is all one) by his death he did redeeme life for vs.

Two benefites by
Christes dying, our
deliuerance from
death and our
mortification.
Heb. 2. 9.

But in this he differed from vs, that he gaue himselfe to death, as it were to be deuoured, not that he should be swallowed vp with the gulfes of it, but rather that he should swallow vp it, of which we should haue beene presently swallowed: that he gaue himselfe to death to be subdued, not that he should be oppressed with the power thereof, but rather that he should ouertrowe death which approached neere vs, yea, and had alreadie beaten vs downe and triumphed vpon vs. Finally, that by death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the Diuell, and might deliuer them that by feare of death were all their life long subiect to bondage. This is the first fruite that his death did bring vs. An other is, that by enterpartening of himselfe with vs, he mortifieth our earthly members, that they should no more hereafter vse their owne workes: and killeth our old man, that it should no more lue and beare fruite. And to the same purpose pertaineth his buriall, that wee being partakers thereof, should also be buried to sinne. For when the Apostle teacheth that wee are graffed into the likenesse of the death of Christ, and buried with him 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 doth not onely exhort vs to expresse the example of Christes death, but he declareth that there is such effectualnesse in it, as ought to appeare in all Christians, vnlesse they will make his death vnprofitable and fruitelesse. Therefore in the death and buriall of Christ, there is offered vs a double benefit to be enjoyed, that is deliuerance from death, wherunto we were become bond, and the mortifying of our flesh.

Heb. 2. 19.

Gal. 2. 19. & 6. 14.

Col. 3. 3.

8 But it is not meete to ouerpasse his going downe to the helles, wherein is no small importance to the effect of redemption. For although it appeereth by the writings of the old fathers, that that part which is read in the Creede was not in olde time so much vsed in the Churches: yet in entreating of the summe of our doctrine, it is necessarie that it haue a place allowed it, as a thing that containeth a verie profitable and not to be despised mysterie of a right weightie matter. And there are also some of the olde writers that doe not leaue it out. Whereby we may gesse, that it was after a certaine time added, and did not presently but by litle and litle growe in vse in the Churches. But this certainly is out of question, that it proceeded of the common iudgement of all the godlie: For as much as there is none of the Fathers that doth not in his writings make mention of Christes going downe to the hels, although after diuers manner of exposition. But by whome, or at what time it was first added, maketh litle to the purpose. But rather in the Creede this is to be taken heede vnto, that we therein certainly haue a full and in all pointes perfect summe of our faith, whereinto nothing may be thrust, but that which is taken out of the most pure word of God. Now, if any wil not for precise curiositie admit it into the Creede, yet shall it straight way be made to appeere plainly, that it is of so great importance to the summe of our redemption, that if it be left out, there is lost a great part of the fruite of the death of Christ. There are againe some that thinke, that there is no newe thing spoken in this article, but that in other wordes the same thing is repeated which was spoken before of his buriall: for as much as the word *Infernum*, hell, is in the Scripture often times vsed for the graue. I graunt that to bee true, which they alleage of the signification of the word, that Hell is oftentimes taken for the graue: but there are against their opinion two reasons, by which I am easily persuaded to dissent from them. For what an idleness were it, when a thing not hard to vnderstande, hath once beene set out in plaine and easie wordes, afterward with darker implication of wordes, rather to point towarde it than to declare it. For when two manners of speaking that expresse one thing be ioyned together, it behooueth that the later be an exposition of the former. But what an exposition were this, if a man should say thus: Whereas it is saide that Christ was buried, thereby is meant that he went downe to hell? Againe, it is not likely that such a superfluous vaine repetition

Christes descending into hell a necessarie article of our faith, whereby to vnderstande his lying in the graue were an idle sentence.

The word in original is Sheol & is translated hell, but necessarily the words of departed spirits

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could haue crept into this abridgement, wherein the chiefe pointes of our faith are summarily noted in as few words 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.

To take hell for a lake where the souls of the fathers were which died before Christ, is a fabulou v. anistie. Psal. 10. 16. Zach 9 11.

9 Some expound it otherwise, and say that Christ went downe to the soules of the fathers that died in the time of the lawe, to carrie them tidings, that the redemption was performed, and to deliuer them out of prison wherein they were kept inclosed: and to the prooffe hereof they doe wrongfully draw testimonies out of the Psalme, that he brake the brasen gates and yron barres. Againe, out of *Zacharie*, that he redeemed them that were bound, out of the pit wherein was no water. But whereas the Psalme speaketh of their deliuerances that in farre countreies are cast captiue into bonds, and *Zacharie* compareth the Babylonical ouerthrow, wherein the people was oppressed, to a drie pit or bottomlesse depth, and therewithall teacheth that the saluation of the whole Church is as it were a comming out of the deepe hels: I wor not how it is come to passe, that they which came after, though that there was a certaine place vnder the earth wherunto they haue fained the name of *Limbus*. But this fable, although they were great authors, and at this day many doe earnestly defend it for a truth: is yet nothing else but a fable. For, to inclose the soules of dead men as in a prison, is very childish. And what neede was it that Christes soule should go downe thither to set them at libertie? I do in deede willingly confesse, that Christ thined to them by the power of his spirit, that they might know that the grace which they had onely tasted of by hope, was then deliuered to the world. And to this purpose may the place of *Peter* be probably applied, where he saith, that Christ came and preached to the spirits that were in a dungeon or prison, as it is commonly translated. For the very proccesse of the text leadeth vs to this, that the faithfull which were dead before that time, were partakers of the same grace that we were: because he doth thereby amplifye the force of Christes death, for that it pearced euen to the dead, when the godly soules enioyed the present sight of that visitation which they had carefully looked for: on the other side it did more plainly appere to the reprobate that they were excluded from all saluation. But whereas *Peter* in his saying maketh no distinction betweene them, that is not so to be taken, as though he mingled together the godly and vngodly without difference: but onely he meant to teach that generally they both had one common feeling of the death of Christ.

1. Pet. 3. 19.

By his descending into hel, his feeling the rigor of Gods vengeance and his wrastling in soule with infernal horror must be vnderstood.

10 But concerning Christes going downe to the hels, beside the consideration of the Creede, we must seeke for a more certaine exposition, and we assuredly haue such a one out of the worde of God, as is not onely holy and godly, but also full of singular comfort. Christes death had beene to no effect, if he had suffered onely a corporall death: but it behooued also that he shoulde feele the rigour of Gods vengeance: that he might both appease his wrath and satisfie his iust iudgement. For which cause also it behooued that he should as it were hand to hand wrastle with the armies of the hels and the horror of eternall death. We haue euen now alleaged out of the Prophet that the chastisement of our peace was laide vpon him: that he was striken of his father for our sinnes, and bruised for our infirmities. Whereby is meant, that he was put in the sceede of wicked doers, as suretie and pledge, yea, and as the verie guiltie person himselfe, to abide and suffer all the punishments that should haue beene laide vpon them: this one thing excepted, that he could not be holden still of the sorrowes of death. Therefore it is no maruell if it be saide that he went downe to the hels, sith he suffred that death wherewith God in his wrath striketh wicked doers. And their exception is very fond, yea and to be scorned, which say, that by this exposition the order is pernerred, because it were an absurditie to set that after his burial which went before it. For after the setting forth of those things that Christ suffered in the sight of men, in very good order followeth that inuisible and incomprehensible iudgement which he suffered in the sight of God: that we should knowe that

Esa. 53. 5.

Act. 2 24.

not onely the body of Christ was giuen to be the price of our redemption, but that there was another greater and more excellent price payd in this, that in his soule he suffered the terrible tormentes of a damned and forsaken man.

11 According to this meaning doth Peter say; that Christ rose againe hauing loosed the sorowes of death, of which it was impossible that he should be holden, or overcome. He doth not name it simply death: but he expresth that the sonne of God was wrapped in the sorowes of death, which procede frō the curse and wrath of God, which is the originall of death. For how small a matter had it bin, carelesly and as it were, in sport to come forth to suffer death? But this was a true prooffe of his infinite mercie, not to shun that death which he so sore trembled at. And it is no doubt that the same is the Apostles meaning to teach, in the Epistle to the Hebrues, where he writeth: that Christ was heard of his owne Feare: some translate it Reuerence or pretie, but how vnfitly, both the matter it selfe, and the verie maner of speaking proueth. Christ therefore praying with teares and mightie crie, is heard of his own feare: not to be free from death, but not to be swallowed vp of death as a sinner: because in that place he had put our person vpon him. And truly there can be imagined no more dreadfull bottomles depth than for a man to feele himselfe forsaken and estranged from God, and not to be heard when he calleth vpon him, euen as if God himselfe had conspired to his destruction. Euen thither wee see that Christ was thrown downe, so farre that by enforcement of distresse he was compelled to cry out: My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me? For whereas some would haue it taken, that he so spake rather according to the opiniō of other, than as he felt in himselfe: that is in no case probable, forasmuch as it is euident, that this saying proceeded out of the verie anguish of the bottome of his heart. Yet do we not meane thereby, that God was at any time his enemy or angrie with him. For how could he be angrie with his beloued sonne, vpon whom his minde rested? Or how could Christ by his intercession appease his fathers wrath toward other, hauing him hatefully bent against himselfe? But this is our meaning: that he suffered the grieuousnes of Gods rigor, for that he being stricken and tormented with the hand of God, did feele all the tokens of God when he is angrie and punisheth. Whereupon *Hillarie* argueth thus, that by this going downe we haue obtained this, that death is slaine. And in other places he agreeth with our iudgement, as where he sayth: The crosse, death, and hels are our life. Againe, in another place: The sonne of God is in the hels, but man is caried vp to heauen. But why do I alleadge the testimonie of a priuate man, when the Apostle affirmeth the same, rehearsing this for a fruite of his victorie, that they were deliuered which were by feare of death all their life long subiect to bondage? It behooued therefore, that he should overcome that feare, that naturally doeth continually torment and oppresse all mortall men: which could not be done but by fighting with it. Moreover, that his feare was no common feare or conceiued vpon a slender cause, shall by and by more plainly appeare. So by fighting hand to hand with the power of the diuell, with the horror of death, with the paines of the hels, it came to passe, that he both had the victorie of them, and triumphed ouer them, that we now in death should no more feare those things, which our Prince hath swallowed vp.

12 Here some lewd men, although vlearned, yet rather moued by malice than by ignorance, crie out that I do a hainous wrong to Christ, because it was against conueniencie of reason, that he should be feareful for the saluation of his soule. And then they more hardly enforce this cauillation, with saying, that I ascribe to the sonne of God desperation, which is contrarie to faith. First they do but maliciously moue controuerfie of Christs feare and trembling, which the Euangelists do so plainly report. For a little before that the time of his death approched, he was troubled in spirit and passionate with heauines, and at his verie meeting with it, he began more vehemently to tremble for feare. If they say that he did but counterfait, that is

Christ sorrowed, feared, cryed, feeling the verie tormentes which they do whose enemy God is, although God were not his enemy. If he had not done this, where were our comfort?
Act. 2. 24.
Heb. 5. 7.

Psal. 22. 8.
Mat. 27. 46.

Vide Cynl. lib. 2. de reat. fide ad Regi.

Their reasons frivolous who cannot brooke this interpretation of Christs descending into hell, as if it were a disgrace vnto him to be made subiect vnto such passions.

too soule a shift. We must therefore as *Ambrose* truly teacheth, boldly confesse the sorrowfullnesse of Christ, vnlesse we be ashamed of his crosse. And truly, if his soule had not bene partaker of paine, he had bene onely a redeemer for bodies. But it be-
 hooued that he should wrafile, to raise vp them that lay thrown downe. And his
 heavenly glorie is so nothing impaired thereby, that euen herein gloriously shined
 his goodnes which is neuer sufficiently praised, that he refused not to take our weak-
 nesse vpon him. From whence is also that comfort of our anguishes and sorrowes,
 which the Apostle setteth before vs: that this Mediator did feele our infirmities, that
 he might be the more earnestly bent to succour vs in miserie. They say: that that
 thing which is euil of it selfe, is vnworthily ascribed vnto Christ. As though they were
 wiser than the spirite of God, which ioyneth these two things together, that Christ
 was in all things tempted as we are, and yet that he was without sinne. Therefore
 there is no caule that the weaknesse of Christ should make vs afraide, wherunto he
 was not by violence or necessitie compelled, but by meere loue of vs, and by mercie
 was led to submit himselfe. And whatsoever hee of his owne will suffered for vs,
 diminisheth nothing of his power. But in this one point are these backbiters deci-
 ued, that they doe not perceiue in Christ an infirmitee cleane and free from all fault
 and spot, because hee kept himselfe within the boundes of obedience. For whereas
 there can be founde no moderation in our corrupt nature, where all our affections
 doe with troublesome violence exceede all measure, they doe wrong to measure
 the forme of God by that standard. But when man was in his vncorrupted state, then
 there was a moderation hauing force in all his affections, to restraîne excesse. Where-
 by it might well be that he was like vnto vs in sorrowe, dread, and fearefulnesse, and
 yet that by this marke he differed from vs. Being so confuted, they leape to another
 cauillation, that though Christ feared death, yet he feared not the curse and wrath
 of God from which he knew himselfe to be safe. But let the godly readers wey how
 honorable this is for Christ, that he was more tender and more fearfull than the most
 part of the very rascall sort of men. Theeues and other euill doers doe obstinately
 haste to death, many doe with haute courage despise it: some other do mildly suffer
 it. But what constancie or stout courage were it: for the sonne of God to be astonished
 and in a maner striken dead with feare of it? For euen that which among the com-
 mon sort might be accounted miraculous, is reported of him, that for vehemencie
 of griefe, very drops of bloud did fall from his face. Neither did he this to make a
 shewe to the eyes of other, but when in a secret corner whither he was gone out of
 companie, he groined vnto his father. And this putteth it out of all doubt, that it was
 needefull that he should haue Angels to come downe from heauen to relieue him
 with an vnwonted manner of comforting. How shamefull a tendernesse, as I saide,
 should this haue been, to be so far tormented for feare of common death, as to melt
 in bloudie sweate, and not to be able to be comforted, but by sight of Angels? What?
 doth not that praiser thrise repeated, (Father if it be possible, let this cup depart from
 me) proceeding from an incredible bitterness of hart, shew that Christ had a more
 cruell and harder battell than with common death? Whereby appeereth that those
 triflers against whom I nowe dispute, doe boldly babble vpon things that they know
 not, because they neuer earnestly considered what it is, or of how great importance
 it is that we bee redeemed from the iudgement of God. But this is our wisdome,
 well to vnderstand how deere our saluation did cost the sonne of God. Now if a man
 should aske me, if Christ went then downe to hell, when hee praied to escape that
 death: I answere, that then was the beginning of it: whereby may be gathered, how
 greuous and terrible torments hee suffered, when hee knew himselfe to stande to
 bee arraigned for our cause before the iudgement seate of God. But although for a
 moment of time, the diuine power of the spirite did hide it selfe to giue place to the
 weaknesse of the flesh: yet must we know, that the temptation by feeling of sorrow and
 feare

Heb. 4.15.

Mat. 26.39.

Feare was such as was not against faith. And so was that fulfilled which is in the sermon of *Peter*, that he could not be holden of the sorrowes of death, because when he felt himselfe as it were forsaken of God, yet he did nothing at all swarue from the trust of his goodnesse. Which is proued by that his notable calling vpon God, when for extremite of paine he cried out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? For though he was about measure grieued, yet he ceaseth not to call him his God, of whom he crieth out that he was forsaken. Moreover hereby is confuted aswell the error of *Apollinaris*, as theirs that were called *Monotheletes*. *Apollinaris* fained that Christ had an eternall spirit in steed of a soule, so that he was only but halfe a man. As though he could cleanse our sinnes any other way, but by obeying his father. But where is that affection or will of obedience but in the soule? which soule of his we know was troubled for this purpose, to driue away feare, and bring peace and quietnes to our soule. Againe, for confusion of the *Monotheletes*, we see how now he willed not that thing according to his nature of manhood, which he willed according to his nature of Godhead. I omit to speake how he did subdue the aforesaid feare with a contrarie affection. For herein is a plaine shew of contrarietie. Father deliuer me from this houre. But euen herefore I came euen into this houre. Father glorifie thy name. In which perplexitie yet was there no such outrage in him as is seene in vs, euen then when we most of all endeouour to subdue our selues.

Act. 2. 24.

Mat. 27. 47.

John 12. 27.

13 Now followeth his resurrection from the dead, without which all that we haue hitherto were but vnperfect. For sith there appeareth in the crosse, death, and buriall of Christ nothing but weakenesse: faith must passe beyond all those things, that it may be furnished with full strength. Therefore although we haue in his death a full accomplishment of saluation, because by it both we are reconciled to God, and his iust judgement is satisfied, and the curse taken away, and the penaltie fully payde: yet we are saide to be regenerate into a liuing hope, not by his death, but by his rising againe. For as he in rising againe rose vp the vanquisher of death, so the victorie of our faith consisteth in the verie resurrection: but how this is, is better expressed in the words of *Paul*. For he sayeth, that Christ dyed for our sinnes, and was raised vp againe for our iustification: as if he should haue said, that by his death sinne was taken away, and by his rising againe, righteousnesse was renewed and restored. For how could he by dying deliuer vs from death, if he himselfe had lyen still ouercome by death? How could he haue gotten victorie for vs, if himselfe had bene vanquished in fight? wherefore we do so part the matter of our saluation betweene the death and resurrection of Christ, that by his death we say sinne was taken away and death destroyed, and by his resurrection righteousnesse was repaired, and life raised vp againe: but so that by meane of his resurrection, his death doeth shew foorth her force and effect vnto vs. Therefore *Paul* affirmeth, that in his verie resurrection he was declared the sonne of God, because then at last he vttered his heavenly power, which is both a cleare glasse of his godhead, and a steadfast stay of our faith. As also in another place he teacheth, that Christ suffered after the weakenesse of the flesh, and rose againe by the power of the spirit. And in the same meaning in another, where he entreateth of perfection, he sayth: that I may know him and the power of his resurrection. Yet by and by after he adioyneth the fellowship with death. Wherewith most aptly agreeth that saying of *Peter*: that God raised him vp from the dead and gaue him glorie, that our faith and hope might be in God: not that our faith being vpholden by his death should wauer, but that the power of God which keepeth vs vnder faith, doth principally shewe it selfe in the resurrection. Therefore let vs remember, that so oft as mention is made of his death onely, there is also comprehended that which properly belongeth to his resurrection: and like figure of comprehension is there in the word Resurrection, as oft as it is vsed sennually without speaking of his death, so that it draweth with it that which peculiarly pertaineth.

The fruit of Christes resurrection.

1. Pet. 1. 3.

Rom. 4. 25.

1. Cor. 13. 4
Phi. 3. 10.

1. Pet. 1. 21.

1. Cor. 15. 17. pertaineth to his death. But forasmuch as by rising againe he obtained the crowne of conquest, so that there should be both resurrection and life: therefore *Paul* doth for good cause affirme that faith is destroyed, and the Gospell is become vaine and deceitfull, if the resurrection of Christ be not fastened in our hearts. Therefore in an other place, after he had gloried in the death of Christ against all the terrors of damnation, to amplify the same, he saith further: Yea, the same He which died, is risen vp againe, and now standeth a Mediator for vs in the presence of God. Furthermore, as we haue before declared, that vpon the partaking of his crosse hangeth the mortification of our flesh: so is it to be vnderstanded, that by his resurrection we obtaine another commoditie which aunswereth that mortification: For (saieith the Apostle) we are therefore giassed into the likenesse of his death, that being partakers of his resurrection, we may walke in newnesse of life. Therefore in another place: as he gathereth an argument of this that we are dead together with Christ, to prooue that we ought to mortifie our members vpon earth: likewise also, because we are risen vp with Christ, he gathereth thereupon that we ought to seeke for those things that are aboue, and not those that are vpon the earth. By which wordes we are not onely exhorted to be raised vp after the example of Christ, to follow a newenes of life: But we are taught that it is wrought by his power, that we are regenerate into righteousness. We obtaine also a third fruit of his resurrection, that we are, as by an earnest deliuered vs, assured of our owne resurrection, of which we know that his resurrection is a most certaine argument. Whereof he disputeth more at large in the fiftene chapter of his Epistle to the Corinthians. But by the way this is to be noted, that it is said, that he rose againe from the dead: in which saying is expressed the truth both of his death and of his resurrection: as if it had bene saide, that he did both die the same death that other men naturally do die, and receiued immortalitie in the same flesh which he had put on mortall.

14 To his resurrection is not vnfitly adioyned his ascending into heauen. For although Christ began more fully to set forth his glorie and power by rising againe, for that he had now laid away that base and vnnooble estate of mortall life, and the shame of the crosse: yet by his ascending vp into heauen onely, he truly began his kingdom. Which the Apostle sheweth where he teacheth, that Christ ascended to fulfill all things. Where in seeming of repugnance he sheweth that there is a goodly agreement: because he so departed from vs, that yet his presence might be more profitable to vs, which had been penned in a base lodging of the flesh, while he was conuersant in earth. And therefore *Iohn*, after that he had rehearsed that notable calling, If any thirst, let him come to me, &c. By and by saith, that the holy Ghost was not yet giuen to the faithfull, because Iesus was not yet glorified. Which the Lorde himselfe also did testifie to the Disciples, saying: It is expedient for you that I goe away. For if I doe not go away, the holy Ghost shall not come. But he giueth them a comfort for his corporall absence, that he will not leaue them as parentlesse, but will come againe to them after a certaine maner, in deed inuisible, but yet more to be desired, because they were then taught by more assured experience, that the authoritie which he enioineth, & the power which he vseth, is sufficient for the faithfull, not only to make them liue blessedly, but also to die happily. And truly we see how much greater abundance of his spirit he then poured out, how much more royally he then advanced his kingdom, how much greater power he then shewed, both in helping his, and in ouerthrowing his enemies. Being therefore taken vp into heauen, he tooke away the presence of his bodie out of our sight: not to cease to be present with the faithfull that yet wandered in the earth, but with more present 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 world, he performed by this his ascending, by which as his bodie was lifted vp aboue all heauens, so his power and effectually working was powred

and spread abroad beyond all the boundes of heauen and earth. But this I had rather to declare in *Augustines* wordes than mine owne. Christ (saith 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 likewise in bodily presence according to the sounde doctrine and rule of faith. For in spirituall presence with them, he was to come after his ascension. And in another place more largely and plainly: According to an vn-speakable and inuisible grace is that fulfilled which he had spoken: behold I am with you all the daies, euen to the end of the world. But according to the flesh which the word tooke vpon him, according to that that he was borne of the virgin, according to that that he was taken of the Jewes, that he was fastened on the tree, that he was taken downe from the crosse, that he was wrapped in linnen clothes, that he was laide in the graue, that he was openly shewed in his rising againe: this was fulfilled, Ye shal not alway haue me with you. Why so? because he was conuersant according to the presence of his bodie fourty daies with his disciples, and they being in his company, seeing him, not following him, he ascended into heauen and is not here, for he sitteth there, at the right hand of his father: and is here, for he is not gone away in presence of maiestie. Therefore according to the presence of his maiestie, we alway haue Christ: according to the presence of his flesh, it was truly said to his disciples: but me ye shal not alway haue. For the church had him a few daies according to the presence of his flesh, but now she holdeth him by faith, but seeth him not with eies.

15 Wherefore, it by and by followeth, that he is sitten downe at the right hand of his father: which is spoken by way of similitude, taken of princes that haue their sitters by, to whom they commit their office to rule and gouerne in their steede. So it is said, that Christ, in whom the father will be exalted and reigne by his hand: was receiued to sit at his right hand; as if it had bin said, that he was inuested in the dominion of heauen & earth, solemnly entred vpon the possession of the gouernment committed vnto him, and that he not only entred vpon it, but also continueth in it till he come down to iudgment. For so doth the Apostle expound it, when he saith thus: The father hath set him at his right hand, aboue all principallitie and power, and strength and dominion, and euery name that is named not onely in this worlde, but in the world to come, &c. He hath put all things vnder his feete, and hath giuen him to be head of the Church aboue all things. Now you see to what purpose belongeth that sitting, that is, that all creatures both heauenly and earthly may with admiration look vpon his maiestie, be gouerned with his hand, behold his countenance, and be subiect to his power. And the Apostles meane nothing else, when they so oft rehearse it, but to teach, that all things are left to his will. Therefore they thinke not rightly, which thinke that blessednes is onely meant by it. And it forceth not, that in the Actes, *Stephen* testifieth that he saw him standing, because we speake not here of the gesture of his bodie, but of the maiestie of his dominion: so that to sit is nothing else, but to be chiefe iudge in the heauenly iudgement seat.

16 Hereupon doth faith gather manifold fruit: For it learneth, that the Lord by his ascending into heauen, hath opened the entrie of the heauenly kingdome, which before had bene stopped vp by *Adam*. For when he entred into it in our flesh as in our name, thereupon followeth that which the Apostle saith, that we do alreadie in him after, a certaine manner sit in heauen. For that we doe not with bare hope looke for heauen, but alreadie in our head we possesse it. Moreover faith perceiuet that he sitteth with his father to our great benefit. For he is entred into a sanctuarie not made with handes, and there appeereth before the face of the father a continuall aduocate and intercessour for vs: he so turneth the fathers eies to his right cousines, that he turneth them a way from our sinnes: He so reconcileth his minde vnto vs, that by his intercession he prepareth vs away and passage to his throne, filling it with grace and mercifulnes, which otherwise would haue bin full of horror to wretched sinners.

Tract. in Euan. Iohan. 109.

How sitting at the right hand of the father is to be understood

Mat. 28. 20.

Act. 1. 3. & 9.

Mar. 16. Hcb. 1. 3.

His sitting at the right hand of his father.

Eph. 1. 10. Phi. 2. 9. 1. Cor. 15. 27. Eph. 4. 15. Act. 2. 30. & 3. 21

Heb. 1. 7.

Act. 7. 56.

Three collections of saith out of Christi ascending and sitting in heauen. Eph. 2. 6.

Heb. 7. 25. & 9. 11.

Rom. 8. 34.

Cap. 16. Of the knowledge of

Thirdly, faith conceiueh his power, wherein consisteth our strength, might, wealth, and glorying against the hels. For ascending into heauen he led captiuitie captiue, & spoiling his enemies he enriched his people, and daily filleth them with heaps of spirituall riches. He sitteth therefore on high, that from thence pouring out his power vnto vs, he may quicken vs to a spirituall life, sanctifie with his spirit, and garnish his Church with the diuers gifts of his grace, preserue it safe against all hurts by his protection, reframe with the strength of his hand the raging enemies of his crosse and of our saluation: finally, hold all power, both in heauen and in earth, til he haue overthrowen all his enemies which are also our enemies, and made perfect the building vp of his Church. And this is the true state of his kingdome: this is the power that his father hath giuen him, till he make an end of the last act, when he commeth to iudge the quicke and the dead.

17 Christ doth in deed here shew to them that be his, plaine prooues of his power present among them: but bicause vnder the basenes of flesh his kingdome doth in a maner lie hidden in earth, therefore for good cause is faith called to thinke vpon that visible presence, which he will openly shew at the last day. For he shall in visible forme come down from heauen, euen such as he was seen to go vp: and he shall appeare to all men with vnspeakable maiestie of his kingdome, with bright glistering of immortalitie, with infinit power of godhead, with a gard of Angels. From thence therefore we are bidden to looke for him to come our redeemer at that day, when he shall seuer the lambs from the goats, the chosen from forsaken: and there shall be none of all either the quicke or the dead, that shall escape his iudgement. For from the furthest corners of the world shall be heard the sound of the trumpet, wherewith all shall be called to his iudgement seat, both they that shall be found slue at that day, and they whom death hath before taken out of the companie of the quicke. Some there be that in this place expound the wordes of the quicke and the dead otherwise: and we see that some of the old writers did sticke in doubt vpon the construction of this article. But as the foresaid meaning is plaine and easie to perceiue: so doth it better agree with the Creed which is euident that it was written according to the capacity of the common people. And herewith nothing disagreeeth that which the Apostle affirmeth, that it is appointed to all men once to die. For although they which shall remaine in mortall life at the last iudgement shall not die after a naturall manner and order: yet that change which they shall suffer, because it shall be like a death, is not vnproperly called death. It is indeed certaine, that not all shall sleepe, but all shall be changed. What meaneth that? In one moment their mortall life shall perish and be swallowed vp and be vtterly transformed into a new nature. This perishing of the flesh no man can denie to be a death: and yet in the meane time it remaineth true, that the quicke and 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 liuing, shall with them be sodenly taken vp into the aire to meet the Lord. And truly it is likly that this article was taken out of the sermon of *Peter*, which *Luke* reciteth, and out of the solempne protestation of *Paul* to *Timothie*.

18 Hereupon ariseth a singular comfort, when we heare that he is iudge, which hath already appointed vs parteners with him in iudging: so far is it off, that he will go vp into the iudgement seat to condemne vs. For how should the most mercifull prince destroy his owne people? how should the head scatter abroad his own members? how should the patron condemne his owne clients? For if the Apostle dare cri out, that while Christ is intercessour for vs, there can none come fourth that can condemne vs: it is much true, that Christ himselfe being our intercessour, will not condemne them whome hee hath receiued into his charge and tuition. It is truly no small assurednesse, that we shall be brought before no other iudgement seat, but of our owne redeemer, from whome our saluation is to be looked for:

more

Eph. 4.6.

Psal. 110.1.

His coming to iudge quicke and dead at the last day.

Act. 1. 11.
Mat. 24. 30.

Mat. 25. 31.
1. The. 4. 16.

Heb. 9. 17.

1. Cor. 15. 51.

1. The. 4. 16.

Ag. 10. 42.
2. Tim. 4. 1.

A comfort to vs to know that our Saviour shall be our iudge.

Rom. 5. 33.

moreouer that he which now by the Gospell promiseth eternall blessednesse, shall then by sitting in iudgment performe his promise. Therefore to this end the Father hath honoured the Sonne, in giuing him all iudgement, that so he hath provided for the consciences of them that be his, trembling for feare of the iudgement. Hitherto I haue followed the order of the Apostles Creede, because whereas it shortly in few wordes containeth the chiefe articles of our redemption, it may serue vs for a Table, wherein we do distinctly and severally see those things that are in Christ woorthie to be taken heede vnto. I call it the Apostles Creede, not carefully regarding who were the authour of it. It is truly by great consent of the old writers ascribed to the Apostles, either because they thought that it was by common trauell written and set out by the Apostles, or for that they iudged that this abridgement being faithfully gathered out of the doctrine, deliuered by the hands of the Apostles, was woorthie to be confirmed with such a title. And I take it for no doubt, that whence soeuer it proceeded at the first, it hath cuen from the first beginning of the Church, and from the very time of the Apostles, bene vsed as a publike confession, and received by consent of all men. And it is likely that it was not priuately written by any one man, forasmuch as it is euident that cuen from the farthest age it hath alway continued of sacred authoritie and credite among all the godly. But that thing which is onely to be cared for, we haue wholly out of controuersie, that the whole historie of our faith is shortly and well in distinct order rehearsed in it, and that there is nothing contained in it that is not sealed with sound testimonies of Scripture. Which being vnderstanded, it is to no purpose either curiously to doubt, or to strue with any man who were the author of it: vnlesse perhappe it be not enough for some man to be assured of the truth of the holie Ghost, but if he do also vnderstand either by whose mouth it was spoken, or by whose hande it was written.

Ioh. 5. 22.

19 But forasmuch as we doe see, that the whole summe of our saluation, and all the partes thereof, are comprehended in Christ, we must beware, that wee doe not drawe away from him any part thereof bee it neuer so little. If wee seeke for saluation, we are taught by the verie name of Iesus, that it is in him, if wee seeke for anie other giftes of the Spirit, they are to bee founde in his anointing, if wee seeke for strength, it is in his dominion: if wee seeke for cleanness, it is in his conception: if wee seeke for tender kindnesse, it sheweth it selfe in his birth, whereby hee was made in all things like vnto vs, that hee might learne to sorrowe with vs: if wee seeke for redemption, it is in his passion: if wee seeke for absolution, it is in his condemnation: if we seeke for release of the curse, it is in his crosse: if wee seeke for satisfaction, it is in his sacrifice: if wee seeke for cleansing, it is in his bloude: if wee seeke for reconciliation, it is in his going downe to the helles: if wee seeke for mortification of the flesh, it is in his buriall: if wee seeke for newenesse of life, it is in his resurrection: if wee seeke for immortalitie, it is in the same: if wee seeke for the inheritance of the kingdome of heauen, it is in his entrance into heauen: if wee seeke for defense, for alluenednesse, for plentie and store of all good things, it is in his kingdome: if wee seeke for a dreadlesse looking for the iudgment, it is in the power giuen to him to iudge. Finallie, sith the treasures of all sortes of good things are in him, let vs drawe thence and from no where else, euen till wee be full withall. For they which being not content with him alone, are carried hither and thither into diuise hopes, although they haue principall regarde to him, yet euen in this they are out of the right waie, that they turne any part of their knowledge to any other where. Albeit such distrust cannot creepe in, where the abundance of his good gifts hath once bene well knowne.

*All good things is
be sought & found
in Christ alone.
Act. 4. 12.
1. Cor. 1. 30.*

Heb. 12. 17.

Gal. 5. 13.

The xvij. Chapter.

That it is truly and properly said, that Christ hath deserved Gods favour and saluation for vs.

Christ meriting our saluation is not opposite to Gods free bestowing it, but both are repugnant vnto our deseruing. Act. 3. 10.

Lib. 1. de prax. sanctorum.

De bono persecrante, ca. vii.

The grace of God hath appointed the worthines of his sonne for a meane to make vs sonnes, who in our stiles are by nature enemies. Iohn 3. 16. Iohn 4.

THis question is also to be assailed for an addition. For there are some suttle men after a wrong manner, which although they confesse that we obtaine saluation by Christ, yet cannot abide to heare the name of deseruing, by which they thinke the grace of God to be obscured: and so they will haue Christ to be onely the instrument, or minister, not the Author, guide, or Prince of life, as *Peter* calleth him. In deede I confesse, that if a man will fet Christ simply and by himselfe against the iudgement of God, then there shall be no roome for deseruing: because there can not be found in man any worthinesse that may deserue the fauour of God. But, as *Augustine* most truly writeth, the most cleare light of predestination and grace is our Sauiour himselfe, the man Christ Iesus, which hath obtained so to be, by the nature of man, which is in him, without any deseruings of workes or of faith going before. I beseech you let me be answered, whereby that same Man deserued to be taken vp by the Word that is coeternall with the father into one person, and so to be the only begotten Son of God. Let therefore appeare in our head the very fountaine of grace, from whom according to the measure of euery one, it floweth abroad into all his members. By that grace euery one from the beginning of his faith is made Christian, by which that same man from his beginning was made Christ. Againe in another place: there is no plainer example of predestination than the Mediator himselfe. For he that made of the seede of *Dauid* a man righteous that neuer should be vnrighteous, without any deseruing of his will going before, euen the same he doth of vnrighteous make them righteous that are the members of that head: and so forth as there followeth. Therefore when we speake of Christes deseruing, we doe not say that in him is the beginning of deseruing, but we climbe vp to the ordinance of God, which is the first cause thereof: because God of his owne meere good will appointed him Mediator, to purchase saluation for vs. And so is the deterring of Christ vnsifely set against the mercy of God. For it is a common rule, that things orderly one vnder another doe not disagree. And therefore it may well stand together, that mans iustification is free by the meere mercy of God, and that there also the deseruing of Christ come betwene which is contained vnder the mercy of God. But against our workes are aptly set, as directly contrary, both the free fauour of God, and the obedience of Christ, either of them in their degree. For Christ could not deserue any thing but by the good pleasure of God, and but because he was appointed to this purpose, with his sacrifice to appease the wrath of God, and with his obedience to put away our offences. Finally in a summe: because the deseruing of Christ hangeth vpon the onely grace of God, which appointed vs this meane of saluation, therefore as well the same deseruing, as that grace, is sifely set against all the workes of men.

² This distinction is gathered out of many places of the Scripture. God so loued the world, that he gaue his onely begotten Sonne, that who soeuer beleueith in him shall not perish. We see how the loue of God holdeth the first place, as the soueraigne cause or original, and then followeth faith in Christ, as the second or neerer cause. If any man take exception and say, that Christ is but the formall cause, he doth more diminish his power than the words may beare. For if we obtaine righteousness by faith that resteth vpon him, then is the matter of our saluation to be sought in him, which is in many places plainly proued. Nor that we first loued him, but he first loued vs, and lent his Sonne to be the appeasing for our finnes. In these words is clearly shewed, that God to the end that nothing should withstand his loue toward vs, appointed vs a meane to be reconciled in Christ. And this word Appeasing, is of great

great weight : because God after a certaine vnſpeakable manner, euen the ſame time that he loued vs, was alſo angry with vs, vntill he was reconciled in Chriſt. And to this purpoſe ſerue all thoſe ſayings : He is the ſatisfaction for our ſinnes. Againe : It pleased God by him to reconcile all things to himſelfe, appeaſing himſelfe through the blood of the Croſſe by him, &c. Againe, God was in Chriſt, reconciling the world to himſelfe, not imputing to men their ſinnes. Againe, he accepted vs in his beloued Sonne. Againe, That he might reconcile them both 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 *Paul*, after that he had taught that we were choſen in Chriſt, addeth therewithall, that we haue obtained fauour in him. How did God begin to embrace with his fauour them whom he loued before the making of the world, but becauſe he vttered his loue when he was reconciled by the blood of Chriſt? For ſith God is the fountaine of all righteouſnes, it muſt needs be, that man ſo long as he is a ſinner, haue God his enemy and his Iudge. Wherefore the beginning of his loue is righteouſnes, ſuch as is deſcribed by *Paul* : 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 obtained free righteouſneſſe by that ſacrifice of Chriſt, that we ſhould pleaſe God, which by nature are the children of wrath and by ſinne eſtranged from him. But this diſtinction is alſo meant ſo oft as the grace of Chriſt is ioyned to the loue of God. Whereupon followeth, that he giueth vs of his owne that which he hath purchaſed : for otherwiſe it would not agree with him, that this praife is giuen him ſcuerally from his Father, that it is his grace and proceedeth from him.

3 But it is truly and perfectly gathered by many places of the Scripture, that Chriſt by his obedience hath purchaſed vs fauour with his Father. For this I take for a thing confeſſed, that if Chriſt hath ſatisfied for our ſinnes, if he hath ſuffered the puniſhment due vnto vs, if by his obedience he hath appeaſed God, finally, if he being righteous, hath ſuffered for the vnrighteous, then is ſaluation purchaſed for vs by his righteouſneſſe : which is as much in effect as to deſerue it. But, as *Paul* witneſſeth, we are reconciled and haue receiued reconciliation by his death. But reconciliation hath no place, but where there went offence before. Therefore the meaning is : that God, to whom we were hatefull by reaſon of ſinne, is by the death of his Sonne appeaſed, ſo that he might be fauourable vnto vs. And the compariſon of contraries that followeth a little after, is diligently to be noted, as by the tranſgreſſion of one man, many were made ſinners : ſo alſo by the obedience of one, many are made righteous. For the meaning is thus : As by the ſinne of *Adam* we were eſtranged from God and ordained to deſtruction, ſo by the obedience of Chriſt we are receiued into fauour as righteous. And the future time of the verbe doth not exclude preſent righteouſnes, as appeareth by the proceſſe of the text : For he had ſaid before, that the free gift was of many ſinnes vnto iuſtification.

4 But when we ſay, that grace is purchaſed vs by the deſeruing of Chriſt, we meane this, that we are cleanſed by his blood, and that his death was a ſatisfaction for our ſinnes. His blood cleanſeth vs from ſinne. This blood is it that is ſhed for remiſſion of ſinne. If this be the effect of his bloodſhed, that ſinnes be not imputed vnto vs : it followeth, that with that price the iudgement of God is ſatisfied. To which purpoſe ſerueth that ſaying of *Iohn* the Bapriſt : Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the ſinne of the world. For he ſetteth in compariſon Chriſt againſt all the ſacrifices of the Law, to teach that in him onely was fulfilled that which thoſe figures ſhewed. And we know, what *Moses* ech where ſaith : Iniquitie ſhall be cleanſed, ſinne ſhall be put away and forgiven. Finally we are very wel taught in the old figures, what is the force and effect of the death of Chriſt : And this point the Apoſtle ſetteth out in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, very fitly taking this principle, that remiſſion is not wrought without ſhedding of blood. Whereupon he gathereth, that Chriſt for the

1. Ioh. 2. 2.

Col. 1. 20.

2. Cor. 5. 19.

Eph. 2. 16.

Eph. 1. 6.

2. Cor. 5. 21.

Chriſt by his obedience, righteouſnes and death hath purchaſed and merited our ſaluation.

Rom. 5. 11.

Rom. 5. 19.

What is meant by ſaying that Chriſtes deſeruing purchaſed grace.

1. Ioh. 1. 5.

Luk. 22. 20.

Ioh. 1. 29.

Heb. 9. 22.

abolishing of sinne, appeared once for all by his sacrifice. Again: that he was offered vp to take away the finnes of many. And he had said before, that not by the blood of goates or of calves, but by his owne blood he once entred into the holy place, finding eternall redemption. Now when he thus reasoneth: If the blood of a calfe do sanctifie according to the cleannes of the flesh, that much more consciences are cleansed by the blood of Christ from dead workes: it easily appeareth that the grace of Christ is too much diminished, vnlesse we graunt vnto his sacrifice the power of cleansing, appeasing and satisfiing. As a lide after he addeth: This is the mediator of the new testament, that they which are called, may receiue the promise of eternall inheritance by meane of death for the redemption of finnes going before, which remained vnder the law. But specially it is conuenient to wey the relation which *Paul* describeth, that he became a curse for vs. &c. For it were superfluous, yea and an absurditie, that Christ should be charged with curse, but for this intent that he paying that which other did owe, should purchase righteousness for them. Also the testimonie of *Esay* is plaine, that the chastisement of our peace was layde vpon Christ, and that we obtained health by his stripes. For if Christ had not satisfied for our finnes, it could not haue bene said, that he appeased God by taking vpon him the paine whereunto we were subiect. Wherewith agreeth that which followeth 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 doubtfull: that he did beare our sinne vpon the tree. For he saith, that the burthen of damnation from which we were deliuered, was laid vpon Christ.

Gal. 3. 13.

Esa. 53. 5.

1. Pet. 2. 24.

That which Christ
hath paid for, we
may looke for as if
we our selues had
paid.

Rom. 3. 24.

1. Pet. 1. 18.

1. Cor. 6. 20.

Col. 1. 14.

Col. 2. 14.

Gal. 2. 21.

1. Cu. 18. 5.

Act. 13. 38.

Gal. 4. 4.

5 And the Apostles do plainly pronounce, that he paid the price of ranfome to redeeme vs from the guiltines of death. Being iustified by his grace, through the redemption which is in Christ, whome God hath set to be the propitiatorie by faith which is in his blood. *Paul* commendeth the grace of God in this point, because he hath giuen the price of redemption in the death of Christ: and then he biddeth vs to flee vnto his blood, th it hauing obtained righteousness, we may stand boldly before the iudgement of God. And to the same effect is that saying of *Peter*: that wee are redeemed not by golde and siluer, but by the precious blood of the vnspotted Lambe. For the comparison also would not agree, vnlesse with that price satisfaction had bin made for finnes: for which reason *Paul* saith that we are preciouflic bought. Also that other saying of his would not stand together. There is one mediator that gaue him selfe to be a redemption, vnlesse the paine had bene cast vpon him which we had deserued: Therefore the same Apostle defineth, that the redemption in the blood of Christ is the forgiuenesse of finnes: as if he should haue saide, that wee are iustified or acquitted before God, because that blood aunswereth for satisfaction for vs. Wherewith also agreeth the other place, that the hand-writing which was against vs, was cancelled vpon the crosse. For therein is meant the payment or recompence that acquiteth vs from guiltinesse. There is also great weight in these wordes of *Paul*: If wee be iustified by the workes of the lawe, then Christ died for nothing. For heereby wee gather, that wee must fetch from Christ that which the lawe would giue, if any man can fulfill it: or (which is all one) that we obtaine by the grace of Christ that, which God promised to our workes in the lawe when he saide: He that doth these things, shall liue in them. Which he no lesse plainly confirmeth in his sermon made at *Antioch*, affirming that by beleeuing in Christ we are iustified from all those things, from which we could not be iustified in the lawe of *Moses*. For if the keeping of the lawe be righteousness, who can denie that Christ deserued fauour for vs, when taking that burden vpon him, he so reconciled vs to God, as if wee our selues had kept the lawe? To the same purpose serueth that which he afterward writeth to the Galathians: God sent his sonne subiect to the lawe, that he might redeeme those that were vnder the lawe. For to what end serued that

that submission of his, but that he purchased to vs righteousness, taking vpon him to make good that which we were not able to pay? Hereof commeth that imputation of righteousness without works, whereof *Paul* speaketh, because the righteousness is reckened to vs which was found in Christ onely. And truly for no other cause is the flesh of Christ called our meate, but because we find in him the substance of life. And that power proceedeth from nothing else, but because the Sonne of God was crucified, to be the price of our righteousness. As *Paul* saith, that he gaue himselfe a sacrifice of sweete saour. And in another place: He died for our sins, he rose againe for our iustification. Hereupon is gathered, that not onely saluation is giuen vs by Christ, but also that for his sake his Father is now fauourable vnto vs. For there is no doubt but that is perfectly fulfilled in him, which God vnder a figure pronounceth by *Esay* saying: I will doe it for mine owne sake, and for *Dauid* my seruants sake. Whereof the Apostle is a right good witness, where he saith: Your sinnes are forgiven you for his names sake. For though the name of Christ be not exprest, yet *Iohn* after his accustomed manner signifieth him by this pronoun He. In which sence also the Lord pronounceth. As I liue because of my Father, so shall ye also liue because of me. Wherewith agreeth that which *Paul* saith, It is giuen you because of Christ, not onely to beleue in him, but also to suffer for him.

6 But to demand, whether Christ deserued for himselfe, (as *Lombard*, and the other Schoolemen doe) is no lesse foolish curiouse, than it is a rash determination when they affirme it. For what needed the Sonne of God to come downe to purchase any new thing for himselfe? And the Lord declaring his owne counsell, doth put it wholly out of doubt. For it is not said, that the Father prouided for the commodity of his Sonne in his deservings, but that he deliuered him to death, and spared him not, because he loued the world. And the Prophets manners of speaking are to be noted, as, A Child is borne to vs. Again: Reioyce thou daughter of *Sion*: behold thy King commeth to thee. Also that confirmation of loue should be very cold, which *Paul* letteth out, that Christ suffered death for his enemies. For thereupon we gather, that he had no respect of himselfe: and that same he plainly affirmeth in saying, I sanctifie my selfe for them. For he that giueth away the fruite of his holines vnto other, doth thereby testifie that he purchaseth nothing for him selfe. And truly this is most worthily to be noted, that Christ, to giue him selfe wholie to saue vs, did after a certaine manner forget himselfe. But to this purpose they doe wrongfully draw this testimonie of *Paul*: Therefore the Father hath exalted him, and giuen him a name, &c. For by what deservings could man obtaine to be Iudge of the world, and the head of the Angels, and to enioy the soueraigne dominion of God, and that in him should rest that same maiestie, the thousandth part whereof all the powers of men and Angels can not reach vnto? But the solution thereof is easie and plaine, that *Paul* doth not there intreat of the cause of exalting of Christ, but onely to shew the effect ensuing thereof, that it might be for an example to vs. And no other thing is meant by that which is spoken in another place, that it behooueth that Christ should suffer, and so enter into the glory of Father.

Rom. 4

Iohn 6.55.

Eph. 5.2.

Rom. 4.25.

Esa. 37.35.

1. Iohn 2.12.

Iohn 6.57.

Phil. 1.29.

Whether Christ did merite for himselfe. it is both curiouse to demand and rashnes to answer.

Sentent. li. 3.

dist. 18.

Rom. 8.

Esa. 9.6.

Rom. 5.10.

Ioh. 17.

Phil. 2.9.

Luo. 24.26.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

which entreateth of the maner how

to receiue the grace of Christ, and what
profits do grow vnto vs, and
what effects ensue
thereof.

The first Chapter.

*That those things which are spoken of Christ, do profit vs by
secret working of the holy Ghost.*

*No benefite com-
meth by Christ to
vs till the bond of
the sp.rit haue v-
nited vs vnso him.*



Ow it is to be seene how those good things do come vnto vs, which the Father hath giuen to his onely begotten sonne, not for his owne priuate vse, but to enrich them that were without them and needed them. And first this is to be learned, that so long as Christ is out of vs, and we be seuered from him, whatsoever he suffered or did for the saluation of mankinde, is vnprofitable, and nothing auailable for vs. Therefore that he may enterparten with vs those things that he hath receiued of his Father, it behooueth that he become ours, and dwell in vs. And for that cause he is called our head, and the first begotten among many brethren: and on the other side it is said, that we are grafted into him, & did put on him. For (as I haue before said) al that euer he possesseth belongeth nothing to vs, vntill he grow together into one with him. But although it be true that we obtaine by this faith: yet forasmuch as we see that not all without difference do embrace this enterpartening of Christ, which is offered by the Gospell, therefore verie reason teacheth vs to climbe vp higher, and to enquire of the secret effectuall working of the Spirit, by which it is brought to passe, that we enjoy Christ and all his good things. I haue before entreated of the eternall godhead and essence of the spirit, at this present let vs be content with this one speciall article, that Christ so came in water and blood that the spirit should testifie of him, least the saluation that he hath purchased, should slip away from vs. For as there are alleaged three witnessers in heaven, the Father, the Worde, and the Spirit, so are there also three in earth, Water, Blood, and the Spirit. And not without cause is the testimonie of the Spirit wise repeated, which we feele to be engrauen in our hearts in steed of a seale: whereby commeth to passe, that it sealeth the washing and sacrifice of Christ. After which meaning *Peter* also saith, that the faithfull are chosen in sanctification of the Spirit vnto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Christ. By which words he telleth vs, that to the intent the shedding of that holy blood should not become void, our soules are cleansed with it by the secret watering of the holy Spirit. According whereunto *Paul* also speaking of cleansing and iustification, saith that we are made partakers of them both in the name of Iesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God. Finally, this is the summe, that the holy spirit is the bond wherewith Christ effectually bindeth vs vnto lum. For prooffe whercof also do serue all that we haue taught in the last booke befor this, concerning his anointing.

2 But that this, being a matter especially worthie to be knowen, may bee made more certainly euident, we must holde this in minde, that Christ came furnished with
the

*The spirit being
Christes after a
peculiar manner*

Eph. 4. 15.
Rom. 8. 29.
Rom. 11. 17.
Gal. 3. 16.

1. Iohn 5. 7.

1. Pet. 3. 2.

the holy Spirit after a certaine peculiar manner, to the ende that he might seuer vs from the world, and gather vs together into the hope of an eternall inheritance. For this cause he is called the Spirit of sanctification, because he doth not onely quicken and nourish vs with that generall power which appeereth as well in mankinde as in all other living creatures, but also is in vs the root and seed of heauenly life. Therefore the Prophets doe principally commend the kingdome of Christ by this title of prerogative, that then should flourish more plentiful abundance of the Spirit. And notable about all the rest is that place of *Iohel*: In that day I will powre of my Spirit vpon all flesh. For though the Prophet there seeme to restraine the giftes of the Spirit to the office of a prophesying, yet vnder a figure he meaneth, that God by the inlightning of his Spirit wil make those his schollers which before were vnskilful and voide of all heauenly doctrine. Now forasmuch as God the Father doth for his sons sake giue vs his holy Spirit, & yet hath left with him the whole fulnes therof, to the end that he should be a minister and distributor of his liberalitie: he is sometime called the Spirit of the Father, and sometime the Spirit of the Sonne. Yee are not (saith *Paul*) in the flesh, but in the Spirit, for the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any haue not the Spirit of Christ, he is not his. And heereupon he putteth vs in hope of full reuening, for that hee which raised vp Christ from the dead, shall quicken our mortall bodies, because of his Spirit dwelling in vs. For it is no absurditie, that to the Father be ascribed the praise of his owne gifts, whereof hee is the author: and yet that the same be ascribed to Christ, with whom the gifts of the spirit are left, that he may giue them to those that be his. Therefore he calleth all them that thirst, to come to him to drinke. And *Paul* teacheth that the Spirit is distributed to euery one, according to the measure of the gift of Christ. And it is to be knowne, 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 power, he had come to vs in vaine. After which meaning he is called the second *Adam* giuen from heauen, to bee a quickening Spirit: wherby *Paul* compareth the singular life that the Sonne of God breatheth into them that be his that they may be all one with him, with the naturall life that is also common to the reprobate. Likewise where he wisheth to the faithfull the fauor of Christ and the loue of God, he ioyned withall the common partaking of the Spirit, without which no man can taste neither of the fatherly fauour of God, nor of the bountifullnesse of Christ. As also he saith in another place: The loue of God is powred out into our hartes by the holy Spirit that is giuen vs.

3 And here it shall be profitable to note, with what titles the Scripture setteth out the holy Spirit, where it entreateth of beginning and whole restoring of our saluation. First, he is called the Spirit of adoption, because he is a witnesse vnto vs of the free good will of God, wherewith God the Father hath embraced vs in his beloued onely begotten Sonne, that he might be a Father vnto vs, and doth encourage vs to pray boldly, yea and doth minister vs wordes to crie without feare, *Abba*, Father: by the same reason hee is called the earnest pledge, and seale of our inheritance, because he so giueth life from heauen to vs wandring in the world, and being like to dead men, that we may be assured that our soule is in safegard vnder the faithfull keeping of God, for which cause he is also called life, by reason of righteousnesse. And forasmuch as by his secret watering he maketh vs fruitefull to bring forth the buds of righteousnes, he is oftentimes called water as in *Esay*: All yee that thirst come to the waters. Again: I will poure out my Spirit vpon the thirstie, & floods vpon the dry land: wherewith agreeth that saying of Christ, which I did euen nowe alleage. If any thirst 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 will wash his people from filthinesse. And forasmuch as hee restoreth

both to haue & to bestowe, is by propriety his in fulnesse, and in measure ours by gift.

Iohel 2. 28.

Rom. 8. 9.

Rom. 8. 11.

Ioh 7. 37.
Eph. 4. 7.

1. Cor. 15. 45.

Rom. 5. 5.

The titles which Scripture giueth the Spirit, teach that without it Christ is altogether dead and vnprofitable vnto vs.

Gal. 4. 6.
2. Cor. 1. 21.

Rom. 8. 10.

Esa. 55. 1.
Esa. 44. 2.
Ioh. 7. 17.

Eze. 36. 25.

Cap. I. Of the maner how to receiue

and nourisheth into liuely quicknes, them vpon whom he hath powred the liquour of his grace, he is therefore called by the name of oyle and annointment. Again because in continually seething out and burning vp the vices of our lust, he setteth our hartes on fire with the loue of God and zeale of godlines, he is also for this effect woorthily called fire. Finally, he is described vnto vs as a fountaine, from whence do flowe vnto vs all heauenly riches, or the hand of God, wherewith hee vseth his power: because by the breath of his power he so breatheth diuine life into vs, that wee are not nowe stirred by our selues, but ruled by his stirring and moouing: so that if there bee anie good things in vs, they be the fruits of his grace: but our owne gifts without him, be darknes of minde, and peruerfenes of hart. This point is set out plainly enough, that till our mindes be bent vpon the holy Ghost, Christ lieth in a maner idle, because we coldly espie him without vs, yea and farre away from vs. But we knowe that he profiteth none other but them whose head he is, and the first begotten among brethren, & them which haue put on Him. This conioyning onely maketh that, as concerning vs, he is come not vnprofitably with the name of Sauour. And for prooffe hereof serueth that holy marriage, whereby wee are made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, yea and all one with him. But by the Spirit onely he maketh himselfe one with vs: by the grace and power of the same spirite we are made his members, so that hee containeth vs vnder him, and we againe possesse him.

4 But forasmuch as faith is his principall worke, to it are for the most part referred all those things, that we commonly finde spoken to expresse his force & working: because he bringeth vs into the light of the gofpell by nothing but by faith: as *Iohn* Baptist teacheth, that this prerogatiue is giuen to them that beleue in Christ, that they be the children of God which are borne not of flesh & bloud, but of God: where setting God against flesh & bloud, he affirmeth it to be a supernaturall gift that they receiue Christ by faith, who otherwise should remain subiect to their own infidelitic. Like whereunto is that answer of Christ: Flesh and bloud hath not reuealed it to thee, but my father which is in heauen. These things I do now but shortly touch, because I haue already intreated of them at large. And like also is that saying of *Paul*, that the *Ephesians* were sealed vp with the holy spirit of promise. For *Paul* sheweth that he is an inward teacher, by whose working the promise of saluation pearceeth into our minds, which otherwise should but beate the aire or our eares. Likewise, when he saith, that the *Thessalonians* were chosen of God in the sanctification of the Spirit and beleueing of the truth: by which ioyning of them together, he briefly admonisheth that faith it selfe proceedeth from nothing else but from the holie spirit: which thing *Iohn* setteth out more plainly, saying: Wee know that there abideth in vs of the spirit which he hath giuen vs. Again, by this we knowe that we dwell in him, and he in vs, because he hath giuen vs of his spirite. Therefore Christ promised to his Disciples the spirite of truth which the world cannot receiue, that they might be able to receiue the heauenly wisdome. And he assigneth to the same spirite this proper office, to put them in minde of those things that he had taught them by mouth. Because in vaine shoulde the light shew it selfe to the blinde, vnlesse the same spirite of vnderstanding shoulde open the eies of their minde: so as a man may rightly call the holy spirite, the key by which the treasures of the heauenly kingdome are opened vnto vs: & may call his enlightening, the eyesight of our minde to see. Therefore doth *S. Paul* so much commend the ministerie of the spirite: because teachers should crye without profiting, vnlesse Christ himselfe the inward master should draw them with his spirite that are giuen him by his Father. Therefore as we haue said, that perfect saluation is founde in the person of Christ: so that we may be made partakers thereof, he doth baptize vs in the holy spirite and fire, lightning vs into the faith of his Gospell, and so newe begetting vs, that we may be new creatures: and purging vs from vnholie filthinesse, doth dedicate vs to be holy temples to God.

1. Iohn. 2. 20.
Luk. 3. 16.
Ioh. 4. 14.
Act. 1. 21.

Eph. 4. 15.
Rom. 3. 29.
Gal. 3. 27.
Eph. 3. 30.

It is the spirit
which worketh
faith in our hartes.
Ioh. 1. 13.

Mat. 19. 17.

Eph. 1. 13.

3. The. 1. 3.

2. Ioh. 3. 24. & 4.
Ioh. 14. 17.

1. Cor. 3. 6.

Luk. 3. 16.

The ij. Chapter.

Of faith, wherein both is set the definition of it, and the properties that it hath, are declared.

BVt all these things shall be easie to vnderstand : when there is shewed a plaine definition of faith, that the Readers may know the force and nature thereof. But first it is conuenient to call to minde againe these things that haue been already spoken, that sith God doth appoint vs by his law what we ought to do, if we fall in anie point thereof, the same terrible iudgement of eternall death that hee pronounceth doth rest vpon vs. Againe, that forasmuch as it is not onely hard but altogether aboue our strength and beyond all our power to fulfill the lawe if we onely beholde our selues, and weigh what estate is woorthie for our deseruings, there is no good hope left, but we lie cast away from God vnder eternall destruction. Thirdly, this hath beene declared, that there is but one meane of deliuerance to draw vs out of so wretched calamitie : wherein appeereth Christ the Redeemer, by whose hande it pleased the heauenly father, hauing mercy vpon vs of his infinite goodnesse and clemencie, to succour vs, so that wee with sound faith embrace this mercy, and with constant hope rest vpon it. But now it is conuenient for vs to weigh this, what manner of faith this ought to be, by which all they that are adopted by God to bee his children, doe 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 and studie must wee looke about for, and search out the naturall propertie of faith, by how much the more hurtfull at this day is the error of many in this behalfe. For a great part of the worlde, hearing the name of faith, conceiue no higher thing, but a certaine common assent to the historie of the Gospell. Yea, when they dispute of faith in the schooles, in barely calling god the obiekt of faith, they do nothing but (as we haue said in another place) by vaine speculation rather draw wretched soules out of the right way, than direct them to the true marke. For whereas God dwelleth in a light that none can attaine to, it behooueth of necessitie that Christ become meane betwene vs & it. For which cause he calleth himselfe the light of the world: & in another place, The way, the truth, & the life, because no man commeth to the father (which is the fountain of life) but by him: because he onely knoweth the Father, & by him the faithful to whom it pleaseth him to disclose him. According to this reason *Paul* affirmeth, that he accounteth nothing excellent to be known, but Christ: & in the xx. chapter of the *Acts* he saith, that he preached faith in Christ, &c. And in another place hee bringeth in Christ speaking after this manner, I will send thee among the *Gentiles* that they may receiue forgiveness of sinnes, and portion among holy ones, by the faith which is in me. And *Paul* testifieth, that the glorie of God is in his person visible vnto vs: or (which is all one in effect) that the enlightening of the knowledge of Gods glorie shineth in his face. It is true indeed that faith hath respect onely to the one God, but this also is to be added, that it acknowledge him whom he hath sent, euen Iesus Christ. Because God himselfe should haue lien secret & hidden farre from vs, ynlittle the brightnesse of Christ did cast his beames vpon vs. For this intent the father left all that he had with his onely begotten sonne, euen by the communicating of good things with him to expresse the true image of his glorie. For as it is said, that we must be drawn by the spirite, that we may be stirred to seeke Christ, so againe we ought to be admonished, that the inuisible Father is no where else to bee sought but in this image. Of which matter *Augustine* speaketh excellently well, which intreating of the marke that faith should shoote at, saith that we must knowe whither we must goe and which way: and then by and by after he gathereth that the safest way

The obiekt of faith is not barely God, as the schoolmen coldly dispute, but God displaying himselfe in Christ.

1, Tim. 6. 16.

John. 8. 12.
Ioh. 14. 6.
Luk. 10. 12.

1. Cor. 2.
Act. 20. 17.
2. Cor. 4. 6.

Lib. 11. de ciuit.
Dei. cap. 2.

against

Cap. 2. Of the maner how to receiue

against all errors is he that is both God and man. For it is God to whom we goe, and man by whom we go: and both these are found no where but in Christ. Neither doth Paul when he speaketh of faith in God, meane to ouerthrow that which he so oft repeateth of faith that hath her whole stay vpon Christ. And Peter doth most fitly ioyne them both together, saying that by him we beleue in God.

1. Pet. 1. 21.

Faith is no infolded or vnexpressed knowledge.

rm faith standeth.

Rom. 10. 10.

Simple men abused when they are made beleue it is faith indeterminately to holde what the Church holdeth, without further seeking what we haue by Christ as the hands of God and how. Iohn. 17. 3.

2 Therefore this euill, euen as innumerable other, is to bee imputed to the Schoolemen; which haue hidden Christ as it were with a veile drawn before him, to the beholding of whom vnlesse wee be directly bent, wee shall alway wander in many vncertaine mazes. But beside this that with their darke definition they doe deface and in a manner bring to naught the whole force of faith, they haue forged a deuise of vnexpressed faith, with which name they garnishing their most grosse ignorance dor with great hurt deceiue the silly people, yea (to say truely and plainly as the thing is in deede) this deuise doth not onely burie but viterly destroy the true faith. Is this to beleue; to vnderstand nothing, so that thou obediently submit thy sense to the Church? Faith standeth not in ignorance but in knowledge, and that not onely of God, but of the will of God. For neither doe we obtaine saluation by this that we either are ready to imbrace for true whatsoever the Church appointeth, or that we doe commit to it all the office of searching and knowing: but when we acknowledge God to be a mercifull father to vs by the reconciliation made by Christ, and that Christ is giuen vs vnto righteousness, sanctification, and life. By this knowledge, I say, not by submitting of our sense, we attaine an entrie into the kingdome of heauen. For when the Apostle saith, that with the hart we beleue to righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made to saluation, he sheweth that it is not enough, if a man vnexpressedly beleue that which he vnderstandeth not, nor seeketh to learne: but he requireth an expressed acknowledging of Gods goodness; in which consisteth our righteousness.

3 In deede I denie not (such is the ignorance wherewith wee are compassed) that there now be and hereafter shall be many things wrapped and hidden from vs, till hauing put off the burden of our flesh we come neerer to the presence of God: in which very things that be hidden from vs, nothing is more profitable than to suspend our iudgement, but to stay our minde in determined purpose to keepe vnite with the Church. But vnder this colour to intitle ignorance tempered with humilitie by the name of faith, is a great absurditie. For faith lieth in knowledge of God and of Christ; not in reuerence of the Church. And we see what a maze they haue framed with this their hidden implication, that any thing whatsoever it be without any choise, so that it be thrust in vnder title of the Church, is greedily received of the ignorant as it were an oracle, yea sometime also most monstrous errors. Which vnaduised lightnesse of beleefe, whereas it is a most certaine downefall to ruine, is yet excused by them, for that it beleueth nothing determinately, but with this condition adioyned, If the faith of the Church be such. So doe they faine, that truth is holden in error, light in blindness, true knowledge in ignorance. But because we will not tarric long in consulting them, we doe onely warne the readers to compare their doctrine with ours. For the very plainnesse of the truth it selfe will of it selfe minister a confutation ready enough. For this is not the question among them, whether faith be yet wrapped with many remnants of ignorance, but they definitiue say that they beleue aright, which stand amazed in their ignorance; yea and doe flatter themselves therein, so that they doe agree to the authoritie and iudgement of the Church, concerning things ynknownen. As though the Scripture did not euery where teach, that with faith is ioined knowledge.

Our Faith as long as we lue is vnexpressed, if vnexpressed faith be taken for faith

4 But we do grant, that so long as we wander from home in this world, our faith is not fully expressed, not onely because many things are yet hidden from vs, but because being compassed with many mistes of errors, we attaine not all things. For
the

the highest wisdom of the most perfect is this, to profit more and proceed on further forward with gentle willingness to learn. Therefore Paul exhorteth the faithful, if upon any thing they differ one from another, to abide for reuelation. And truly experience teacheth, that till we be vnclothed of our flesh, we attaine to knowlesse than were to be wished, and daily in reading we light vpon many darke places which do conuince vs of ignorance. And with this bridle God holdeth vs in modestie, assigning to euerie one a measure of faith, that euen the very best teacher may be ready to learn. And notable examples of this vnexpressed faith, we may marke in the Disciples of Christ, before that they had obtained to be fully enlightened. We see, how they hardly tasted the very first introductions, how they did sticke euen in the smallest points, how they hanging at the mouth of their maister did not yet much proceede, yea when at the womens information they ranne to the graue, the resurrection of their maister was like a dreame vnto them. Sith Christ did before beare witness of their faith, we may not say that they were utterly without faith: but rather if they had not bene perswaded that Christ should rise againe, all care of him would haue perished in them. For it was not superstition that did drawe the women to embalme with spices the corpes of a dead man of whome there was no hope of life: but although they beleued his wordes whome they knewe to be a speaker of truth, yet the grosseesse of that still possessed their mindes so wrapped their faith in darkenesse, that they were in a maner amased at it. Whereupon it is saide, that they then at the last beleued when they had by triall of the thing it selfe proued the truth of the words of Christ, not that they then began to beleue, but because the seede of hidden faith which was as it were dead in their hearts, then receiuing liuelinesse, did spring vp. There was therefore a true faith in them, but an vnexpressed faith, because they reuerently embraced Christ for their only teacher, and then being taught of him, they determined that he was the author of their saluation: Finally, they beleued that he came from heauen, by the grace of his father to gather his Disciples to heauen. And we neede not to seeke any more familiar prooffe hereof than this, that in all things alway vnbeleefe is mingled with faith.

5 We may also call it an vnexpressed faith, which yet indeed is nothing but a preparation of faith. The Euangelists do rehearse that many beleued, which only being rauished to admiration with miracles, proceeded no further but that Christ was the *Messias* which had bin promised, albeit they tasted not so much as any slender learning of the Gospell. Such obedience, which brought them in subiection willingly to submit themselves to Christ, beareth the name of faith where it was in deede but the beginning of faith. So the courter that beleued Christs promise, concerning the healing of his son when he came home, as the Euangelist testifieth, beleued againe: because he receiued as an oracle that which he heard of the mouth of Christ, and then submitted himselfe to his authoritie to receiue his doctrine. Albeit it is to be knowne, that he was so tractable & ready to learne, that yet in the first place the word of the beleeuing signifieth a particular beleefe: and in the second place maketh him of the number of the Disciples, that professed to be the schollers of Christ. A like example doth *John* set forth in the *Samaritans*, which so beleued the womens report, that they ranne earnestly to Christ, which yet when they had heard him, said thus: Now we beleuee not: because of thy report, but we haue heard him, & we know that he is the Sauiour of the world. Hereby appeareth that they which are not yet instructed in the first introductions, so that they be disposed to obedience, are called faithful, in deede not properly, but in this respect, that God of his tender kindenesse vouchsafeth to graunt so great honour to that godly affection. But this willingness to learne, with a desire to proceede further, differeth farre from that grosse ignorance, wherein they lie dull that are content with the vnexpressed faith, such as the Papists haue imagined. For if Paul seuerely condemneth them which alway learning, yet

mingled with ignorance, of that which should expressly be knowne and beleued.
Phil. 3. 15.

When we begin by faith to know somewhat, and haue a desire to learne more, this may be termed an vnexpressed faith.

Ioh. 4. 3.

Ioh. 4.

Cap. 3. Of the maner how to receiue

neuer come to the knowledge of truth, how much more grieuous reproche doe they deserue that of purpose studie to knowe nothing?

Faith beholdeth
Christ but in no
other glasse than
the Gospell.

Ephc. 4. 20.

Rom. 10. 4.

1 samoel 60 -
from gods

Esaie. 55. 3.
Ioh. 10. 13.

Psal. 95. 8.

2. Cor. 1. & 9. &
26. & 11. 26. &
13. & 14.

faith is in iust
words.

Rom. 1. 5.
Phil. 2. 17.

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6 This therefore is the true knowledge of Christ, if we receiue him such as he is offered of his father, that is to say, clothed with his Gospell. For as he is appointed to be the marke of our faith, so we cannot goe the right way to him, but by the Gospell going before to guide vs. And truly there are opened to vs the treasures of grace, which being shut vp, Christ should little profit vs. So *Paul* ioyneth faith an vnseparable companion to doctrine, where he saith: Yee haue not so learned Christ, for yee haue bene taught what is the truth in Christ. Yet doe I not so restraine faith to the Gospell, but that I confesse that there hath bene so much taught by *Moses* and the Prophets, as sufficed to the edification of faith, but because there hath bene deliuered in the Gospell a fuller opening of faith, therefore it is worthily called of *Paul*, the doctrine of faith. For which cause also hee saith in another place, that by the comming of faith the lawe is taken away, meaning by this word faith, the newe and vnaccustomed manner of teaching, whereby Christ since he appeared our schoolemaister, hath more plainly set fourth the mercie of his father, and more certainly testified of our saluation. Albeit it shall be the more easie and more conuenient order, if we descend by degrees from the generallie to the specialtie. First we must be put in minde that there is a generall relation of faith to the worde, and that faith can no more be seuered from the worde, than the sunne beames from the sunne from whome they proceede. Therefore in *Esaie* God crieth out: Heare mee and your soule shall liue. And that the same is the fountaine of faith, *Iohn* sheweth in these wordes: These things are written that ye may beleue. And the Prophet meaning to exhort the people to beleefe, saith: This day if yee shall heare his voice. And to heare is commonly taken for to beleue. Moreover, God doth not without cause in *Esaie* set this marke of difference betweene the children of the Church and strangers, that he will instruct them all, that they may be taught of him. For if it were a benefite vniuersall to all, why shoulde he direct his wordes to a fewe? Wherewith agreeth this that the Euangelists doe commonly vse the wordes Faithfull and Disciples, as severall wordes expressing one thing, and specially *Luke* very oft in the Actes of the Apostles. Yea and hee stretcheth that name euen to a woman in the ninth Chapter of the Actes. Wherefore if faith doe swarue neuer so little from this marke, to which it ought to be directly leuelled, it keepeth not her owne nature, but becometh an vncertaine lightnesse of beleefe and wandring error of minde. The same Worde is the foundation wherewith faith is vpholden and sustained, from which if it swarue, it falleth downe. Therefore take away the Worde, and then there shall remaine no faith. We doe not here dispute whether the ministerie of man bee necessarie to sowe the Worde of God that faith may be conceiued thereby, which question we will elsewhere intreate of: but we say that the Word it selfe, howsoever it be conueyed to vs, is like a mirrour when faith may beholde God. Whether God doth therein vse the seruice of man, or worke it by his owne onely power, yet he doth alway shewe himselfe by his Word to those, whome his will is to drawe vnto him: Whereupon *Paul* defineth faith to be an obedience that is giuen to the Gospell *Rom. 1.* And in another 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 chiefly, that we vnderstand what will he beareth vs. For it not so much behooueth vs to knowe what he is in himselfe, but what a one he will be to vs. Now therefore we are come to this point, that faith is a knowledge of the will of Godd, perceiued by the worde. And the foundation hereof is a foreconceiued perswasion of the truth of God. Of the assurednesse wherof so long as thy minde shall dispute with it selfe, the word shall be but of doubtfull and weake credite, yea rather no credite at all. But also it sufficeth not to beleue that God is a true speaker,

speaker, which can neither deceiue nor lie, vnlesse thou further holde this for vn- doubtedly determined, that whatsoeuer proceedeth from him, is the sacred and in- violable truth.

7 But because not at euery word of God mans heart is raised vp to faith, wee must yet further search what this faith in the word hath properly respect vnto. It was the saying of God to *Adam*: Thou shalt die the death. It was the saying of God to *Cain*: The bloode of thy brother crieth to mee out of the earth. Yet these are such sayings as of them selues can do nothing but shake faith, so much lesse are they able to stablish faith. We denie not in the meane season that it is the office of faith to agree to the truth of God, how oft soeuer, whatsoeuer, and in what sort soeuer it spea- keth: but now our question is onely, what faith findeth in the word of the Lord to leane and rest vpon. When our conscience beholdeth onely indignation and ven- geance, how can it but tremble and quake for feare? And how should it but flee God, of whome it is afraid? But faith ought to seeke God, and not to flee from him. It is plaine therefore, that we haue not yet a full definition of faith, because it is not to be accounted for faith, to knowe the will of God, of what sort soeuer it be: But what if in the place of will, whereof many times the message is sorrowfull and the declara- tion dreadfull, we put kindnesse or mercie? Truly so we shall come nerer to the na- ture of faith. For we are then allured to seeke God, after that we haue learned that saluation is laide vp in store with him for vs. Which thing is confirmed vnto vs, when he declareth that he hath care and loue of vs. Therefore there needeth a pro- mise of grace, whereby he may testifie that he is our mercifull father, for that other- wise we cannot approach vnto him, and vpon that alone the heart of man may safely rest. For this reason commonly in the Psalmes these two things Mercie and Truth do cleaue together, because neither should it any thing profit vs to know that God is true, vnlesse he did mercifully allure vs vnto him: neither were it in our power to em- brace his mercie, vnlesse he did with his owne mouth offer it. I haue reported thy truth and thy saluation, I haue not hidden thy goodnesse and thy truth. Thy good- nes and thy truth keepe me. In another place: Thy mercy to the heauens, thy truth euen to the cloudes. Againe: All the waies of the Lord are mercie and truth, to them that keepe his covenant. Againe, His mercie is multiplied vpon vs, and the truth of the Lord abideth for euer. Againe: I will sing to thy name vpon thy mercie and truth. I omit that which is in the Prophets to the same meaning, that God is mercifull and faithfull in his promises. For wee shall rashly determine that God is mercifull vnto vs, vnlesse himselfe do testifie of himselfe, and preuent vs with his cal- ling, least his will should be doubtfull and vnknown. But we haue alreadye seene, that Christ is the only pledge of his loue, without whome on euerie side appeare the tokens of hatred and wrath. Now forasmuch as the knowledge of Gods goodnesse shall not much preuaile, vnlesse he make vs to rest in it, therefore such an vnderstand- ing is to be banished as is mingled with doubting, and doth not soundlie agree in it selfe, but as it were, disputeth with it selfe. But mans wit, as it is blind and darkned, is far from attaining and climbing vp to perceiue the verie will of God: and also the hart of man, as it wauereth with perpetuall doubting, is far from resting assured in that perswasion. Therefore it behooueth both that our wit be lightened, and our heart strengthened by some other meane, that the word of God may be of full credite with vs. Now we shall haue a perfect definition of faith, if we say, that it is a stedfast and assured knowledge of Gods kindnes toward vs, which being grounded vpon the truth of the free promise in Christ, is both reueiled to our mindes, and sealed in our hearts by the holy Ghost.

8 But before I proceede anie further, it shall be necessarie that I make some preambles to dissolue certaine doubts that otherwise might make some stop to the readers. And first I must confute that distinction that flyeth about in the schooles, betweene

The true and full definition of faith.

Gen. 2. 17. & 4. 10.

Psal. 45. 17.
Psal. 25. 20.
Psal. 36. 6.
Psal. 107.
Psal. 138.

Against the distinction of faith vnformed, and faith formed by access of a godly affection added vnto a sinner.

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betweene faith formed and vnformed. For they imagine that such as are touched with no feare of God, with no feeling of godlinesse, doe beleeuē all that is necessariē to saluation. As though the holy Ghost in lightning our hearts vnto faith, were not a witnesse to vs of our adoption. And yet presumptuously, when all the Scripture crieth out against it, they giue the name of faith to such perswasion voide of the feare of God. We neede to striue no further with their definition, but simply to rehearse the nature of faith, such as it is declared by the worde of God. Whereby shall plainly appeere how vnskillfully and foolishly they rather make a noise than speake of it. I haue already touched part, the rest I will adde hereafter as place shall serue. At this present I say that there cannot be imagined a greater absurditie, than this inuention of theirs. They will haue faith to be an assent, whereby euery despiser of God may receiue that which is vttered out of the Scripture. But first they should haue seen whether euery man of his owne power doe bring faith to himselfe, or whether the holy Ghost be by it a witnesse of adoption. Therefore they doe childishly play the fooles, in demanding whether faith which a qualitie added doth forme, be the same faith or an other and a new faith. Whereby appeereth certainly, that in so babbling they neuer thought of the singular gift of the holy Ghost. For the beginning of beleeuing doth already containe in it the reconciliacion, whereby man approcheth to God. But if they did weigh that saying of *Paul*: With the hart is beleeuē to righteousnesse, they would cease to saie that same colde qualitie. If we had but this one reason, it should be sufficient to ende this contention: that the very same assent (as I haue already touched, and will againe more largely repeate) is rather of the hart than of the braine, rather of affection than of vnderstanding. For which cause it is called the obedience of faith, which is such as the Lorde preferreth no kinde of obedience aboue it: and that woorthily, for as much as nothing is more precious to him than his truth, which as *Iohn* the Baptist witnesseth, the beleeuers doe as it were subscribe and seale vnto. Sith the matter is not doubtfull we doe in one word determinately say, that they speake fondly when they say that faith is formed by adding of godly affection vnto assent: whereas assent it selfe, at least such assent as is declared in the Scriptures, consisteth of godly affection. But yet there is another plainer argument that ostendeth it selfe to be alleaged. For whereas faith imbraceth Christ as he is offered vs of the father: and Christ is offered not onely for righteousnesse, forgiveness of sinnes and peace, but also for sanctification, and a fountaine of liuing water: without doubt no man can euer truly know him, vnlesse he doe therewithall receiue the sanctification of the Spirit. Or, if any man desire to haue it more plainly spoken, Faith consisteth in the knowledge of Christ. And Christ cannot be known but with sanctification of his spirite: therefore it followeth, that faith can by no meane be seuered from godly affection.

Rom. 10. 10.

Rom. 1. 5.

Iohn. 3. 25.

*S. Pauls wordes
abused for the
maintenance of
vnformed faith.
1. Cor. 12. 10.*

9 Whereas they are wont to lay this against vs, that *Paul* saith: If a man haue all faith, so that he remooue mountaines, if he haue not charitie, he is nothing: whereby they would deforme faith, in spoyling it of charitie: they consider not what the Apostle in that place meaneth by faith. For when in the chapter next before it, he had spoken of the diuers giftes of the holy Ghost, among the which he had reckoned the diuers kindes of languages, power and prophetic, and had exhorted the *Corinthians* to follow the best of these giftes, that is to say, such giftes whereby more profite and commoditie might come to the whole bodie of the Church: he straightway saide further, that hee would shewe them yet a more excellent way. That all such giftes, howe excellent soeuer they bee of themselues, yet are they nothing to be esteemed, vnlesse they serue charitie. For they were giuen to the edifying of the Church, and vnlesse they be applied thereunto, they loose their grace. For prooffe of this he particularly rehearseth them repeating the selfe same giftes that hee had spoken of before, but in other names. And he vseth the wordes Powers and Faith, for
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all one thing, that is for the power to do miracles. Sith therefore this, whether yee call it power or faith, is a particular gift of God, which euerie vngodly man may both haue and abuse, as the gift of toonges, as propheticie and other gifts of grace: it is no maruell if it be seuered from charitie. But all the error of these men standeth in this, that where this word Faith, hath diuers significations, they not considering the diuersitie of the thing signified, dispute as though it were taken for one thing in all places alike. The place of *Iames* which they alleage for maintenance of the same errour, shall be else where discussed. But although for teachings sake, when we meane to shew what maner of knowledge of God there is in the wicked, we grant that there are diuers sorts of faith: yet we acknowledge and speake of but one faith of the godly, as the Scripture teacheth. Many in deede doe beleuee that there is a God, they thinke that the historic of the Gospel and other parts of the scripture are true (as commonly we are wont to iudge of such things, as either are reported being done long agoe, or such as we our selues haue bene present at and seene.) There be also some that go further, for both they beleuee the word of God to be a most assured oracle, and they do not altogether despise his commandements, and they somewhat after a sort are moued with his threatenings and promises. It is indeed testified that such haue faith: but that is spoken out by abuse, because they do not with open vngodlines fight against the word of God, or refuse or despise it: but rather pretend a certaine shew of obedience.

10 But this image or shadow of faith, as it is of no value, so it is not woorthie of the name of faith: From the sound truth whereof how farre it differeth, although it shall be hereafter more largely entreated, yet there is no cause to the contrarie, why it should not now be touched by the way. It is said, that *Simon Magus* beleueed, which yet within a little after bewrayed his owne vnbeliefe. And whereas it is saide that he beleueed, we do not vnderstand it as some do, that he fained a beleefe when he had none in his heart: but 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 author of life and saluation, that he willingly professed himselfe to be one of his. After the same manner it is said in the Gospell of *Luke*, that they beleuee for a time, in whom the seed of the word is choaked vp before it bring forth fruit, or before it take any roote at all, it by and by withereth away and perisheth: we doubt not that such delited with a certaine taste of the word do greedily receiue it, and begin to feele the diuine force of it: so farre that with deceitfull counterfaying of faith, they beguile not onely other mens eyes, but also their owne mindes. For they perswade themselves, that that reuerence which they shew to the word of God, is most true godlines, because they thinke that there is no vngodlinesse but manifest and confessed reproch or contempt of his word. But what maner of assent soeuer that be, it pearceth not to the verie heart to remaine there stablished: and though sometime it seemeth to haue taken rootes, yet those are not luely rootes. The heart of man hath so many secret corners of vanitie, is full of so many hiding holes of lying, is couered with so guilefull hypocrisie, that it oft deceiuen himselfe. But let them that glory in such shadowes of faith vnderstand, that therein they are no better than the Diuell. But that first sort of men are farre woorse than the Diuell, which do senselesly heare and vnderstand those things, for knowledge whereof the Diuels do tremble. And the other are in this point equal with the diuell, that the feeling such as it is wherewith they are touched, turneth only to terrour and discouragement.

11 I know that some thinke it harde, that wee assigne faith to the reprobate, whereas *Paul* affirmeth faith to be the fruit of election. Which doubt yet is easily dissolued: for though none receiue the light of faith, nor do truly feele the effectual working of the Gospell, but they that are foreordained to saluation: yet experience sheweth that the reprobate are sometime moued with the same feeling that

A kinde of faith said to be in them who notwithstanding are no true beleeuers.
Act. 8. 13. & 18.

Luk. 8. 7. & 13.

Iac. 2. 19.

The difference betwene the faith of Gods elect and reprobates.
2. Thess. 1. 4.

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Heb. 6.

the elect are, so that in their owne iudgement they nothing differ from the elect. Wherefore it is no aburditie, that the Apostle ascribeth to them the taste of the heavenly gifts, that Christ ascribeth to them a faith for a time: not that they soundly perceiue the spiritual force of grace and assured light of faith: but because the Lord, the more to condemn them and make them inexcusable, conuayeth himselfe into their mindes so farre forth, as his goodnesse may be tasted without the spirit of adoption. If any object, that then there remaineth nothing more to the faithful whereby to proue certainly their adoption: I answer that though there be a great likeness and affinity betweene the elect of God and them that are endued with a falling faith for a time, yet there liueth in the elect onely that assistance which *Paul* speaketh of, that they cry with full mouth, *Abba*, Father. Therefore as God doth regenerate onely the elect with incorruptible seede for euer, so that the seede of life planted in their harts neuer perisheth. so soundly doth he seale in them the grace of his adoption, that it may be stable and sure. But this withstandeth not but that that other inferiour working of the Spirit may haue his course, euen in the reprobate. In the mean season the faithfull are taught, carefully and humbly to examine themselves, least in steed of assurednes of faith, do creepe in carelesse confidence of the flesh. Beside that, the reprobate do neuer conceiue but a confused feeling of grace, so that they rather take hold of the shadow than of the sound bodie, because the holy spirit doth properly seale the remission of sinnes in the elect onely, so that they apply it by speciall faith to their vse. But yet it is truly said, that the reprobate beleue God to be merciful vnto them, because they receiue the gift of reconciliation, although confusedly and not plainly enough: not that they are partakers of the selfe same faith or regeneration with the children of God, but because they seeme to haue as well as they, the same beginning of faith, vnder a cloke of hypocrisie. And I denie not, that God doth so far giue light vnto their mindes, that they acknowledge his grace, but he maketh that same feeling so different from the peculiar testimonie which he giueth to his elect, that they neuer come to the sound effect and fruition thereof. For he doth not therefore shew himselfe mercifull vnto them, for that he hauing truly deliuered them from death, doth receiue them to his safegard, but onely he discloseth to them a present mercy. But he vouchsafeth to graunt to the only elect the liuely roote of faith, so that they continue to the ende. So is that objection answered, if God do truly shew his grace, that the same remaineth perpetually stablished, for that there is no cause to the contrarie, but that God may enlighten some with a present feeling of his grace, which afterward vanisheth away.

Wicked men who by reason of a vanishing sinceresse which they feele in the grace of God towards the for a time, are said to beleue, yet indeed do neither embrace what they should nor as they should.

12 Also though faith be a knowledge of Gods kindnesse toward vs, and an assured persuasion of the truth thereof: yet it is no maruell that the feeling of Gods loue in temporall things doth vanish away: which although it haue an affinity with faith, yet doth it much differ from faith. I graunt, the will of God is vchangeable, and the truth thereof doth alway stedfastly agree with it selfe, but I denie that the reprobate do proceed so farre as to attaine vnto that secreete reuelation, which the Scripture sayeth to belong to the elect onely. Therefore I denie that they doe either conceiue the will of GOD as it is vchangeable, or doe stedfastly embrace the truth thereof, because they abide in a feeling that vanisheth away: Like as a tree that is not planted deepe ynough to take liuely rootes, in proesse of time waxeth drie, although for a fewe yeeres it bringeth forth not onely blossomes and leaues but also fruit. Finally, as by the fall of the first man, the image of God might haue bene blotted out of his minde, and soule, so it is no maruell, if God doe shine vpon the reprobate with certaine beames of his grace, which afterward he suffereth to be quenched. And there is no cause to the contrarie, but that he may lightly ouerwash some, and throughly soke other some with the knowledge of his Gospell. This is in the meane time to bee holden for truth, that howe small and weake

faith

faith be in the elect, yet because it is to them a sure pledge of the spirite of God, and a seale of their adoption, the print thereof can neuer bee blotted out of their harts: as for the reprobate, that they are ouerspred with such a light as after ward comerth to nought, and yet the Spirite is not deceitful, because he giueth not life to the seed that he casteth in their harts, to make it abide alwaies incorruptible, as hee doth in the elect. I goe yet further, for whereas it is euident by the teaching of the Scripture and by daily experience, that the reprobate are sometime touched with the feeling of Gods grace, it must needes be that there is raised in their harts a certaine desire of mutuall loue. So for a time there liued in *Saul* a godly affection to loue God, by whom he knew himselfe to be fatherly handled, and therefore was delighted with a certaine sweetenesse of his goodnesse. But as the perswasion of the fatherly loue of God is not fast rooted in the reprobate, so do they not soundly loue him againe as his children, but are ledde with a certaine affection like hired seruants. For to Christ onelie was the spirite of loue giuen, to this ende, that hee shoulde poure it into his members. And truly that saying of *Paul* extendeth no further, but to the elect onely. The loue of God is powred abroad into our harts by the holy Spirite that is giuen vs, euen the same loue that engendreth the same confidence of calling vpon him, which I haue before touched. As on the contrarie side we see God to be maruellously angrie with his children, whom yet he ceaseth not to loue: not that in himselfe he hateth them, but because his will is to make them afraide with the feeling of his wrath, to the intent to abate their pride of flesh, to shake off their drounsinesse, and to moue them to repentance. And therefore all at one time they conceiue him to be both angrie with them or with their sinnes, and also mercifull vnto them: because they not fainedly doe praie to appease his wrath, to whome yet they flee with quiet assured trust. Heereby it appeereth that it is not true that some doe counterfaite a shew of faith, which yet do lacke the true faith, but while they are carried with a sodaine violent motion of Zeale, they deceiue themselues with false opinion. And it is no doubt that sluggishnesse so possesseth them, that they doe not well examine their hart as they ought to haue done. It is likelie that they were such to whome (as *Iohn* witnesseth) Christ did not commit himselfe when yet they beleeued in him, because hee knew them all, and knewe what was in man. If manie did not fall from the common faith (I call it common, because the faith that lasteth but a time hath a great likenesse and affinitie with the liuely and continuing faith) Christ woulde not haue said to his Disciples: If yee abide in my worde, then are yee truly my Disciples, and yee shall knowe the truth, and the truth shall make you free. For hee speaketh to them that had embraced his doctrine, and exhorteth them to the increase of faith, that they should not by their owne sluggishnesse quench the light that is giuen them. Therefore doth *Paul* affirme, that faith peculiarly belongeth to the elect, declaring that many vanish away, because they haue not taken liuely roote. Like as Christ also saith in *Matthew*: euery tree that my father hath not planted, shall be rooted vp. In other there is a grosser kinde of lying, that are not ashamed to mocke both God and men. *James* inuiceth against that kinde of men, that with deceitfull pretence do wickedly abuse faith. Neither would *Paul* require of the children of God a faith vnfaigned, but in respect that many do presumptiuoullie challenge vnto themselues that which they haue not, and with vaine coloured deceit do beguile other or sometime themselues. Therefore he compareth a good conscience to a chest wherein faith is kept, because manie in falling from good conscience, haue suffered shipwracke of their faith.

Rom. 5. 5.

Iohn. 2. 24.

Ioh. 8. 31.

Titu 1. 1.

Matt. 15. 13.

Jac. 2.

1. Tim. 1. 5.

1. Tim. 1. 19.

13 We must also remember the doubtfull signification of the worde faith. For oftentimes faith signifieth the sound doctrine of religion, as in the place that we now alludge, and in the same Epistle where *Paul* will haue Deacons to holde fast the mysterie of faith in a pure conscience. Againe, where he publisheth the falling away

The name of faith
differently taken.
1. Tim. 3. 9.

Cap. 2. Of the maner how to receiue

1. Tim. 4. 1. & 6.
2. Tim. 2. 16. &
3. 8.

Tit. 1. 13. & 2. 2.

Col. 2. 5.

Matth. 9. 2.
Matth. 8. 10.

1. Cor. 13. 10.

Faith a know-
ledge.

Eph. 6. 18.
Col. 1. 28.

1. Ioh. 3. 2.

of certaine from the faith. But on the other side he sayeth that *Timothie* was nourished vp with the words of faith. Again, where he sayeth that prophane vanities and oppositions, falsely named sciences, are the cause that many depart from the faith: whom in another place he calleth reprobate touching Faith. As againe he chargeth *Titus*, saying, Warne them that they be found in the Faith. By soundnesse he meaneth nothing else but purenesse of doctrine, which is easily corrupted and brought out of kinde by the lightnesse of men. Euen because in *Christ*, whom Faith possesseth, are hidden all the treasures of wisdome and knowledge: therefore Faith is worthily extended to signifie the whole summe of heauenly doctrine, from which it cannot be seuered. Contrariwise sometime it is restrained to signifie some particular object, as when *Mathew* saith, that *Christ* saw the Faith of them that did let downe the Man sicke of the Palsie through the tiles: and *Christ* himselfe crieth out that he found not in *Israell* so great Faith as the *Centurion* brought. But it is likely that the *Centurion* was earnestly bent to the healing of his daughter, the care whereof occupied all his minde: yet because being contented with the onely assent and answer of *Christ*, he required not *Christes* bodily presence, therefore in respect of this circumstance his Faith was so much commended. And a little here before we haue shewed, that *Paul* taketh Faith for the gift of working miracles, which gift they haue that neither are regenerate by the spirite of God, nor doe hartly worship him. Also in an other place he setteth Faith for the doctrine whereby we are instructed in Faith. For where he writeth that faith shall be abolished, it is out of question that that is meant by the ministerie of the Church, which at this time is profitable for our weakenesse. In these formes of speech standeth a proportionall relation. But when the name of Faith is vnproperly remoued, to signifie a false profession, or a lying title of Faith, that should seeme to be as hard a figuratiue abuse, as when the feare of God is set for a corrupt and wrongfull manner of worshipping, as when it is oftentimes said in the holy Histoie, that the forraigne nations, which had bene transplanted into *Samaria* and the places bordering theréabout, feared the fained Gods and the God of *Israell*, which is as much, as to mangle heauen and earth together. But now our question is, What is that Faith which maketh the children of God different from the vnbelieuers, by which we call vpon God by the name of our Father, by which we passe from death to life, and by which *Christ* the eternall saluation and life dwellerh in vs. The force and nature thereof I thinke I haue shortly and plainly declared.

14 Now let vs againe goe through all the parts of it, euen from the beginning, which being 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 vscto haue of those things that are subiect to mans vnderstanding. For it is so far about it, that mans wit must goe beyond and surmount it selfe to come vnto it, yea, and when it is come vnto it, yet doth it not attaine that which it seeketh, but while it is perswaded of that which it conceiuech not, it vnderstandeth more by the very assurednesse of perswasion, than if it did with mans owne capacitie thoroughly perceiue any thing familiar to man. Therefore *Paul* saith very well, where he calleth it to comprehend what is the length, bredth, depth, and height, and to know the loue of *Christ* that far surmounteth knowledge. For his meaning was to signifie, that the thing which our minde conceiuech by Faith, is euery way infinite, and that this kind of knowledge is far higher than all vnderstanding. But yet because the Lord hath disclosed to his Saintes the secret of his will which was hidden from ages and generations, therefore by good reason Faith is in Scripture sometime called an a knowledge; and *Iohn* calleth it a certaine knowledge, where hee testifieth, that the Faithfull doe certainly know that they are the children of God. And vndoubtedly they know it assuredly. but rather by being confirmed by perswasion of Gods truth; than by being informed by naturall demonstration. And this also

the words of *Paul* doe declare saying, that while we dwell in the body, we are wand- 2. Cor. 5.6.
 dering abroad from the Lord, because we walke by Faith and not by sight: whereby
 he sheweth that those things which we vnderstand by Faith, are yet absent from vs
 and are hidden from our sight. And hereupon we determine, that the knowledge of
 Faith standeth rather in certaintie than in comprehending.

15 We further call it a sure and stedfast knowledge, to expresse thereby a more
 sound constancie of perswasion. For as Faith is not contented with a doubtfull and
 rowling opinion, so is it also not contented with a darke and entangled vnderstand-
 ing: but requireth a full and fixed assurednes, such as men are wont to haue of things
 found by experience and prooued. For vnbeleefe sicketh so fast and is so deepe roo-
 ted in our harts, and we are so bent vnto it, that this which all men confesse with their
 mouth to be true, that God is Faithfull, no man is without great contention perswa-
 ded in his hart. Specially when he commeth to the prooffe, then the wauering of all
 men discloseth the fault that before was hidden. And not without cause the *Scripture*
 with so notable titles of commendation mainteineth the authoritie of the word
 of God, but endeoureth to giue remedie for the aforesaid disease, that God may ob-
 taine to be fully beleued of vs in his promises: The words of the Lord (saith *Da-
 uid*) are pure words, as the Siluer tried in a fornace of earth, fined seuen times. Again,
 The word of the Lord is a shield to all that trust in him. And *Salomon* confir-
 ming the same, and in a manner in the same words, saith: Every word of God is pure.
 But sith the whole 119. Psalme entreateth onely in a manner vpon the same, it were
 superfluous to alleadge any moe places. Truly so oft as God doth so commend his
 word vnto vs, he doth therein by the way reproch vs with our vnbeleeuings: be-
 cause that commendation tendeth to no other end, but to roote vp al peruerse doub-
 tings out of our harts. There be also many which so conceiue the mercie of God,
 that they take little comfort thereof. For they be euen therewithall pinched with a
 miserable carefullnesse, while they doubt whether he will be mercifull to them or no,
 because they enclose within too narrow boundes the very same mercifulnesse, of
 which they thinke themselues most assuredly perswaded. For thus they thinke with
 themselues, that his mercie is in deede great and plentifull poured out vpon manie,
 offering it selfe and ready for all men: but that it is not certaine whether it will ex-
 tend vnto them or no, or rather whether they shall attaine vnto it or no. This thought
 when it stayeth in the mid race, is but an halfe. Therefore it doth not so confirme the
 spirit with assured quietnes, as it doth trouble it with vnquiet doubtfulness. But there is
 a far other feeling of full assurednesse, which in the *Scriptures* is alway assigned to
 Faith, euen such a one as plainly setting before vs the goodnes of God, doth clearly
 put it out of doubt. And that cannot be, but that we must needs truly feele & prooue
 in our selues the sweetenes thereof. And therefore the Apostle out of Faith deriueth
 assured confidence, and out of it againe boldnes. For thus he saith, that by Christ we
 haue boldnes, and an entrance with confidence, which is through Faith in him. By
 which wordes truly he sheweth, that it is no right Faith, but when wee are bolde
 with quiet mindes to shew our selues in the presence of God. Which boldnes pro-
 ceedeth not but of assured confidence of Gods good will and our saluation. Which
 is so true, that many times this word Faith, is vsed for Confidence.

16 But hereupon hangeth the chiefe stay of our Faith, that we doe not thinke
 the promises of mercy which the Lord offereth to be true onely in other beside vs,
 and not at all in our selues: but rather that in inwardly embracing them, we make
 them our owne. From hence proceedeth that confidence which the same *Paul* in
 another place calleth peace, vnlesse some had rather say, that Peace is deriued of it.
 It is an assurednes that maketh the Conscience quiet and chearfull before God, with-
 out which the Conscience must of necessitie be vexed, and in a manner torne in pieces
 with troublesome trembling, vnlesse perhaps it doe forget God and it selfe, and so
 slumber

*Faith a sure and
 stedfast know-
 ledge.*

Psal. 19. 31.

Prou. 30. 5.

*how many
 of Gods me...*

Eph. 3. 12.

*Faith such an af-
 surance as maketh
 the promes of
 mercie our owne.*

Cap. 2. Of the maner how to receiue

slumber a little while. And I may truly say, For a little while, for it doth not long enioy that miserable forgetfulnesse, but is with often recourse of the remembrance of Gods iudgement sharply tormented. Briefely, there is none truly faithfull, but hee that being perswaded with a sound assurednesse that God is his mercifull and louing father, doth promise him selfe all things vpon trust of Gods goodnesse: and none but he that trusting vpon the promises of Gods good will toward him, conceiueth an vndoubted looking for of saluation: as the Apostle sheweth in these words: if we keepe sure to the end our confidence and glorying of hope. For hereby he meaneth that none hopeth well in the Lord, but he that with confidence gloryeth that he is heire of the kingdome of heauen, There is none (I say) faithfull, but he that leaning vpon the assurednesse of his owne saluation, doth confidently triumph vpon the Deuill and death, as we are taught by that notable concluding sentence of *Paul*: I am perswaded (saith he) that neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, shall be able to separate vs from the 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, vnlesse we see what is the hope of the eternall inheritance to which we are called. And each where his common manner of teaching is such, that he declareth that no otherwise we do not well comprehend the goodnesse of God, vnlesse we gather of it the fruite of great assurednesse.

17 But (some man will say) the faithfull do finde by experience a farre other thing within themselues, which in recording the grace of God toward them, are not only tempted with vnquietnesse, which oftentimes chanceth vnto them, but also are sometime shaken with most grieuous terrours: so great is the vehemency of temptations to throw downe their mindes: which thing seemeth not sufficiently well to agree with that assurednesse of faith. Therefore this doubt must be answered, if we will haue our aforesaid doctrine to stand. But truly, when we teach that faith ought to be certaine and assured, we do not imagine such a certaintie as is touched with no doubting, nor such an assurednesse as is assailed with no carefulnesse: but rather we say, that the faithfull haue a perpetuall strife with their owne distrustfulnesse. So farre be we from settling their consciences in such a peaceable quietnesse, as may be interrupted with no troubles at all. Yet on the other side we say, that in what sort soeuer they be afflicted, they do neuer fall & depart from that assured confidence which they haue conceived of the mercy of God. The scripture setteth forth no example of faith more plaine, or more notable than in *David*, specially if a man beholde the whole continuall course of his life. But yet how he was not alway of quiet minde him selfe declareth by innumerable complaints, of which at this time it shall be sufficient to choose out a fewe. When he reprocheth his owne soule with troublesome motions, what is it else but that he is angrie with his owne vnbeleeuingnesse? Why tremblest thou my soule (saith he) and why art thou disquieted within me? trust in God. And truly that same discouragement was a plaine token of destruction, euen as if he thought himselfe to be forsaken of God. And in another place we reade a larger confession thereof, where he saith: I said in my ouerthrow, I am cast out from the sight of thy eyes. Also in another place he disputeth with himselfe in carefull and miserable perplexity yea and quarrelleth of the very nature of God, saying: Hath God forgotten to haue mercy? will he cast off for euer? And yet harder is that which followeth: But I haue said, To die is mine: charges are of the right hand of the highest. For, as in despaire he condemneth himselfe to destruction, and not only confesseth himselfe to be tossed with doubting, but as if he were vanquished in battell, he leaueth nothing to himselfe, because God hath forsaken him, and hath turned to destroy him, the same hand that was wont to be his helper. Wherefore not without cause he exhorteth his soule to returne to her quietnesse, because he had found

to be trulie
with full

Heb. 3. 13.

Rom. 8. 38.

Ephc. 1. 18.

We haue no such
certaintie of faith
as is free from be-
ing shaken with
feares & terrours.

Psal. 42. 68. 43. 5.

Psal 31. 22.

Psal. 77. 10.

Psal. 116. 7.

found by experience, that he was tossed among troublesome waues. And yet (which is maruellous) in all these assaults, Faith vpholdeth the hartes of the godly, and is truly like vnto a Date tree to endeour and rise vpward against al burdens, how great soeuer they be: as *Dauid* when he might seeme to be vterly ouerwhelmed, yet in re- buking himselfe, ceaseth not to rise vp to God. And truly he that striuing with his owne weakenesse, resorteth to Faith in his troubles, is already in a manner conqueror. Which may be gathered by this sentence and other like: Waite for the Lord, be strong, he shall strengthen thy hart: waite for the Lord. He reprocheth himselfe of fearefulnesse, and in repeating that same twise, confesseth himselfe to be sometimes subiect to many troublesome motions. And in the meane time he doth not onely become displeas'd with himselfe in these faultes, but earnestly endeouureth to amendment. Truly if we will more neerely by good examination compare him with *Achaʒ*, there shall be found great difference, *Esay* was sent to bring remedy to the carefull grieffe of the wicked King and hypocrite, and spake vnto him in these words: Be in safegard and be quiet: feare not, &c. But what did *Achaʒ*? As it was before saide, that his hart was mooued as the trees of the wood are shaken with wind, though he heard the promise, yet he ceased not to quake for feare. This therefore is the proper reward and punishment of vnbeleefe, so to tremble for feare, that in temptation he turneth himselfe away from God, that doth not open to himselfe the gate by Faith. Contrariwise the faithfull who the waighty burden of temptations maketh to stoupe, and in a maner oppresseth, doe constantly rise vp, although not without trouble and hardnes. And because they know their owne weakenes, they pray with the Prophet: Take not the word of truth away from my mouth continually. By which words we are taught, that sometime they become dumme as though their Faith were vterly ouerthrowen, yet they faint not, nor turne their backs, but proceede in their battell, and with prayer doe encourage their slouthfulnes, least by fauouring themselues they should grow to vn sensible dulnes.

*Who is almighty
a Conqueror*

Psal. 27. 14.

Esay 7. 3.

Psal. 119. 43.

18 For the vnderstanding thereof, it is needfull to returne to that diuision of the flesh and the spirite, whereof we made mention in another place, which doth in this behalfe most clearly appeare. The godly hart therefore feelth a diuision in it selfe, which is partly delited with sweetenesse by acknowledging the goodnesse of God, and partly griued with bitternes by feeling of his owne miserie, partly resteth vpon the promise of the Gospel, and partly trembleth by reason of the testimony of his own wickednesse: partly reioyseth with conceiuing of life, and partly quaketh for feare of death. Which variation commeth by imperfection of Faith, forasmuch as we neuer be in so good case in the course of this present life, as being healed from all disease of distrustfulnes to be altogether filled and possessed with faith. Hereupon proceed those battels, when the distrustfulnesse that abideth in the remnaunts of the flesh, riseth vp to assaile the Faith that is inwardly conceued. But if in a faithfull minde assurednesse be mixed with doubtfulnesse, come we not alway to this point, that Faith standeth not in a certaine and cleare knowledge, but in a darke and doubtfully entangled knowledge of Gods will toward vs? No, not so. For though we be diuersly drawne with sundrie thoughts, yet are we not therefore by and by seuered from Faith, though we be vexed with tossing vp and downe of distrustfulnes, yet are we not therefore drowned in the bottomles depth thereof: and though we be shaken, yet be we not thrust downe out of our place. For this is alway the end 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.

*Faith wrastling
with distrustful-
nesse doth alway
conquere.*

19 Let this be the summe of all. So soone as any drop of Faith, be it neuer so small, is poured into our hartes, we by and by begin to behold the face of God milde and pleasant, and louing toward vs: yet the same we see from a far off, and far distant from vs, but with so sure sight, that we know we are not decieued. From thence

*The imbecillitie of
our knowledge ex-
cludeth not the
certaintie of that
we know by Faith.*

Cap. 2. Of the maier how to receiue

forward, how much we profit (as we ought continually to profit) as it were by proceeding further, we come vnto so much the neerer, and therefore certainer beholding of him, and by verie 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 wiped away. Yet the same minde is not so hindered by being ignorant of some things, or by darkely seeing that which shee seeth, but that she enioyeth a cleere knowledge of Gods will towards her, which is the first and principall point in faith. For as if a man being shut vp in prison, haue beames of the sunne shining in fide long at a narrow window, or as it were but halfe glimmering, he wanteth in deed the free beholding of the sunne, yet he seeth with his eyes an vndoubted brightnesse thereof, and receiue the vse of it: so we being bound with the fetters of an earthly body, howsoeuer we be on each side shadowed with much darknes, yet are we sufficiently enlightened vnto perfect assurednes, by the light of God, extending his beames of light vpon vs, though it be but a litle, to shew forth his mercy.

20 Both these points the Apostle verie well teacheth in diuers places. For when he saith, that we know vnperfectly, and prophecie vnperfectly, and see by a darke speaking as by a glasse, he sheweth how slender a litle porcion of the true godly wise dome is giuen vs in this present life. For though those wordes do not expressly shew that our faith is vnperfect so long as we gone vnder this burden of the flesh, but that it happeneth vnto vs by our owne imperfection that we haue need to be continually exercised in learning, yet he secretly declareth that that thing which is infinite, cannot be comprehended by our small capacitie, and narrow compass. And this Paul reporteth of the whole church, but vnto euery one of vs, his owne dulnes is an hinderance and stay that he cannot come so neere as were to be wished. But how sure and vndeceivable a taste of it selfe, euen a small drop of faith doth make vs see, the same Apostle sheweth in another place, where he affirmeth, that by the Gospell we beholde the glorie of God with vncovered face, hauing no veile betweene vs and it, so effectually that we be transformed into the same image. In such entanglements of ignorance there must needs be wrapped together both much doubting and fearefull trembling, specially forasmuch as our heart, by a certaine naturall instinct of it selfe, is enclined to vnbeleeuingnes. Beside that, there be tentations which both infinite in number, and diuers in kinde, do oftentimes with great sodaine violence assaile vs. But specially our owne conscience oppressed with heauie burden of sinnes lying vpon it, doth sometime lament and grone with it selfe, and sometime accuse it selfe: sometime secretly murmureth, and sometime is openly troubled. Whether therefore aduersities doe shewe an apparance of the wrath of God, or the conscience doth find in it selfe any prooffe or matter of his wrath, from thence vnbeleefe doth take weapons and engines to vanquish faith withall: which are alway directed to this end, that we thinking God to be our aduersarie and hatefully bent against vs, should both not hope for any helpe at his hand, and also be affraide of him as of our deadly enemy.

21 To beare these assaults, faith doth arme and fortifie her selfe with the word of God. And when such a tentation assaileth, that God is our enemy, because hee is sharpe against vs: faith on the other side answereth, that euen when he punisheth he is also mercifull, because his chastisement commeth rather of loue than of wrath. When faith is striken with this thought, that God is a reuenger of iniquities, against that stroke he setteth his pardon ready for all offences, so oft as the sinner resorteth to the mercifulnesse of the Lord. So a godly minde howsoeuer it be in marvellous wise tossed and vexed, yet at length riseth vp aboute all dangers, and neuer suffereth the confidence of Gods mercie to be plucked away from it. But rather whatsoeuer contentions do trouble and wearie it, in the ende they tune to the assurednesse of this confidence.

*first & principall
in faith.*

*Our faith vnperfect but stedfast, though our hearts be both naturally inclined, and also partly by outward tentations, partly by inward guiltines of conscience prouoked to distrustfulness.
1. Cor. 13. 9.
1. Cor. 3. 18.*

How faith being assaulted getteth she victorie, and remaineth still unconquerable.

confidence. And hereof this is a prooffe: that the holy ones, when they thinke themselves most of all pressed with the vengeance of God, yet euen then doe make their complaints to the same God: and when it seemeth that they shall not be heard at all, euen then neuertheless they call vpon him. For to what purpose were it, to make their mone to him from whom they hoped for no comfort? truly they would neuer finde in their hearts to call vpon him, vlesse they beleued that there were some helpe at his hand prepared for them. So the Disciples, in whom Christ blameth their smalnes of faith, complained in deede that they perished, but yet they called to him for helpe. And when he rebuked them for their small faith, yet he doth not reiect them from the number of his, nor maketh them of the number of the vnbeleeuers, but stricth them to shake off that fault. Therefore we affirme againe that which we haue aboute spoken, that the roote of faith is neuer plucked out of a godly hart, but sticketh so fast in the bottom, that howfoeuer it be shaken and seeme to bend this way or that way, the light thereof is so neuer quenched or choked vp, but that it lieth at least hidden vnder some embers: and by this token is plainly shewed, that the word which is an vncorruptible seede, bringeth forth fruite like to it selfe, the spring whereof doth neuer wither and vtterly perish. For whereas this is the extremest matter of despair to the holie ones, to feele according to the consideration of present things, the hande of God beat to their destruction: yet *Iob* affirmeth that his hope shall

Matt. 8. 25.

Iob 13. 15.

proceede so farre, that though God doe kill him, yet he will not therefore cease to trust in him. This is the truth therefore. Vnbeleefe reigneth not within the hearts of the godly, but outwardly assaileth them: neither doth she deadly wounde them with her weapons, but onely troubleth them, or so hurteth them, that yet the wound is curable. For faith, as *Paul* teacheth, serueth vs for a shield that being holden vp

Eph. 6. 18.

against weapons, doth so receiue the force of them, that it either vtterly driueth them backe, or at least so breaketh their violence, that they cannot pearce them to danger of life. Therefore when faith is shaken, it is like as if a strong souldier with the violent stroke of a dart be compelled to remouue his foote, and giue ground a litle: and when faith it selfe is wounded, that is like as if his buckler by some stroke be in some part broken, but yet so that it is not stricken through. For alway the godlie minde will attaine to rise thus hie as to say with *Dauid*, if I walke in the midst of the shadow of death, I will feare none euill, because thou art with me. It is indeed terrible to walke in the darknes of death, and it cannot bee but that the faithfull, howe much strength soeuer they haue, must be afraid of it. Yet because this thought surmounteth it, that they haue God present with them, and prouiding for their safetie, that feare is ouercome with assurednes. For (as *Augustine* saith) how great engines soeuer the deuill raiseth vp against vs, so long as hee possesseth not the place of the hart, where faith dwelleth, he is cast out of the dores. And so if we may iudge by the successe, the faithfull not onely escape safe from euery battle, so that by and by receiuing fresh courage they are ready to come againe into the field: but also that is fulfilled which *Iohn* saith in his canonicall Epistle: This is the victorie that ouercometh the worlde, euen your faith. For he affirmeth that it shall not onely winne the victorie in one or few battels, or against some one assault, but also that it shall get the ouer hande of the whole world, although it be a thousand times assailed.

Psa. 23. 4.

1. Ioh. 5. 4.

22 There is another kinde of feare and trembling, but such a one as by it the assurednes of faith is so nothing at all diminished, that hereby it is the more soundlie established. That is, when the faithfull either in thinking that the examples of Gods vengeance against the wicked are shewed for lessons for them to learne by, do carefully beware that they happen not to prouoke Gods wrath against themselves with the same offences: or recording with themselves their owne miserie, do learne to hang altogether vpon the Lord without whom they see themselves to be more sickle and sooner vanishing than any blast of winde. For when the Apostle; in setting forth the

All feare is not repugnant vnto faith.

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1. Cor. 10. 11.

the scourges wherewith the Lord in old time had punished the people of Israell, putteth the Corinthians in feare that they intangle not themselues with like euils: hee doth not thereby abate their affiance, but onely shaketh away the dulnes of the flesh by which faith is wont more to be oppressed than strengthened. And when he taketh occasion of the Iewes fall to exhort him that standeth, to take heede that he fall not, he doth not therby bid vs to wauer, as though we were not fully assured of our stedfastnes, but onely he taketh away arrogant presumption and rash trusting too much in our owne strength, that after the thrusting out of the Iewes, the Gentiles being receiued into their place, should not too much outrageously triumph against them. Albeit he speaketh there not onely to the faithfull, but also in the same saying comprehendeth the hypocrites that gloried onely in outward shewe. For neither doth he admonish euerie man particularly, but making a comparison betweene the Iewes and the Gentiles, after that he had shewed that the Iewes in this that they were reiected, did suffer iust iudgement for their vnbeleefe and vnthankfulnesse, he also exhorted the Gentiles that they should not, by being proude and extolling themselves, loose the grace of adoption lately conueied into them. But as in that generall reiecting of the Iewes, there remained yet some that were not fallen from the covenant of adoption, so out of the Gentiles there might arise some, which without true faith, should be puffed vp onely with foolish confidence of the flesh, and so abuse Gods louing kindnes to their owne destruction. But although you take this as spoken to the elect and faithfull, yet thereupon shall follow no inconuenience. For it is one thing to holde downe the rash presumption which out of the remnants of the flesh creepeth sometime euen into the holy ones, that with vaine confidence it waxe not outrageously wanton: and another thing to strike the conscience with feare, that it rest not with full assurednes in the mercy of God.

Rom. 11. 22.

We may feare at the consideration of our owne frailtie and corruption, and yet in his mercie rest with sure and certaine confidence.
Phil. 2. 12.
Psal. 5. 8.

23 Then, when he teacheth, that with feare and trembling we should worke our own saluation, he requireth nothing else, but that we should accustome vs with much abasing of our selues, reuerently to looke vp into the mightines of God. For truly nothing doth so much awake vs to cast all our confidence and assurance of minde vpon the Lord as doth the distrust of our selues and carefullnes conceived by knowledge in conscience of our owne wretchednes. And according to this meaning is that saying in the Prophet to be taken: In the multitude of thy goodnesse I will enter into thy temple: I will worship in feare. Where he comely conioyneth the boldnes of faith that leaneth vpon Gods mercy with a reuerent feare, which we must needs feele so oft as coming into the sight of Gods maiestie, wee perceiue by the glorious brightnes thereof, how great is our owne filthines. And Salomon saith tuely, where he pronounceth the man blessed, that continually maketh his owne hart afraid, for by hardning therof men fall headlong into euil. But such feare he meaneth as may make vs more heedfull, not such whereby we should be troubled and vtterly fall: euen such a feare as when the minde confounded in it selfe, doth recover it selfe againe in God: when despairing it selfe, it reuiueth by trust in him. Therefore there is no cause to the contrarie, but that the faithfull may at one time both be in feare, and also enjoy most assured comfort, in respect that sometime they turne their eyes to behold their own vanitie, and sometime they cast the thought of their minde vpon the truth of God. But how (will some man say) shall feare and faith dwell both in one minde? Euen thus, as contrarily vn sensible dulnesse, and carefullnes. For whereas the wicked trauaile to procure to themselfe a want of greefe, that no feare of God might trouble them, yet, the iudgement of God so presseth them, that they cannot attain that which they desire. So there is nothing to withstand, but that God may exercise them that be his to humilitie, that in fighting valiantly, they may restrain themselves vnder the bridle of modestie. And by the processe of the text it appeareth, that this was the intent of the Apostle, where he assigneth the cause of feare, and trembling to be the good

Prou. 28. 14.

good pleasure of God, whereby he giueth to them that be his both to will well, and valiantly to go through with it. According to this meaning ought wee to take that saying of the Prophet: The children of Israell shall feare God and his goodnesse: because notionely godlines engendred the reuerence of God, but the verie sweetenes and pleasant taste of grace, filleth man being discouraged in himselfe with feare and admiration; to make him hang vpon God, and humblye yelde himselfe subiect to his power.

24 Yet we do not heereby make roome to that most pestilent Philosophy, which many halfe papists at this day begin to coine in corners. For, because they cannot defend that grosse doubtfulness which hath bene taught in schooles, they flie to another deuise, to make a confidence mingled with distrustfulness. They confesse, that so oft as we looke vnto Christ, we finde in him full matter to hope well: but because we are alwaies vnwoorthie of those good things that are offered vs in Christ, they would haue vs to wauer and stagger in beholding our owne vnwoorthines. Brieflye, they place conscience so betwene hope and feare, that it alreth from the one to the other, by enterchangeable times and courses; and they so compare faith and hope together, that when the one springeth vp, the other is pressed downe, when the one ariseth, the other againe falleth. So when Sathan seeth that those open engines where-with before time he was wont to destroy the assurednes of faith, doe nowe nothing preuaile, he endeoureth by crooked vnderminings to ouerthrow it. But what maner of confidence shall that be, which shall now & then yeeld to desperation? If (say they) thou consider Christ, there is assured saluation: but if thou returne to thy selfe, there is assured damnation. Therefore of necessitie distrust and good hope must by enterchangeable courses raigne in thy minde: As though wee ought to imagine Christ standing a farr off, and not rather dwelling within vs. For therefore we looke for saluation at his hande, not because he appeereth a farr off vnto vs, but because hee hath grafted vs into his bodie, and so maketh vs partakers not onely of all his good things, but also of himselfe. Therefore I turne this their argument against themselves: if thou consider thy selfe, there is certaine damnation. But because Christ with all his good things is by way of communicating so giuen vnto thee that all his things are made thine, and thou art made a member of him, yea and all one with him: his righteousnesse drowneth thy sinnes, his saluation taketh away thy damnation: he by his woorthinesse commeth betwene thee and God, that thy vnwoorthinesse come not in the sight of God. Briefly, this is the truth: wee ought neither to separate Christ from vs, nor vs from him, but with both handes to holde fast that fellowship whereby he hath coupled himselfe vnto vs. So the Apostle teacheth vs: The bodie indeed (faith be) is dead by reason of sinne: but the spirite of Christ that dwelleth in you, is life for righteousnes. According to these mens trisling deuise he shoulde haue saide, Christ indeed hath life with himselfe: but you, as you be sinners, remaine subiect to death and damnation. But he saith farr otherwise. For he teacheth that that damnation which we deserue of our selues, is swallowed vp by the saluation of Christ: and to prooue it, he vscth the same reason that I haue allcaged, because Christ is not without vs, but dwelleth within vs, and cleaueth vnto vs not onely with vndiuidable knot of fellowship, but with a certaine maruellous communion daily more and more groweth with vs into one bodie, till he be made altogether one with vs. And yet I denie not, as I haue saide a little before, that sometime there happen certaine interruptions of faith, as the weakenesse thereof is among violent sodeine motions bowed hither or thither. So in the thicke miste of temptation the light thereof is choked, but whatsoeuer happeneth, it ceaseth not from endeour to seeke God.

25 And no otherwise doth Bernard argue, when he purposely intreateth of this question in his fift Homilie in the dedication of the temple. Oftentimes (I saie) by

By faith we looke for assured saluation in Christ notwithstanding the weakenes and vnwoorthines which we finde to bee in our selues

Rom. 8. 10.

How wretched soeuer we be in our selues, by faith

the

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*we know that by
Gods most gracious
acceptation we are
blessed.*

Esa. 64. 6.
Mat. 6. 13.

Rom. 9. 12.

the benefite of God studying vpon the soule, mee thinke I finde in it two things as it were contrarie. If I beholde the soule it selfe, as it is in it selfe and of it selfe, I can say nothing more truly of it, than that it is vterly brought to naught. What neede I now to reckon vp particularly all the miseries of the soule, how it is loaden with sinnes, couered with darknesse, entangled with deceitfull entisements, itching with lustes, subiect to passions, filled with illusions, alway inclined to euill, bent to all kindes of vice, finally full of shame and confusion? Now if all the very righteousnesse of it being looked vpon by the light of truth be founde like a cloth stained with floures, then what shall the vnrightheousnesse thereof be accounted? If the light that is in vs be darknesse, how great shall the very darknesse be? What then? without doubt man is made like vnto vanitie: man is brought to naught: man is nothing. But how then is he vterly nothing whom God doth magnifie? How then is he nothing, towarde whome Gods hart is set? Brethren, let vs take hart againe. Though we be nothing our owne harts, peradventure there may somewhat of vs lie hidden in the hart of God: O father of mercies? O father of the miserable, how dost thou set thy hart toward vs? For thy hart is where thy treasure is. But how be we thy treasure, if we be nothing? All nations are so before thee as if they were not, they shall be reputed as nothing. Euen before thee, not within thee: so in the iudgement of thy truth, but not in the affection of thy pitie. Thou callest those things that are not, as though they were. Therefore both they are not, because thou callest those things that are not, and also they are because thou callest them. For though they are not, in respect of themselues, yet with thee they are, according to that saying of *Paul*, not of the works of righteousnesse, but of him that calleth. And then hee saith, that this coupling together of both considerations is marvellous. Truly those things that are knit together, doe not the one destroy the other. Which also in the conclusion he more plainly declareth in these words. Now if with both these considerations wee diligently looke vpon our selues what we bee, yea in the one consideration how we be nothing, and in the other how much we be magnified, I thinke our glorying seemeth to be tempered, but peradventure it is more increased. Truly it is perfectly established, that we glorie not in our selues but in the Lord. If wee 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 higher watch tower, and seeke for the citie of God, seeke for the temple, seeke for the house, seeke for the spouse. I haue not forgotten, but I say it with feare and reuerence, we I say be but in the hart of God. We be, but by his allowing as woorthie, not by our owne woorthinesse.

*A feare which we
ought to nourish in
our selues.*
Prou. 1. 7.
Psal. 100. 11.
Prou. 15. 14.
Mal. 1. 7.
Iob. 8. 28.

26. Now, the feare of the Lorde, whereof commonly in euery place witness is borne to all the holy ones, and which is in some places called the beginning of wisdom, and in some places wisdom it selfe, although it be but one, yet it proceedeth from a double vnderstanding: For God hath in himselfe the reuerence both of a father and of a Lorde. Therefore he that will truly worship him, will endeavour to shew himselfe both an obedient sonne and a seruiceable seruant vnto him. The obedience that is giuen to him as to a father, the Lord by the Prophet calleth honour: the seruice that is done to him as to a Lord, he calleth feare. The sonne (saith he) honoureth the father, and the seruant the Lord. If I be a father, where is my honour? If I be a Lord, where is my feare? But howsoever he putteth difference betwene them, thou seest how he confoundeth them both together. Therefore let the feare of the Lord be vnto vs a reuerence mingled with that same honour and feare. Neither is it any maruell if one mind receiue both those affections. For he that considereth with himselfe what a father God is vnto vs, he hath cause enough, although there were no helles at all, why he should dread his displeasure more greuously than any death. But also (such is the wantonnesse of our flesh to run to licentiousnesse of sinning) to restraine the same by all meanes, wee ought therewithall to take holde

of this thought, that the Lord vnder whose power we liue, abhorreth all iniquitie, whose vengeance they shall not escape, that in liuing wickedly do prouoke his wrath against themselves.

27. But that which *Iohn* saith, that feare is not in charitie, but perfect charitie casteth out feare, because feare containeth punishment, disagreeeth not with this that we say. For the wicked feare not God in this respect that they dread to incurre his displeasure, if they might do it without punishment: but because they know him to be armed with power to reuenge: therefore they shake for feare at the hearing of his wrath. And also they so feare his wrath, because they thinke that it hangeth ouer them, for that they looke euery moment when it shall fall vpon their heads. As for the faithfull: they (as is aboue saide) both feare his displeasure more than punishment, and are not troubled with feare of punishment as if it did hang ouer their necks, but they are made the more warie not to procure it. So saith the Apostle whē he speaketh to the faithfull: Be ye not deceived: for this commeth the wrath of God vpon the children of vnbeleefe. He threatneth not that Gods wrath will come vpon them, but putteth them in mind to thinke vpon this, that the wrath of God is prepared for such wicked doings as he had recited, that they themselves should not be willing also to proue it. Albeit it seldom happeneth, that the reprobate be awakened with onely and bare threatnings, but rather being already grosse and vn sensible dull with their owne hardnes, so oft as God thundreth from heauen they harden themselves to obstinacy, but when they are once stricken with his hand, then whether they will or no, they be enforced to feare. This feare they commonly call a seruill feare: and in comparison set it for contrary to free natured and willing feare which becommeth children. Some other do suddenly thrust in a middle kind, because that same seruill and constrained affection sometime so subdueth mens mindes, that they come willingly to the feare of God.

28 Now we vnderstand; that in the good will of God, whereunto faith is said to haue respect, the possession of saluation and eternal life is obtained. For if we can want no good thing, while God is fauourable vnto vs, it abundantly sufficeth vs to the assurednesse of saluation, when he himselfe doth assure vs of his loue. Let him shew his face (saith the Prophet) and we shall be safe. Whereupon the Scriptures determine this to be the summe of our saluation, that God putting away all enmities, hath receiued vs into fauour. Whereby they shew, that when God is reconciled vnto vs, there remaineth no peril, but that all things shall prosper well with vs. Therefore faith, hauing taken hold of the loue of God, hath promises of the present life, and of the life to come, and perfect assurednesse of all good things: but that same such as may be gathered out of the word of God. For faith doth not certainly promise to it selfe either the length or honor or wealth of his life, forasmuch as God willed none of these things to be appointed vnto vs, but is contented with this assurednesse, that God will neuer faile how soeuer many things faile vs that pertaine to the maintenance of this present life. But the cheefe assurednesse of faith resteth in expectation of the life to come, which is set out of doubt by the word of God. But whatsoeuer miseries and calamities betide vnto them whome God loueth, they can not worke the contrarie, but that his good will is perfect felicitie. Therefore when we did meane to expresse the summe of blessednes, we named the fauour of God, out of which spring doe flowe vnto vs all kindes of good things. And this we may commonly note through out the Scriptures, that whensoeuer mention is made not onely of eternal saluation, but also of any good thing in vs, we be alway called backe to the loue of God. For which cause *Dauid* saith, that the goodnesse of God when it is felt in a godly heart, is sweeter and more to be desired than life it selfe. Finally, if all things else doe flowe vnto vs according to our owne wishing, and wee bee vncertaine of Gods loue or hatred, our felicitie shall be accursed, and therefore miserable;

What feare it is which perfect charitie casteth out.
1. Ioh. 4. 18.

Eph. 5. 16.
Col. 3. 6.

Faith being perswaded of the good will of God, cannot but perswade it selfe of all good things, especially eternal life and saluation at the hands of God.
Psal 80. 4.
Eph. 2. 14.

As for the full contentment of the affections
D. G. Sumner
20. 1. 17. 20

Psal. 63. 4.

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word blessed

Rom. 8. 35.

Pfal. 23. 4.

Pfal. 33. 12.

Though faith doe beleue whatsoeuer God speaketh, yet it principally respecteth the promise of saluation freely offered in the Gospell.

Rom. 10. 8.

Rom. 1. 6. & 16. 17.

1. Cor. 5. 18.

Pfal. 86. 5. & 103. 8. 15.

The reasons why the promise of mercie in Christ is put not for the onely, yet for the principall object of faith.
Heb. 11.

miserable : But if the fauourable face of God doe shine vnto vs, euen our very miseries shall be blessed, because they are turned to helpes of our saluation. As *Paul*, when he heapeth vp a rehearsal of all aduersities, yet he glorieth that he was not by them seuered from the loue of God: and in his praiers he alway beginneth at the fauour of God, from whence floweth all prosperitie. Likewise *Dauid* setteth the onely fauour of God against all the terrors that trouble vs. If (saith he) I shall walke in the midst of the shadow of death, I will feare no euils, because thou art with me. And we alway feele that our mindes doe wauer, vnlesse being contented with the fauour of God, they seeke their peace in it, and haue this inwardly fixed in them that is saide in the Psalme, Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord, and the nation whom he hath chosen to him for his inheritance.

29 We make the foundation of faith to be the free promise of God, because faith properly staieth vpon it. For though faith doe beleue God to be true in all things, whether he commaund or forbid, whether he promise or threaten, and also obediently receiue his commaundements, and bewareth of things that he prohibiteth, and hath regarde to his threatenings, yet properly it beginneth at the promise, and therein continueth, and thereupon endeth. For faith seeketh for life in God, which is not founde in commaundements or declarations of penalties, but in promise of mercie, and in no other promise, but such as is freely giuen. For the conditionall promise, by which we are sent to our owne workes, doth no otherwise promise life, but if we perceiue it to stande in our selues. Therefore if we will not haue our faith to tremble and wauer, we must stay it with that promise of saluation, which is willingly and liberally offered vs of the Lorde, rather in respect of our miserie, than of our owne worthinesse. Wherefore the Apostle beareth this witness of the Gospell, that it is the word of faith, which name he taketh both from the commaundements and also from the promises of the law, because there is nothing that can stablish faith, but that liberal embassage, by which God reconcileth the world to himselfe. Therefore the same Apostle ofentimes maketh a relation of faith and the Gospell together, when he teacheth that the ministerie of the Gospell was committed to him vnto the obedience of faith, that the same is the power of God, to saluation to euery one that beleueth: that in it is reuealed the righteousnesse of God from faith to faith. And no maruell. For sith the Gospell is the ministerie of reconciliation, there is no other testimonie sure enough of Gods good will toward vs, the knowledge whereof faith requireth. Therefore when we say that faith must rest vpon free promise, we doe not denie but that the faithfull doe euery way imbrace and receiue the word of God, but we appoint the promise of mercie to be the proper marke of faith. Euen as the faithfull ought in deede to acknowledge God to be the iudge and punisher of wicked doings, and yet they properly haue regarde vnto his mercifull kindnesse: for as much as he is described to them to be considered such a one as is louing and mercifull, farre from wrath, of much goodnesse, gentle vnto all, powring foorth his mercie vpon all his workes.

30 Neither yet doe I regarde the barkings of *Pighius*, or such other dogs, when they finde fault with this restraint, as though in diuiding faith it did take holde but of one peece thereof. I graunt (as I haue already said) that the generall object of faith (as they terme it) is the truth of God, whether he threaten or put vs in hope of fauour. Wherefore the Apostle ascribeth this to faith, that *Noe* feared the destruction of the world, when it was not yet seene. If the feare of a punishment shortly to come, was the worke of faith, then ought not the threatenings to bee excluded out of the definition of faith. This is indeede true. But the cauilers doe vniufully accuse vs, as though we denied that faith hath respect to all the partes of the word of God. For our meaning is onely to shew those two things, first, that faith neuer stedfastly standeth vntill it come to free promise: and then that wee are no otherwise by it to be

reconciled

reconciled to God, but because it completh vs to Christ. Both those points are worthy to be noted. We seeke such a faith, which may make difference betweene the children of God and the reprobate, betweene the faithfull and the vnbeleeuing. If a man doe belecue that God both iustly commaundeth all that he commaundeth, and truly threatneth, shall he be therefore called faithfull? Nothing lesse. Therefore there can be no stedfast stay of faith, vnlesse it be grounded vpon the mercy of God. But now to what end do we dispute of faith? Is it not that we may learne the way of saluation? But how doth faith bring saluation but in respect that it graffeth vs into the body of Christ? Therefore there is no inuenience, if in the definition we do enforce the principall effect thereof, and do ioine vnto the generall name, in stead of a difference that marke that seuereth the faithfull from the vnbeleeuing. Finallie, the malicious haue nothing to find fault withall in this doctrine, but they must wrap vp *Paul* with vs in the same blame, which calleth the Gospell properly the word of faith.

Rom. 10. 8.

31 But heereupon againe we gather that which we haue before declared, that faith doth no lesse neede the word than the fruite doth neede the liuelie roote of the tree, because no other (as *Dauid* testifieth) can trust in the Lord, but they that knowe his name. But this knowledge is not according to euerie mans imagination, but so fare as God himselfe is witness of his owne goodness. Which the same Prophet confirmeth in an other place, saying: Thy saluation is according to thy word. Again, I haue trusted in thy word, saue me. Where is to be noted the relation of faith to the word, and then how saluation followeth. And yet in the meane time we doe not exclude the power of God, with beholding whereof, vnlesse faith susteine it selfe, it can neuer giue vnto God his due honor. *Paul* seemeth to rehearse a certaine slander and common thing of *Abraham*, that he beleued that God which had promised him the blessed seede, was able to performe it. Again in another place, speaking of himselfe: I know whom I haue beleued, and I am sure that he is able to keepe that which I haue left with him vntill that day. But if a man wey with himselfe how many doubtings of the power of God doe oftentimes creepe into mans minde, he shall well perceiue that they which do highlie 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 least tentation throweth vs downe with feare, and amaseth vs with horror, thereby appeareth plainly, that we diminish the estimation of Gods power, when we prefer aboue it those things, that *Sathan* threatneth against Gods promises. This is the reason why *Esay*, meaning to print into the hearts of the people the assurednes of saluation, doth so honorably intreat of the infinite power of God. It seemeth oft that so soone as he hath begonne to speake of the hope of pardon and reconciliation, he by and by turneth to another thing, and wandreth about in long and superfluous circumstances, rehearsing how maruellously the Lord gouerneth the frame of Heauen and earth and the whole order of nature, yet is heere nothing that serueth not fitly for the circumstance of the matter that he speaketh of. For vnlesse the power of God whereby he is able to do all things be presently set before our eyes, our eares will hardly heare the word, or will not esteeme it so much as it is worth. Beside that, heere is declared his effectuall power, because godlinesse (as we haue already shewed in an other place) doth alway apply the power of God to vse and worke, specially it setteth before it selfe those workes of God, whereby hee hath testified himselfe to be a father. Hereupon commeth that in the scriptures is so often mention made of the redemption, whereby the Israelites might haue learned that God which was once the author of saluation, will be an euermore preferuer thereof. And *Dauid* putteth vs in minde by his owne example, that those benesites which God hath particularly bestowed vpon euery man, doe afterward auaile to the confirmation of his faith. Yea when God seemeth to haue forsaken vs, it behoueth vs to stretch our wits further, that his auncient benesits may recomfort

The considerations of the power of God and of the workes which he hath done confirmeth vs in faith: yet all vanishesth except we rely upon his word.
Psal. 9. 11.
Psal. 109. 43.
Rom. 4. 21.

2. Tim. 1. 12.

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Pfal. 103. 43.
Pfal. 77. 11.

vs, as it is said in another Psalme, I haue bene mindfull of olde daies. I haue studied vpon all thy workes, &c. Again, I will remember the workes of the Lorde, and his maruels from the beginning. But because without the worde all quickly vanisheth away that we conceiue of the power of God and of his workes, therefore we doe not without cause affirme that there is no faith, vnlesse God giue light vnto it with testimonie of his grace. But here a question might be moued, what is to be thought of *Sara* and *Rebecca*, both which being moued as it seemeth with zeale of faith, passed beyond the boundes of the word. *Sara*, when she feruently desired the promised issue, gaue her bondmaide to her husband. It cannot bee denied but that shee many waies sinned: but now I touch only this fault, that being carried away with her zeale, she did not restraints her selfe within the boundes of Gods worde, yet it is certaine that that desire proceeded of faith. *Rebecca* being certified by the Oracle of God of the election of her sonne *Jacob*, procured his blessing by euill craftie means: she deceiued her husband the witness and minister of the grace of God: she compelled her sonne to lie: she by diuers guises and deceites corrupted the truth of God: Finally, in making a scorne of his promise, she did as much as in her lay, destroy it. And yet this act, how much soeuer it was euill, and woorthy of blame, was not without faith, for it was necessary that she should ouercom many offences, that she might so earnestly endeouour to attaine that which without hope of earthly profite was full of great troubles and dangers. As we may not say that the holy Patriarch *Isaac* was altogether without faith, because he being by the same oracle of God admonished of the honour transferred to the yoonger sonne, yet ceased not to be more fauourably bent to his first begotten sonne *Esau*. Truly these examples doe teach, that oftentimes errors are mingled with faith, but yet so that faith if it be a true faith, hath alway the vpper hand. For as the particular error of *Rebecca* did not make voide the effect of the blessing, so neither did it make voide her faith which generally raigned in her minde, and was the beginning and cause of that doing. Neuerthelcse therein *Rebecca* vttered how ready mans minde is to fall so soone as he giueth himselfe, neuer so little libertie. But though mans default and weaknesse doth darken faith, yet it doth not quench it: in the meane time it putteth vs in minde, how carefully we ought to hang vpon the mouth of God, and also confirmeth that which we haue raught, that Faith vanisheth away, vnlesse it be vpholden by the Worde: as the mindes both of *Sara*, and *Isaac* and *Rebecca* had become vaine in their crooked wanderings out of the way, vnlesse they had bene by Gods secreete bridle holden in obedience of the worde.

*Faith embraceth
no promise but in
Christ by whom
the thing promised
is deiuied from
God to vs.
Rom. 1. 17.
2. Cor. 1. 20.*

32 Again, not without cause we include all the promises in Christ, for as much as in the knowledge of him the Apottle includeth all the Gospell: and in another 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 thing, he therein sheweth his good will: so that there is no promise of his, that is not a testimonie of his loue. Neither maketh it any matter that the wicked when they haue great and continuall benefits of Gods liberalitie heaped vpon them, do thereby wrap themselves in so much the more greuous iudgement. For sith they doe neither thinke nor acknowledge that those things come vnto them from the hande of God, for if they acknowledge it, they doe not with themselves consider his goodnesse, therefore they cannot thereby be better taught of his mercie than brut beasts, which according to the measure of their estate, doe receiue the same fruite of Gods liberalitie, and yet they perceiue it not. Neither doth it any more make against vs, that many times in refusing the promises appointed for them, they doe by that occasion procure to themselves the greater vengeance. For although the effectuall working of the promises doe then onely appeere, when they haue found faith with vs, yet the force and naturall proprietie of them is neuer extinguished by our vnbeleefe or vnthankfulnesse.

Therefore

Therefore when the Lord by his promises doth prouoke man not onely to receiue, but also to thinke vpon the fruites of his bountifulnes, he doth therewithall declare vnto him his loue. Whereupon we must returne to this point, that euery promise is a testifying of Gods loue toward vs. But it is out of question, that no man is loued of God but in Christ, he is the beloued son, in whom the loue of the father abideth and resteth, and then from him powreth it selfe abroad vnto vs: as *Paul* teacheth, that we haue obtained fauor in the beloued one. Therefore it must needs be deriued and come vnto vs by meane of him. For this cause the Apostle in another place calleth him our peace: in another place he setteth him out as a bond, whereby God is with fatherly naturall kindnes bound vnto vs. It followeth then that we must cast our eies vpon him, so oft as any promise is offered vs. And that *Paul* teacheth no absurditie, that all Gods promises whatsoeuer they be, are confirmed and fulfilled in him. There bee certaine examples that make for the contrarie. For it is not likely that *Naaman* the Syrian, when he required of the Prophet the maner how to worship God aright, was instructed concerning the Mediator: yet his godlines is praised. *Cornelius* a Gentile and a Romane, could scarcely vnderstand that which was knowen not to all the Iewes, yea and that verie darkely: yet his almes and prayers were acceptable to God, and the sacrifice of *Naaman*, by the prophets answer allowed. Which thing neither of them could obtaine but by faith. Likewise it may be said of the Eunuche to whom *Philip* was carried, which if he had not had some faith, would not haue taken vpon him the trauell and expenses of so long a iourney, to worship. Yet we see, when *Philip* examined him, how he bewraied his ignorance of the Mediatour. And truly I graunt that their faith was partly vnexpressed, not onely concerning Christs person, but also concerning his power & the office committed vnto him of the father. Yet in the meane time it is certaine, that they were instructed in such principles, as gaue them some taste of Christ, although but very smal. Neither ought this to seeme strange. For neither would the Eunuch haue come in haste to Ierusalem from a farre country to worship an vnknown God, neither did *Cornelius* when he had once embraced the Iewish religion spend so much time, without being acquainted with the first grounds of true doctrine. As for *Naaman*, it had bin too fond an absurditie for *Elzeus* when he taught him of small things, to haue saide nothing of the principall point. Therefore although there were among them a darke knowledge of Christ, yet it is not likely that there was no knowledge because they did vse themselves in the sacrifices of the law, which must haue been discerned by the very end of them, that is Christ, 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 to be beleued, if our owne blindnes and stubbornnes did not withstand it. But our mind hath such an inclination to vanitie, that it can neuer cleaue fast vnto the truth of God, and hath such a dulnes, that it is alway blinde and cannot see the light thereof. Therefore there is nothing appareably done by the word without the enlightning of the holy Ghost. Whereby also appeareth, that faith is far aboute mans vnderstanding. Neither that it be sufficient that the mind be lightened with the spirit of God, vnlesse the heart be also strengthened and stablished with his power. Wherein the schoolemen do altogether erre, which in considering of faith do onely take holde of a bare and simple assent by knowledge, leauing out the confidence and assurednes of the heart. Therefore faith is both waies a singular gift of God, both that the mind of man is cleansed to taste the truth of God, & that his hart is stablished therein. For the holy Ghost not onely is the beginner of faith, but also by degrees increaseth it, vntil by it he bring vs to the heauenly kingdome. That good thing (saith *Paul*) which was committed to thy keeping, keepe in the holy Ghost which dwelleth in vs. But how *Paul* saith that the holy Ghost is giuen by the hearing of faith, we may easily dissolue it. If there had bene but one onely gift of the

Mat. 3. 17.

Eph. 1. 7.

Eph. 2. 14.

Rom. 8. 3. & 15. 8.

A.C. 10. 8.

A.C. 8.

2. Kings 5. 17.

2. Reg. 5. 17.

A.C. 8. 13.

The outward declaration of the word without an inward enlightning by the spirit doth not suffice either to breed or increase faith in vs.

2. Tim. 1. 14.

Gal. 3. 2.

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holy Ghost, then it had bene an absurdie for him to call the holy Ghost the effect of faith, which is the author and cause of faith. But when he maketh report of the gifts wherewith God garnisheth his Church, and by encreasing of faith bringeth it to perfection, it is no maruell if he ascribe those things to faith which maketh vs fit to receiue them. This is reckened a most strange conclusion, when it is said, that no man but he to whom it is giuen, can beleue in Christ. But that is partly because they do not consider either how secret and high the heauenly wisdom is, or how great mans dulnes is in conceiuing the mysteries of God: and partly because they looke not vnto that assured and stedfast constantnes of heart, that is to say, the chiefe part of faith.

1. Cor. 2. 13.
Our blindness before the spirit opens our eyes and the clearnes of our mindes after.

Matth. 11. 15.
Luke. 10. 21.
Matth. 16. 17.
1. Cor. 2. 14.
Rom. 11. 34.
1. Cor. 2. 10
Iohn. 6. 43.

Luke. 24. 27. & 45.
Iohn 16. 15.

The light of faith is the gift of God not bestowed indifferently vpon all men.

2. Cor. 4. 13.
2. Thess. 1. 11.

34 But if (as *Paule* preacheth) no man is witness of the will of man, but the spirit of man that is within him, then how should man be sure of the will of God? And if the truth of God be vncertaine among vs, in those things that we presently behold with our eie, how should it be assured and stedfast among vs there where the Lord promiseth such things as neither eie seeth, nor wit comprehendeth? But herein mans sharpnes of vnderstanding is so ouerblown and faileth, that the first degree of profiting in Gods schoole, is to forsake his own wit. For by it as by a veile cast before vs, we are hindered that we cannot attaine the mysteries of God, which are not disclosed but to little ones. For neither doth flesh and blood disclose nor naturall man perceiue those things that are of the spirit, but rather to him the learning of God is foolishnesse, because it is spiritually to be iudged. Therefore heerein the helpe of the holy Ghost is necessarie, or rather heerein his force onely raigneth. There is no man that knoweth the minde of God, or hath bene his counsellor: but the holy spirit searcheth out all things, euen the deepe secretes of God, by whom it is brought to passe, that we know the minde of Christ. No man (saith he) can come to me: vnlesse my father that sent me, draw him. Euery one therefore that hath heard and learned of my father, cometh. Not that any man hath seene the father, but he that is sent of God. Euen as therefore we cannot come vnto Christ, but being drawn by the spirit of God: so when we be drawn, we are lifted vp in wit and minde aboue our vnderstanding. For the soule enlightened by him, taketh as it were a new sharpnes of vnderstanding, wherewith it may beholde heauenly mysteries, with brightnesse whereof it was before dazeled in it selfe. And so mans vnderstanding receiuing brightnesse by the light of the holy Ghost, doth neuer till then truly begin to taste of those things that belong to the kingdome of God, being before altogether vnsworie and without iudgement: of taste to take assay of them. Therefore when Christ did notably fet out vnto two of his disciples the mysteries of his kingdome, yet he nothing preuailed, vnill he opened their senses that they might vnderstand the Scriptures. When the Apostles were so taught by his godly mouth, yet the Spirit of Truth must bee sent vnto them, to powre into their mindes the same doctrine which they had heard with their eares. The worde of GOD is like vnto the Sunne that shineth vnto all them to whom it is preached, but to no profite among blinde men. But we are all in this behalfe blind by nature, therefore it cannot pearce into our mind but by the inwarde master the holy Ghost, making by his enlightning an entrie for it.

35 In another place, when we had to entreate of the corruption of nature, we haue more largely shewed how vnfit men are to beleue. Therefore I will not wearie the readers with repeating the same againe. Let this be sufficient that the spirit of faith is called of *Paul* faith it selfe, which the spirit giueth vs, but not which we haue naturally. Therefore he praieth that God fulfil in the *Thessalonians* all his good pleasure, and the worke of faith in power. Wherein calling faith the worke of God, and giuing it that title for a name of addition, and calling it by figure of apposition Gods good pleasure, he denieth that it is of mans owne motion: and not contented therewith

therewith he addeth further, that it is a declaration of Gods power: writing to the Corinthians, where he saith, that faith hangeth not vpon the wisdom of men, but is grounded vpon the power of the holy Ghost. He speaketh indeed of outward myracles: but because the reprobate are blinde at the beholding of them, hee comprehendeth also that inward seale, whereof he maketh mention in another place. And God, the more gloriously to set foorth his liberality in so noble a gift, vouchsafeth not to graunt it to all vniuersally without difference, but by singular priuledge giueth it to whom he wil. For prooffe wherof we haue alleaged testimonies before. Of which *Augustine* being a faithfull expositour, crieth out that it would please the Sauour to teach him, and that the very beleueing it selfe, is of gift and not of deseruing. No man (saith he) commeth to me, vnlesse my father draw him, and to whom it is giuen of my father. It is maruellous that two do heare, the one despiseth, the other ascendeth vp. Let him that despiseth, impute it to himselfe: let him that ascendeth, not arrogantly assigne it to himselfe. In another place. Why is it giuen to one and not to another? It grieueth me not to say it, this is the depth of the crosse. Out of I wote not what depth of the iudgements of God which wee may not search proceedeth all that we can. What I can, I see: whereby I can, I see not, sauing that I see thus farre, that it is of God. But why him, & not him? That is much to me. It is a bottomlesse depth, it is the depth of the crosse. I may crie out with wondering, but not them in disputing. Finally, the summe commeth to this, that Christ when he enlighteneth vs vnto faith by the power of his spirit, doth therewithal graffe vs into his body, that we may be made partakers of all good things.

36 Now it remaineth that that which the minde hath receiued, may bee further conueied into the hart. For the word of God is not throughly receiued by faith, if it swimme in the top of the braine, but when it hath taken roote in the bottoome of the hart that it may be an inuincible defence to beare and repulse all the engines of tentations. Now if it be true, that the true vnderstanding of the minde is the enlightning thereof, then in such confirmation of the hart, his power much more euidentlie appereth, euen by so much as the distrustfulness of the hart is greater than the blindness of the wit: and as it is harder to haue the minde furnished with assurednesse, than the wit to be instructed with thinking. Therefore the Spirit performeth the office of a seale, to seale vp in our harts those same promises, the assurance wherof it first imprinted in our wits, and serueth for an earnest to confirme and stablish them. Sith yee beleued (saith the Apostle) yee are sealed vp with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance. See you not how he teacheth that by the Spirit the harts of the faithfull are grauen as with seale? and how for the same reason he calleth him the Spirit of promise, because he ratifieth the Gospell vnto vs? Likewise to the *Corinthians* he saith: God which annointed vs, which hath also sealed vs, and giuen the earnest of his Spirit in our hart. And in an other place when he speaketh of confidence and boldnesse of hoping well, hee maketh the pledge of the Spirit the foundation thereof.

37 Neither yet haue I forgotten that which I saide before, the remembraunce wherof experience continually renueth, that is, that faith is tossed with diuerse doubtings, so that the mindes of the godly are seldome quiet, or at least do not alway enjoy a peaceable state: but with whatsoever engine they be shaken, either they rise vp of the very gulfe of temptations; or do abide fast in their standing. Truly this assurednesse onely nourisheth & defendeth faith, when we hold fast that which is saide in the Psalm. The Lord is our protection, our helpe in trouble, therefore wee will not feare, when the earth shall tremble, and the mountaines shall leape into the hart of the Sea. Also this most sweete quietnesse is spoken of in another place: I laie downe and slepe, and rose againe, because the Lord hath sustained me: it is not meant thereby that *Dauid* was alway with one vndisturbed course framed to a merry cheer-

We haue not faith as soone as the truth is conueied in our mindes, except the spirit seale it also to our harts.

Eph. 1.

2. Cor. 1. 21 & 5. 5.

The assurednesse of our faith is not extinguished when it is diuulged.

Psal. 46. 3.

Psal. 3. 6.

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fulnesse: but in respect that he tasted the grace of God according to his proportion of Faith, therefore he glorieth that he without 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 *Esay* it is said: In hope and silence, shall be your strength. In the *Psalme*: Hold thee still in the Lord, and waite for him. Wherewith agreeth that saying of the Apostle to the *Hebrues*: Patience is needfull, &c.

Esay 30.15.
Psal. 37.7.
Heb. 10.36.

The certaintie of grace which we haue by Faith is more than morall or coniectural,

38 Hereby we may iudge how pestilent is that doctrine, of the Schoolemen, that we can no otherwise determine of the grace of God toward vs, than by morall coniecture as euery man thinketh himselfe worthy of it. Truly if we shall weigh by our workes how God is minded toward vs, I graunt that we can attaine it with any coniecture, be it neuer so slender: but sith Faith ought to haue relation to a simple and free promise, there is left no cause of doubting. For with what confidence (I beseech you) shall we be armed, if we say that God is fauourable vnto vs vpon this condition, so that the puresnes of our life do deserue it? But because I haue appointed one place properly for the discussing hereof, therefore I will speake no more of them at this present, specially forasmuch as it is plaine enough, that there is nothing more contrary to Faith, than either coniecture or any thing neere vnto doubting. And they doe very ill writhe to this purpose that testimony of the Preacher which they haue oft in their mouthes: No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or loue. For (to speake nothing how this place is in the commo 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 laboureth in vaine, and troubleth himselfe to no profit for his paines: sith all things happen alike, both to the righteous and the wicked, to him that offereth sacrifices and him that offereth none. Whereupon followeth, that God doth not alway wimes his loue to them to whom he maketh all things happen prosperously, nor doth alwaies viter the hatred to them whom he punisheth. And that he doth to condemn the vanitie of mans wit, sith it is so dull in things most needefull to be known: as he had written a litle before, that it cannot be discerned what the soule of man differeth from the soule of a beast, because it seemeth to die in like manner. If any man will gather thereof, that the opinion that we hold of the immortalitie of soules standeth vpon coniecture: may he not worthily be counted a mad man? Are they then in their right wits which gather that there is no certaintie of Gods grace, because we can conceiue none by the carnall beholding of present things?

Eccle. 9.1.

Eccle. 3.9.

It is no presumption to know the loue of God towards vs and his spirit which is in vs.
1. Cor. 2.12.

39 But they alleadge that it is a point of rash presumption, to take vpon vs an vndoubted knowledge of Gods will. I would indeede graunt it vnto them, if we did take so much vpon vs, that we would make the incomprehensible secret purpose of God subiect to the slenderesse of our witte: But when we simply say with *Paul*, that we haue receiued not the spirit of this world, but the spirit that is of God, by whose teaching we may know those things that are giuen vs of God, what can they barke against it, but they must slanderously speake against the Spirit of God? But if it be a horrible robbrie of God to accuse the reuelation that commeth from him, either to be lying, or vnassured or vndoubtfull, what doe we offend in affirming that it is assured? But they say, that this also is not without great presumptuousnesse that we dare so glory of the Spirit of Christ. Who would thinke that their dulnesse were so great that would be counted masters of the world, that they so fowllie stumble in the first principles of religion? Surely I would not thinke it credible, viles their own writings that are abroad did refuse it. *Paul* pronounceth that they only are the children of God, that are moued with his spirit: and these men would haue them that be the children of God, so be moued with their owne spirit, and to be without the Spirit of God. *Paul* teacheth that we call God our Father, as the holy Ghost ministrereth that word vnto vs, which onely can beare witness to our Spirit that

Rom 8.14.

Rom. 8.16.

we are the children of God: These men, although they forbid vs not to call vpon God, yet doe take away his Spirit, by whose guiding he should haue beene rightlie called vpon. *Paul* denieth that they are the seruants of Christ, that are not moued with the Spirit of Christ: these men faine a Christianitie that needeth not the Spirit of Christ. *Paul* maketh no hope of the blessed resurrection, vlesse we feele the holy Ghost abiding in vs: they forge a hope without any such feeling. But peradventure they will answer, that they doe not deny that we ought to bee endued with it, but that it is a point of modestie and humilitie not to acknowledge it. What meaneth he then, when he biddeth the Corinthians to trie whether they be in the Faith, to prooue themselves whether they haue Christ, whom vnlesse a man doe acknowledge to be dwelling in him, he is a reprobate? But by the Spirit that God hath giuen vs (saith *Iohn*) we know that he abideth in vs. And what doe we else but call the promises of Christ in doubt, when we will be counted the seruants of God without his Spirit, which he hath openly declared, that he would poure out vpon all his? Beside that, we doe wrong to the holy Ghost, which doe separate from him Faith that is his peculiar worke. Sith these are the first lessons of godly religion, it is a token of miserable blindness, to haue Christians noted of arrogancie, that dare glory of the presence of the holy Ghost, without which glorying Christianitie it selfe doth nor stand. But they declare by their example how truly Christ said, that his Spirit is vnknown to the world, and is onely known of them with whom he abideth.

40 And because they will not goe about to ouerthrow the stedfastnesse of Faith with digging onely of one mine, they assaile it also otherwise. For they say, that although according to our present state of righteousness, we may gather a iudgment of the grace of God, yet the knowledge of perseuerance to the ende abideth in suspense. A goodly confidence of saluation forsooth is left vnto vs, if we iudge by morall coniecture, that for a present moment we be in fauour, and what shall become of vs to morow we cannot tell. The Apostle teacheth farre otherwise: I am surelie persuaded (saith he) that neither Angels, nor powers, nor principalities, neither death nor life, neither present things nor things to come, shall scuer vs from the loue wherewith the Lord embraceth vs in Christ. They seeke to escape with a trifling solution, prating that the Apostle had that by speciall reuelation. But they are holden too hard to slip away so. For there he entreateth of those good things that commonly come by Faith to the Faithfull, not those that he himselfe specially feeleth. But the same *Paul* in another place putteth vs in feare with mention of our weakenes and vnstedfastnesse: Let him that standeth (saith he) beware that he fall not. It is true, but not such a feare whereby we should be overthrowen, but whereby we may learne to humble our selues vnder the mightie hand of God, as *Peter* expoundeth it. Then how against order and truth is it to limit the assurednes of faith to a moment of time, whose propertie is to passe beyond the spaces of this life, and extend further to immortality to come? Sith therefore the Faithfull doe impute it to the grace of God, that being lightened with his Spirit they doe by Faith enioy the beholding of the heavenly life: so far is such glorying from presumptuousnesse, that if any man be ashamed to confesse it, he doth therein more bewray his extreme vnthankfulnes in vnkindly hiding Gods goodnes, than he doth declare his modestie or submission.

41 Because it seemed that the nature of Faith could not otherwise better or more plainly be declared than by the substance of the promise vpon which it resteth as vpon his proper foundation, so that if the promise be taken away, Faith by and by falleth downe or rather vanisheth away: therefore we tooke our definition from thence, which yet varieth not from that definition, or rather description of the Apostle, that he applyeth to his discourse, where he saith that Faith is a substance of things to be hoped for, and a certaintie of things that are not seene. For by this worde *Hypostasis* substance (for that terme he vseth) he meaneth as it were, an vpholding

Rom. 8. 11.

2. Cor. 13. 5.

1 Iohn 3. 24.
Esay 34. 3.

Iohn 14. 17.

Not onely our present but our future estate by faith certaine.

Rom. 8. 38.

1. Cor. 10. 12.

1. Pet. 5. 6.

The Apostles definition of Faith who vermeth it a substance of things hoped for and a certaintie of things vnseene.
Heb. 11. 1.

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stay, whereupon the godly mind leaueh and resteth. As if he should say that faith is a certaine and assured possession of those things that are promised vs of God, vnlesse a man had rather to take *Hypostasis* for assurance, which I mislike not, albeit I follow that which is more commonlie received. Againe, to signifie that euen to the last day when the bookes shalbe opened, they are higher than those things that may be perceived with our senses, or seene with our eyes, or handled with our hands, and that the same are no otherwise possessed by vs, but if we goe beyond the capacity of our owne wit, and bend our vnderstanding about all things that are in the world, yea and clumbe about our selues, he hath therefore added that this assurednes of possession, is of things that lie in hope, and therefore are not seene. For plaine appearance (as *Paul* writeth) is not hope, neither hope we for those things that we see. And when he calleth it a certaintie or proofe (or as *Augustine* hath oft translated it) a coniunction of things not present: for in Greeke it is *Elenchos*, he saith as much as if he did say, that it is an euident shewing of things not appearing, a seeing of things not seene, a plainnesse of darke things: a presence of things absent, an open shewing of hidden things. For the mysteries of God, such as they be that pertaine to our saluation, cannot be seene in themselves and in their owne nature as they call it: but we behold them only in his word, of whose truth we ought to be so fully perswaded, that we ought to hold all that he speaketh as it were already done and fulfilled. But how can the mind lift vp it selfe to receiue such a taste of Gods goodnesse, but that it must needs be therewith wholly kindled to loue God againe? For that flowing plentie of sweetnes which God hath laid vp in store for them that feare him, can not be truly known, but that it must therewithall vehemently moue affection: and whose affection it once moueth, it vtterly rauisheth and carrieth him beyond himselfe. Therefore it is no maruile, if into a peruerse and crooked heart neuer entred this affection, by which being conueied vp into the verie heauen, we are suffred to come to the most secretly hidden treasures of God, and the most sacred priuy places of his kingdome, which may not be desiled with the entrance of an vnclene heart. For that which the Schoolemen teach, that charitie is before faith and hope, is a meere madnesse. For it is faith onely that first engendredh charitie in vs. How much more rightly doth *Bernard* teach: I beleue (saith he) that the testimonie of conscience, which *Paul* calleth the glorie of the godlie, consisteth in three things. For first of all it is necessarie to beleue that thou canst not haue forgiveness of sins, but by the pardon of God: then that thou canst haue no good worke at all, vnlesse he also giue it: last of all that thou canst by no works deserue eternall life, vnlesse it also be giuen freely. A little after he addeth that these things iustice not, but that there is a certaine beginning of faith, because in beleueing that sins cannot be forgiven but of God, we ought also to beleue that they are not forgiven vs, till also we be perswaded by the testimonie of the holy Ghost that saluation is laid vp in store for vs: because God forgiveth sinnes, he himselfe giueth meritis, and he himselfe also giueth rewards, that we may not stay still in this beginning. But these and other things shalbe to be entreated of in places fit for them. Now let it onely suffice to know what faith is.

22 Now where soeuer this luey faith shalbe, it cannot be possible but that it hath with it the hope of eternall saluation, as an vndiuidable companion: or rather that it engendredh or bringeth it forth out of it selfe, which hope being taken away, how eloquently, gloriously soeuer we talke 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, that it cannot lie vnto vs nor deceiue vs, nor become void, then they that haue conceiued this assurednesse, trulie doe therewithall looke for a time to come that God shall performe his promises, which in their perswasion cannot be but true: so that briefly, hope is nothing else, but a looking for those things which faith hath beleueed to be trulie promised of God. So faith beleueeth that God is true, hope looketh for the performance

Dan. 7. 10.

Rom 8. 24.
August. Hom in
Iohan 7. 95. De
peccat. merit. S.
remiss. li. 2. ca. 31.

Lib 3. Sen. dist.
25. & Sepius.
Ser. 1 in An-
nuntiatione.
2. Col. 1. 12.

Hope an vndiu-
dable companion
of faith.

the hope is.

performance of his truth in conuenient time. Faith beleueeth that he is our Father, hope looketh for him to shew himselfe such a one toward vs. Faith beleueeth that eternall life is giuen vs, hope looketh that it be one day reueiled. Faith is the foundation whereupon hope resteth, hope nourisheth and sustaineth faith. For as no man can looke for anie thing at Gods hand, but he that hath first belieued his promises: so againe the weakenesse of our faith must with patient hope and expectation be sustained and cherished, that it fall not as fainting for wearinesse. For which reason *Paul* doeth well place our saluation in hope. For hope, while it in silence, looketh for the Lord, restraineth faith that it fall not headlong with too much haste: hope strengtheneth faith, that it wauer not in Gods promises, nor begin to doubt of the truth of them: hope refresheth faith that it waxe not wearie: Hope stretcheth faith to the uttermost bound, that it faint not in the mid course, nor in the verie beginning. Finally, hope by continually renewing and restoring, it maketh it now and then to rise vp fresher than it selfe to continuance. But how many waies the helps of hope are necessarie to the strengthening of faith, shall better appeare, if we consider with how manie sorts of temptations they are assailed and shaken, that haue embraced the word of God. First, the Lord in deferring his promises doeth oftentimes holde our mindes longer in suspense than we would wish: here it is the office of hope to performe, that which the Prophet commandeth, that though his promises do tarie, yet we should wait still for them. Sometime he suffereth vs not onely to faint, but also seemeth to be highly displeased: here it is much more necessarie to haue hope to help vs, that according to the saying of another Prophet, we may still looke for the Lord that hath hidden his face from *Jacob*. There rise vp all corners (as *Peter* saith) that aske: where is his promise of his comming? for as much as since the fathers slept, all things so continue from the beginning of the creation. Yea the flesh and the world do whisper the same thing in our eares. Heere must faith stayed with suffe-
rance of hope be holden fast fixed in beholding of eternitie that it may account a thousand yeres like as one day.

Rom. 8.24.

Heb. 2.3.

Esay 8.17.

2.Pet. 3.4.

Psal. 90.4.

43 For this conioyning and alliance the Scripture sometimes confoundeth the names of Faith and Hope. For when *Peter* teacheth that we are by the power of God preferred through faith, vnto the disclosing of saluation, he giueth that vnto faith which did more fitly agree with hope, and not without cause, forasmuch as we haue alreadie taught, that hope is nothing else but the nourishment and strength of faith. Sometimes they are ioyned together: as in the same Epistle. That your faith and hope should be in God. But *Paul* to the Philippians out of faith deriueth expectation, because in patiently hoping, we hold our desires in suspense, till Gods conuenient oportunitie be opened. All which matter we may better vnderstand by the 10. chapter to the Hebrues, which I haue alreadie alleadged. *Paul* in an other place, although he speake vnproperly, yet meaneth the same things in these words: We looke in the spirit through faith for hope of righteousnes, euē because we embracing the testimonie of the Gospell concerning his free loue, do looke for the time when God shall openlie shew that which is now hidden vnder hope. And now it is plaine how foolishly *Peter Lombard* laieth two foundatiōs of hope that is the grace of God, and the deseruing of works. Hope can haue no other marke to be directed vnto, but faith: and we haue alreadie declared that faith hath one only marke the mere of God, to which it ought to looke (as I may so speake) with both eies. But it is good to heare what a luty reason he bringeth. If (saith he) thou darest hope for any thing without deseruings, that shall not be worthe to be called hope, but presumptiō. Who (gentle reader) will not worthily abhorre such beasts, that say, it is a rash and presumptuous deede, if a man haue confidence that God is true of his word? For where the Lorde willet vs to looke for all things at his goodnesse, they saie it is presumption to leane and rest vpon it. A maister meete for such schollers as he found in the

The coniuunction of faith and hope causeth many things to be spoken of the one which properly agree vnto the other.

2.Pet. 3.8.

2.Pet. 1.5.

Phil. 1.20.

Gal. 5.5.

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mad schoole of filthie bablers. But as for vs, when wee see that we are commanded by the oracles of God to conceiue a hope of saluation, let vs gladly presume so much vpon his truth, as trusting vpon his only mercy, casting away the confidence of works, to be bold to hope well. He will not deceiue that said: Be it vnto you according to your faith.

Mat. 9. 19.

The iij. Chapter.

That we are regenerate by faith. Wherein is entreated of Repentance.

One of faith repentance springeth.

ALbeit we haue already partly taught how faith possesseth Christ, & how by it we enioy his benefits: neuertheless this were yet darke, vlesse we did also make declaration of the effects that we feele thereby. Not without cause it is said, that the summe of the Gospell standeth in repentance and in forgiveness of finnes. Therefore leauing out these two points, whatsoever we shall say of faith, shall be but a huggie and vnperfect, yea and in maner vnprofitable disputation of faith. Now forasmuch as Christ doth giue both vnto vs, and we obtaine both by faith, that is to say, both newnesse of life and free reconciliation, reason and order of teaching requireth, that in this place I beginne to speake of both. Our next passage from faith shall be to Repentance, because when this article is well perceiued, it shall the better appeare how man is iustified by onely faith and meere pardon, and yet how reall holines of life (as I may so call it) is not seuered from free imputation of righteousness. Now it ought to be out of question, that repentance doth not onely immediately follow faith, but also spring out of it. For whereas pardon and forgiveness is therefore offered by the preaching of the Gospell, that the sinner being deliuered from the tyrannie of Satan, from the yoke of sin, and from miserable bondage of vices, may passe into the kingdome of God, truly no man can embrace the grace of the Gospell, but he must returne from the errours of his former life into the right way, and apply all his studie to the meditation of repentance. As for them that thinke that repentance doth rather go before faith than flow or spring forth of it, as a fruit out of a tree, they neuer knew the force thereof, and are moued with too weake an argument to thinke so.

Their grounds weake who thinke that repentance goeth before faith.
Matth. 3. 2.
Matth. 3. 7.
A. C. 20. 21.

2 Christ (say they) and *Iohn* in their preachings do first exhorte the people to repentance, and then they afterward saie that the kingdome of heauen is at hand. Such commaundement to preach, the Apostles received, such order *Paul* followed, as *Luke* reporteth. But while they superstitiously sticke vpon the ioyning together of syllables, they marke not in what meaning the words hang together. For when the Lord Christ and *Iohn* do preach in this manner: Repent ye, for the kingdome of heauen is come neere at hand: do they not fetch the cause of repentance from verie grace and promise of saluation? Therefore their words are as much in effect as if they had saide: because the kingdome of heauen is come neere at hand, therefore repent yee. For *Matthew* when he hath shewed that *Iohn* so preached faith that in him was fulfilled the prophetic of *Esaie*, concerning the voice crying in the wilderness. Prepare the way of the Lorde, make straight the pathes of our God. But in the Prophet that voice is commanded to begin at comfort & glad tydings. Yet when we refer the beginning of repentance to faith, we do not dreame a certaine weane space of time, wherein it bringeth it out, but we meane to shew that a man cannot earnestly apply himselfe to repentance, vlesse he know himselfe to be of God. But no man is truly perswaded that he is of God, but he that hath first receiued his grace. But these things shall be more plainly discussed in the proesse following. Peradventure this deceiued them, that many are first by terrours of conscience tamed, or framed to obedience, before that they haue throughly digested, yea before they haue tasted the knowledge of grace. And this is the feare at the beginning, which some

E. say. 40. 3.

some account among vertues, because they see that it is neere to true and iust obedience. But our question is not heere how diuersly Christ draweth vs vnto him, or prepareth vs to the endeouour of godlinesse: onely this I say, that there can be no vp-rightnes found where reigneth not the Spirit which Christ receiued to communicate the same to his members. Then according to that saying of the Psalme: With thee is mercifulnes, that thou maiest be feared, no man shal euer euerently fear god, but he that trusteth that God is mercifull vnto him: no man will willingly prepare himselfe to the keeping of the lawe, but hee that is perswaded that his seruices please him: which tendernes in pardoning and bearing with faults, is a signe of fatherly fauour. Which is also shewed by that exhortation of *Osee*, Come let vs returne to the Lord, because he hath plucked vs and he will heale vs: he hath stricken vs, and he will cure vs, because the hope of pardon is vsed as a pricke to make them not to lie dull in their finnes. But their doting error is without all colour of reason, which to begin at repentance do appoint certaine daies to their newe conuertes, during the which they must exercise themselues in penance: and when those daies are once past, they admit them to the communion of the grace of the Gospell. I speake of many of the Anabaptistes, specially those that maruellously reioice to be counted spiritual, and their companions the Iesuites, & such other dregs. Such fruits forsooth that spirite of giddines bringeth forth, to determine repentance within compasse of a fewe daies, which a Christian man ought to extende in continuance throughout his whole life.

Psal. 130.4.

Glee 6.2.

3 But certaine learned men, euen long before these times, meaning to speake simply and sincerely of repentance, according to the truth of Scripture, haue saide that it consisteth of two parts, mortification, and viuification. Mortification they expound to be a sorrowe of the soule and feare conceiued of the acknowledging of sinne, and of the feeling of the iudgement of God. For when a man is once brought into knowledge of sinne, then he truly beginneth to hate and abhorre sinne: then hee hartilie misliketh himselfe, confesseth himselfe to bee miserable and lost, and wretched himselfe to bee an other man. Further, when hee is touched with some feeling of the iudgement of God (for the one immediately followeth vpon the other) then he lieth stricken and ouerthrowen, then he trembleth, humbled and cast downe, then he is discouraged and despaireth. This is the first part of repentance, which they haue commonly called contrition. Viuification they expound to bee the comfort that groweth of faith, when a man ouerthrowne with conscience of sinne, and stricken with feare of God, looking afterward vnto the goodnes of God, vnto the mercy, fauor and saluation, that is through Christ, raiseth vp himselfe, taketh breath againe, recouereth courage, and returneth as it were from death to life. And these words, if they haue a right exposition, do aptly enough expresse the nature of repentance. But where they take Viuification for the cheerefulness, which the minde receiueth being brought into quietnesse from trouble and feare, therein I agree not with them: forasmuch as it rather signifieth a desire to liue holily and godly which groweth of regeneration, as if it were saide, that man dieth to himselfe, to begin to liue to God.

Repentance rightly said to consist of mortification and viuification: so that Viuification be taken not for the cheerefulness which the soul receiveth when it recouereth out of feare and trouble, but for the purpose and desire which is hath to lead a new life.

4 Some other, because they sawe this worde diuersly taken in Scripture, haue made two sortes of repentance: and because they shoulde make them differentlie known by some marke, they haue called one repentance of the lawe, by which the sinner wounded with the searing iron of sinne, and worne away with feare of the wrath of God, sticketh fast in that trouble and cannot winde himselfe out of it. The other Repentance they call of the Gospell, by which the sinner is indeed greuouslie vexed with himselfe, but he riseth vp higher and taketh hold of Christ, the salue of his sore, the comfort of his feare, the hatter of his miserie. Of the Repentance of the lawe they put those examples: *Cain*, *Saul*, and *Judas*. Whose repentance when the Scripture rehearseth vnto vs, it meaneth that they acknowledging the greuous-

Two kindes of repentance, the one of the Lawe, the other of the Gospell

Gen. 4. 12.
1. King. 15. 30.
Mat. h. 27. 4.

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nesse of their sinne, were afraid of the wrath of God, but in thinking vpon God onely as a reuenger and Iudge, they fainted in that feeling. Therefore their repentance was nothing else but a certaine entrie of hell, wherinto they being entred into this present life, began already to suffer punishment, from the face of the wrath of Gods Maiestie. The repentance of the Gospell, we see in all them, that being galled with the spurre of sinne in themselves, but recomforted and refreshed with confidence of the mercie of God, are turned vnto the Lord. *Exechias* was stricken with feare, when he receiued the message of death: but he praied weeping, and looking vnto the goodnes of God, he tooke againe good confidence vnto him. The *Ninnites* were troubled with the horrible threatening of destruction. But they clothed themselves in sackcloth and ashes and prayed, hoping that the Lord might be turned to them and turned from the furor of his wrath. *Dauid* confessed that he had too much sinned in numbing the people: but he said further, Lord take away the wickednes of thy seruant. He acknowledged his offence of adulterie, when *Nathan* rebuked him, and did cast himselfe downe before the Lord, but therewithall he also looked for pardon. Such was the repentance of them that at the preaching of *Peter* were pricked in their hart, but trusting vpon the goodnesse of God, they said furthermore: Ye men and brethren, what shall we doe? And such was the repentance of *Peter* himselfe, which wept indeed bitterly, but he ceased not to hope well.

5 Although all these things be true, yet the very name of repentance (so far as I can learne by the Scriptures) is otherwise to be taken. For where they comprehend Faith vnder repentance, it disagreeeth with that which *Paul* saith in the Actes, that he testified to the *Iewes* and *Gentiles* repentance vnto God and Faith in Iesus Christ, where he reckoneth repentance and Faith as two diuers things. What then? Can true repentance stand without Faith? No: But though they cannot be secured, yet they must be distinguished. As Faith is not without hope, and yet Faith and Hope are diuers things: so repentance and Faith, although they hang 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 least part: but in what meaning it is so comprehended, shall most easily appeare when the force and nature thereof shall be declared. The name of repentance in Hebrew is deriued of conuerting or returning, in Greeke of changing of the minde or purpose, and the thing it selfe doth not ill agree with either deriuations, whereof the summe is, that we departing from our selues should turne vnto God, and putting off our olde minde, should put on a new. Wherefore in my iudgement, repentance may thus not amisse be defined: that it is a true turning of our life vnto God, proceeding from a pure and earnest feare of God, which consisteth in the mortifying of the flesh and of the old man, and in the quickening of the Spirit. In this sense are to be taken all the preachings wherein either the Prophets in old time, or the Apostles afterwarde exhorted the men of their time to repentance. For this onely thing they traueiled to perswade, that confounded with their owne sinnes, and pricked with feare of the Lords iudgement, they should fall downe and be humbled before him, against whom they had offended, and with true amendment returne into his right way. Therefore these words, To be turned or returne vnto the Lord, To repent, or doe penance, are among them vsed without difference in all one signification. And therefore also the holy history saith, that men repent after the Lord, when they that liued wantonly in their owne lustes, not regarding him, doe begin to follow his word, and are readie at their captaines commandement to goe whither hee calleth them. And *Iohn* and *Paul* vsed these wordes, to bring forth suites worthy of repentance, for, to lead such a life as may represent and testifie such an amendment in all their doings.

4. Reg. 20.
Eld. 38.
Ion. 3. 5.

2. Reg. 2.
2. Reg. 12. 13.
& 6.
Act. 2 37.

The definition
of repentance.
Act. 20. 21.

Summe Definit

Mat 3. 2.
1. Sam. 7.

Luc. 3. 8.
Rom. 6. 4.
Act. 26. 20.

6 But before we goe any further, It shall be profitable that we do more plainly set out at large the definition that we haue made. Wherein there bee chiefly three points to be considered. First when wee call it a turning of life vnto God, we require a transforming, not onely in outward workes, but also in the soule it selfe, which when it hath put off her oldnesse, then beginneth to bring forth the fruits of works agreeable to her renewing. Which when the prophet goeth about to expresse, he commaundeth them whom he calleth to repentance, to make them a new heart. Therefore *Moses* oftentimes meaning to shew how the Israelites might repent, and so be rightly turned vnto the Lord, teacheth that it be done with all their heart, and with all their soule (which manner of speaking we see often repeated of the Prophets) and naming it the circumcising of the heart, he shaketh away all inward afflictions. But there is no place whereby a man may better perceiue what is the naturall proprietie of repentance than the fourth Chapter of *Ieremie*. If thou returne to me, O Israel, (saith the Lord) returne to me, plow vp your arable land and sowe not vpon thorns. Be circumcised to the Lord, and take away the vncircumcised skins of your hearts. See how he prouoceth that they shall nothing preuaile in taking vpon them the following of righteousness, vnles wickednes be first plucked out of the bottom of their hearts. And to moue them thoroughly, he warneth them that they haue to do with God, with whom there is nothing gotten by dallying, because he hateth a double hart. Therefore *Isaie* laugheth to scorne the foolish endeouours of hypocrites, which did in deede busily go about an outward repentance in ceremonies, but in the meane time they had no care to loose the bundles of wickednes wherewith they held poore men fast tied. Where also he very well sheweth in what duties vnfaigned repentance properly standeth.

7 The second point was, that we taught that repentance proceedeth of an earnest feare of God. For, before 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 once thoroughly settled, that God will one day go vp into his iudgement seate, to require an account of all sying and doings: it will not suffer the silly man to rest, nor to take breath 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 exhorteth to repentance maketh mention of the iudgement: as in *Ieremie* least peradventure my wrath go out as fire, and there be none to quench it, because of the nauytrines of your workes. In *Pauls* sermon to the Athenians: And whereas hitherto God hath borne with the times of this ignorance, now he giueth warning to men, that all men euery where may repent them, because he hath appointed the day wherein he will iudge the world in equitie. And in many other places. Sometime it declareth by the punishments alreadie extended, that God is a iudge, that sinners should thinke with themselues, that worse things hang ouer them if they do not repent in time. You haue an example thereof in the 29. of *Exodus*. But because the turning beginneth at the abhorring and hatred of sin, therefore the Apostle maketh sorrowfulness, such as is according to God, the cause of repentance. And he calleth sorrowfulness according to God, when we are not onely afraid of punishment, but do hate and abhor sin it selfe, forasmuch as we vnderstand that it displeaseth God. And no manuell. For vnlesse we be sharply pricked, the slothfulness of our flesh could not be corrected, yea prickings would not suffice for the dulnes and slothfulness thereof, vnles God in stretching out his rods should pearce more deeply. This is also an obstinacie which must be beaten downe as it were with beetles. Therefore the petulencies of our nature enforceeth god to the security that he vseth in threatening, because he should in vaine call vs alluringly with faire speech while we lie a sleep. I recite not the testimonies that commonly offer themselves to be found. The feare of God is in another manner also the beginning of repentance.

The turning of our liues vnto God doth note an alteration not onely of our outward actions, but also and that especially of our soules.
Ezek. 18. 31.

Iere. 4. 3.

Esa. 65. 2. 6.

The beginning of our conuersion vnto God is feare.

Iere. 4. 3.
Act. 17. 30.

2. Cor. 7. 10.

Cap. 3. Of the maner how to receiue

For though mans life were absolutely furnished with all points of vertues, if it be not applied to the worshipping of God, it may indeed be praised of the world, but in heauen it shall be meere abomination, forasmuch as the chiefe part of our righteousness is to giue God his due right and honour, whereof he is wickedly robbed, when we bend not our selues to yeeld vs subiect to his government.

Repentance consisteth in the mortifying of the flesh and the quickening of the spirit.
Psal. 34. 15.
Esay 1. 16.

8 Thirdly, it remaineth that we declare what is ment by this that we saie, that Repentance consisteth in two parts, that is to say, mortifying of the flesh, and quickening of the spirite. The Prophets do plainly expresse it, although somewhat simplic and grossely according to the capacite of the carnall people, when they say: Cease from euill and do goodnes. Againe: Be washed, be cleane, take away the euil of your works from mine eyes: Cease to do puerly, learne to do well, seeke iudgement, help the oppressed, &c. For when they call men away from wickednes, they require the death of the whole flesh, which is stuffed full of wickednes and puerfenesse. It is in deed an vnease and hard thing to put off our selues, and to depart from our natural disposition. Neither can it be thought that the flesh is thoroughly dead, vnlesse all that wee haue of our selues be abolished. But forasmuch as all the affection of the flesh is enemie against God, the first entrie to the obeying of his law, is the forsaking of our owne nature. Afterward they expresse the renuing by the fruits that followe thereof, as righteousness, iudgement, and mercy. For it were not enough to doe those duties rightly, vnlesse the minde it selfe and the hart haue first put on the affection of righteousness, iudgement, and mercie. That is done when the spirite of God hath sooked in newe thoughts and affections, our soules first washed with his holiness, that they may rightly be counted newe. And truely as we are naturally turned away from God, so vnlesse the forsaking of our selues doe go before, we can neuer go toward that which is right. Therefore wee are so oft commanded to put off the old man, to forsake the worlde and flesh, to bid our lustes farewell, and to be renued in the spirite of our minde. Morouer the very name of morification doth put vs in minde how hard it is to forget our former nature: because wee thereby gather that we are not otherwise framed to the feare of God, nor doe learne the principles of godlines, but when we are violently slaine with the word of the spirit, and so brought to naught euen as though God should pronounce, that to haue vs to be accounted among his children there needeth a death of all our common nature.

Rom. 8. 4.

True repentance is nothing else but regeneration wher by Christ restoreth us vnto the righteousness of God from whence by sin we were fallen.
Rom. 6. 6.
2. Cor. 3. 18.
Eph. 4. 23.

9 Both these things do happen vnto vs by the partaking of Christ. For if we doe truly communicate of his death, by the power therof our old man is crucified, & the body of sin dieth, that the corruption of our former nature may liue no more. If we be partakers of his resurrection by it we are raised vp into a newenes of life, that may agree with the righteousness of God. In one word I expound repentance to be regeneration, which hath no other marke whereunto it is directed, but that the image of God which was by Adams offence sowlly defaced & in a maner vterly blotted out, may be renued in vs. So the Apostle teacheth when he saith: but wee representing the glorie of God with vncouered face are transformed into the same image, out of glorie into glorie, as by the spirit of the Lord. Againe: Be yee renued in the spirite of your minde and put on the new man, which is created according to God in righteousness and holiness of truth. Againe in another place: putting on the newe man, which is renued after the knowledge and image of him that created him. Therefore by this regeneration we be by the benefite of Christ restored into the righteousness of God, first which we were fallen by Adam. After which maner it pleaseth the Lord wholly to restore al those whom he adopteth into the inheritance of life. And this restoring is fulfilled not in one moment, or one day, or one yeare, but by continuall, yea and sometimes slowe proceedings God taketh away the corruptions of the flesh in his elect, clenseth them from filthines, and consecrateth them for temples to himselfe, renning all their senses to true purenes, that they may exercise themselves all their

Col. 3. 10.

1. Cor. 7. 12.

their

their life in repentance, and know that this war hath no end but in death. And so much the greater is the lewdnes of that filthie railer and apostata *Staphilus*, which foolishly sayeth that I confound the state of this present life with the heauenlie glorie, when I expound by *Paul* the image of God to be holiness and true righteousness. As though when anie thing is defined, we should not seeke the whole fulnesse and perfection of it. And yet we denie not place for increases: but I say that how neere any man approacheth to the likenes of God, so much the image of God shineth in him. That the faithfull may attaine hereunto, God assigneth them the race of repentance wherein to run all their life long.

2. Cor. 4. 7.

10 The children of God therefore are so deliuered by regeneration from the bondage of sin, not that hauing now obtained the full possession of libertie, they should feele no more trouble by their flesh, but that they should haue remaining a continuall matter of strife, wherewith they may be exercised, and not only be exercised, but also may better learne their owne weakenes. And in this point all writers of sound iudgement agree together, that there remaineth in man regenerate a feeling of euill, from whence continually spring desires that allure and stir him to sin. They confesse also that the holy ones are still so holden intangled with that disease of lusting, that they cannot withstand but that sometime they are tickled and stirred either to lust or to couetousnesse, or to ambition or to other vices. Neither is it needfull to labour much in searching what the old writers haue thought herein, forasmuch as onlie *Augustine* may be sufficient for it, which hath faithfullie and with great diligence gathered all their iudgements. Therefore let the readers gather out of him, such certaintie as they shall desire to learne of the opinion of antiquitie. But there may seeme to be this difference betwene him and vs, that he when he graunteth that the faithfull so long as they dwell in a mortall body are so holden bound with lusts, that they cannot but lust, yet dareth not call that disease sin, but being content to expresse it by the name of weaknes, he teacheth that then only it becommeth sin, when either worke or consent is added to conceit or receiuing, that is, when will yeeldeth to the first desire: but we account the very same for sin, that man is tickled with any desire at all against the law of God, yea we affirme that the very corruption that ingendreth such desires in vs, is sin. We teach therefore that there is alwaie sin in the holie ones vntill they be vnclouthed of the mortall bodie, because there remaineth in their flesh the puerenesse of lusting that fighteth against vprightnes. And yet he doth not alway forbear to vse the name of sinne, as when he saith: This *Paul* calleth by the name of sinne, from whence spring all sinnes vnto a fleshly concupisence. This asmuch as pertaineth to the holy ones, looketh the kingdome in earth, and perisheth in heauen. By which words he confesseth, that the faithfull are guilty of sinne, inasmuch as they are subiect to the lustes of the flesh.

In the regenerate there remaineth still concupisence, which concupisence is sinne and not weakenes onely as *S. Augustine* saith in his sermons.

Lib. ad Bonif. 4. Li. 1. & 2. contra Iulianum.

Ser. 6. de verbis Apost.

11 But this that is saide, that God purgeth his Church from all sinne, that he promiseth that grace of deliuerance by baptisme, and fulfilleth it in his elect, we refferre rather to the guiltinesse of sinne, than to the very matter of sinne. God truly performeth this by regenerating them that be his, that in them that kingdome of sinne is abolished (for the holy Ghost ministreth them strength, whereby they get the vpper hand and are conquerours in the battell) but it ceaseth onely to reigne and not so to dwell in them. Therefore we so say, that the olde man is crucified, and the lawe of sinne abolished in the children of God, that yet there remaine some leauings, not to haue dominion in them, but to humble them by knowledge in conscience of their owne weakenes. And wee confesse that the same are not imputed, as if they were not: but we affirme that this commeth to passe by the mercie of God, that the holie ones are deliuered from this guiltinesse, which otherwise should iustlie be reckoned sinners and guiltie before God. And this sentence it shall not be hard for vs to confirme, forasmuch as there are euident testimonies of the Scripture vpon their

How Christ is said to purge his Church from sin, and sinne to remaine in euerie member of his Church so purged. Ephes. 5. 26. Rom. 6. 6.

Rom. 7.6.

their matter. For what would we haue more plaine, than that which *Paul* crieth out to the Romanes Chapter 7? First both we haue in an other place shewed, and *Augustine* prooueth by strong reasons, that *Paul* there speaketh in the person of a man regenerate. I speake not of this, that he vseth these wordes Euill and Sinne, that they which will speake against vs may not cauil against those wordes, but who can deny, that a struing against the Law of GOD is euill, who can deny a withstanding of Iustice to be sinne? Finally, who will not graunt that there is a fault where is a spirituall misery? But all these things are reported of this disease by *Paul*. Againe, we haue an assured demonstration by the Law, by which this whole question may easily be discussed. For we are commanded to loue God with all our harts, with all our soule, with all our powers. Sith all the partes of our Soule ought to be so occupied with the loue of God, it is certaine, that they satisfie not the Commandement that conceiue in their hart any desire be it neuer so litle, or suffer any such thought at all to enter into their minde, as may withdraw them from the loue of God into vanitie? For what are not these the powers of the Soule, to be affected with sodaine motions, to comprehend with wit, to conceiue with minde? Therefore, when these doe open a way for vaine or corrupt thoughts to enter into them, doe they not shew that they are euen so much void of the loue of God? Wherefore, who so confesseth not that all the lusts of the flesh are sinnes, and that the same disease of lusting, which they call a feeding, is the well spring of sinne, he must needs denie that the transgression of the Law is sinne.

Our naturall desires are corrupte not in that they are naturall but in that they are inordinate.

12 If any man thinke it an absurditie, that all the desires wherewith man is naturally moued in affection, are vniuersally condemned, whereas they be put into man by God the Author of nature. We answere, that we doe not condemne those desires that God hath so engrauen into the minde of man at the first Creation, that they cannot be rooted out without destroying the very nature of man, but onely outrageous and vnbrideled motions that fight against the ordinance of God. But now sith by reason of the peruersenes of nature all hir powers are infected and corrupted, that in all hir dooings appeareth a continuall disorder and intemperance, because the desires cannot be seuered from such intemperance: therefore we say that they are corrupt. Or (if you like to haue the whole summe in fewer words) we teach that all the desires of men are euill: and we accuse them to be guiltie of sin, not in that that they are naturall, but for that they are inordinate: and we call them inordinate, because no pure or cleane thing can come out of a corrupt and vnclane nature. And *Augustine* doth not so much vary from this doctrine as he appeareth in shew, while he somewhat too much feareth the enuie that the Pelagians laboured to bring him into, he sometime forbearth to vse the name of sinne. Yet where he writeth that the Law of sinne still remaining in the holy ones, the onely guiltines is taken away, he plainly sheweth that he doth not so much disagree from our meaning.

Ad Rom. 7.

Concupiscence acknowledged by S. Augustine and S. Ambrose to be sinne: wheretunto S. Iames is not repugnant when he saith that concupiscence after it hath conceiued doth bring forth sinne.

13 We will alleadge some other sentences, whereby shall better appeare what he thought. In the second booke against *Julian*: This Law of sinne is both releaseth by the spirituall regeneration, and abideth in the mortall flesh, releaseth herein, because the guiltines is taken away in the Sacrament whereby the faithfull are regenerate: and it abideth, because it worketh the desires against which the faithful do fight. Againe, Therefore the law of sin (which was also in the members of so great an Apostle) is releaseth in baptisime, but not ended. Againe, The law of sinne (of which yet remaining the guiltines is in baptisime discharged) *Ambrose* called wickednes: because it is wickednes for the flesh to lust against the spirit. Againe, Sinne is dead in respect of the guiltines wherin it held vs, & euen being dead, it still rebelleth till it be healed with perfection of buriall. And yet plainer in the fifth booke. As the blindness of hart is both a sinne, whereby man belecueith not in God: and also a punishment of sinne, whereby a proud hart is chastised with woorthy correction: and the cause

of sinne when any thing is committed by the error of a blinde heart : so the lust of flesh against which a good spirit lusteth, is both sin, because there is in it disobedience against the government of the minde : and also the punishment of sinne, because it is giuen for recompence to the deseruings of the disobedient : and the cause of sinne in man, when he consenteth by defectiō, or in man, when he is borne by infectiō. Heere without any doubtfull speech he calleth it sinne, because when error was once ouerthrowen, and the truth confirmed, he lesse feared slanderous reports. As in the 41. Homily vpon *John*, where doubtlesse he speaketh according to the true meaning of his mind, he saith : If in the flesh thou serue the law of sinne, do that which the Apostle himselfe saith : let not sinne reigne in your mortall bodie to obeye the desires thereof. He saith not, let it not be, but let it not reigne. So long as thou liuest, sinne must needs be in thy members at least, let reigne be taken from it. Let not that be done which it commandeth. They that defend that lust is no sinne, are woont to object that saying of *Iames* : Lust, after that it hath conceived, bringeth fourth sinne. But this is easily confuted. For vnlesse we thinke that he speaketh of onely ill workes or actuall sinnes, euill will it selfe, shall not be accounted sinne. But where he calleth mischieuous deeds and wicked offences the offspringes of sin, and giueth vnto them the name of sinne, it doth not by and by follow thereof, but that to lust, is an euil thing and damnable before God.

Rom. 6. 12.

Iames 2.

14 Certaine Anabaptists in this age, deuise I wote not what phrantike intemperance in steede of spirituall regeneration : saying that the children of God restored into the state of innocency, now ought no more to be carefull for bridling of the lust of the flesh : that the Spirit is to be followed for their guide, vnder whose guiding they neuer goe out of the waie. It were incredible that mans minde could fall to so great madness, vnlesse they did openly and proudly babble abroad this doctrine. Truly it is monstrous. But it is meete that such should suffer the punishment of such blasphemous boldnes, that so haue perswaded their mind to turne the truth of God into a lie. Shall all the choise of honestie and dishonestie, right and wrong, good and euill, vertue, and vice, be taken away? Such difference (saie they) commeth of the curse of old *Adam*, from which we are exempted by Christ. So now there shall be no difference betwene fornication and chastitie, plaine dealing and sutletie, truth and lying, iustice and extortion. Take away vaine feare, say they, the Spirit will command thee no euill thing, so that thou boldly and without feare yeeld thee to the guiding thereof. Who can choose but be astonished at these monstrous things? Yet it is a common learning among them, which blinded with madness of lusts, haue put off all common reason, but what Christ (I beseech you) do they frame vnto vs, and what spirit do they belch out? For we reknowledge one Christ, and his only Spirit whome the Prophets haue commended, whome the Gospell giuen vs doth preach, of whome we there heare no such thing. That Spirit is no patron of manslaughter, whoredome, drunkennes, pride, contention, couetousnesse, and guile : but the author of loue, chastitie, sobriety, modestie, peace, temperance and truth. It is not a giddie spirit, and runneth headlong without consideration through right and wrong, but is full of wisdom, & vnderstanding, that discerneth rightly betwene iust & vniust. It stirreth not vnto dissolute and vnbridled licenciousnesse, but maketh difference betwene lawfull and vnlawfull, and teacheth to keepe measure & temperance : but why do we labour any longer in consulting this beastly rage? To Christians the Spirit of the Lord is not a troublesome phantasie, which either the diuels haue brought forth in a dreame, or haue receiued being forged of other : but they reuerentlie seeke the knowledge of him at the Scriptures, where these two things be taught of him : First that he is giuen vs vnto sanctification, that he might bring vs into the obedience of Gods will being purged fro vncleannesse and defilings, which obedience can not stand, vnlesse lusts be tamed & subdued, wherunto these men would giue the bride

The phrentique imagination of Anabaptists teaching that men regenerate should take no care to bridle any disorderd desire in themselves, but onely follow the conduct of the spirit which can not leade them into any euill : so that whatsoeuer they do in this their state of imagined innocencie it is spirituall & good.

ar libertie. Secondly we are taught that we are so cleansed by his sanctification, that we are still besieged with many vices and much weaknesse, so long as we are inclosed in the burden of our body: whereby it commeth to passe, that being farre distant from perfection, we haue neede alway to increase somewhat, and being entangled in vices, we haue neede daily to wrastle with them. Whereupon also followeth, that shaking of sloth and carelesnesse, we must watch with heedfull mindes, that we be not compassed vnware with the snares of our flesh. Vnlesse peradventure we thinke that we haue proceeded further than the Apostle, which yet was wearied of the Angell of Satan, that his strength might be made perfect with weaknesse: and which did vnfaignedly represent in his flesh that diuision of the flesh, and of the spirit.

2. Cor. 12. 15.
Rom 7 6.

1. Cor. 7. 11.
Seauen either effects, causes or properties of repentance reckoned up by the Apostle.

15 But whereas the Apostle in describing of repentance reckoneth seuen either causes or effectes or partes thereof, he doth that of a very good cause: and these they be: endeuour or carefulnesse, excusing, indignation, feare, desire, zeale, punishment. Neither ought it to seeme any absurditie, that I dare not certainly determine whether they ought to be counted causes or effectes. For both may be defended in dispute. They may bee also called affections ioyned with repentance: but because, leauing out those questions, we may vnderstand what *Paul* meaneth, we shall be content with a simple declaration of them. He saith therefore, that of the heavinesse which is according to God, ariseth carefulnesse. For he that is touched with an earnest feeling of displeasure because he hath sinned against his God, is therewithall stirred vp to diligence and heedfulnesse, to winde himselfe cleerly out of the snares of the diuel, to take better heede of his snares, to fall no more from the gouernance of the holy Ghost, nor to be oppressed with securitie. Next is Excusing, which in this place signifieth not the defence, whereby a sinner to escape the iudgement of God, either doth denie that he hath offended, or diminisheth the hainousnesse of his fault, but a purgation which standeth rather in craving of pardon, than in defence of his cause. Like as the children that are not reprobate when they acknowledge and confesse their faultes, doe yet vse intreating, and that it may take place, they protest by all meanes that they can, that they haue not cast away the reuertence that they owe to their parents. Finally, they so excuse them, as they go not about to prooue themselves righteous and innocent, but onely that they may obtaine pardon. Then followeth indignation thereby the sinner fretteth inwardly with himselfe, quarrelleth with himselfe, is angrie with himselfe, when he recordeth his owne peruerfnesse and his owne vnthankfulnesse to God. By the name of feare, he meaneth that trembling that is stricken into our mindes so oft as we thinke both what we haue deserved, and how horrible is the seueritie of Gods wrath against sinners. For wee must needs then be vexed with a matuellous vnquietnesse, which both instructeth vs to humilitie, and maketh vs, more ware against the time to come. Now if out of feare doe spring that carefulnesse, whereof he had spoken before, then we see with what lincing they hang together. It seemeth to me that he hath vsed this worde Desire for diligence in our dutie and readie cheerefulnesse to obey, wherunto the acknowledging of our owne faultes ought cheefely to prouoke vs. And thereunto also belongeth zeale, which he ioyneth immediately next vnto it. For it signifieth a fearfulnessse, wherewith we be kindled when we be spurred forward with these pricking thoughts: what haue I done? whither had I throwne my selfe headlong, if the mercie of God did not helpe me? The last of all is punishment, for the more rigorous that we be to our selues, and the straightlier that we examine our owne sinnes, so much the more we ought to trust that God is fauourable and mercifull vnto vs. And truely it is not possible, but that the soule being stricken with horror of the iudgement of God must needs doe some execution in the punishing of it selfe. Truly the godly do feele what punishments are shame, confusion, mourning, loathing of themselves, and other affections that spring out of earnest acknowledging of sinnes. But let vs remember that

that there is measure to be kept, that sorrow do not swallow vs vp, because nothing more readily happeneth to feareful consciences than falling to despair. And also by that craftie meane whomsoever Satan findeth overthrowen with dread of God, hee more and more drowneth them in the gulf of sorrow, that they may neuer rise vp againe. Truly the fear cannot be too great which endeth with humilitie, and departeth not from hope of pardon. But alway (as the Apostle teacheth) the sinner must beware, that while he moue himselfe to the loathing of himself, hee despair not, oppressed with too great feare, for so do we flee away from God which calleth vs to him by repentance. Vpon which point this lesson of *Bernard* is very profitable: Sorrow for sins is necessarie, if it be not continuall. I counsell you sometime to returne your fault from grieuous and painfull remembrance of your own waies, and to climb vp to the plaine ground of chearfull remembrance of benefits of God. Let vs mingle honie with wormwood, that the wholsome bitternes may bring vs health, when it shall be drunke tempered with sweetnes. And if ye thinke of your selues in humilitie, thinke also of the Lord in goodnes.

Heb. 11. 3.
Sermon 11.
in Cant.

16 Now it may be also perceiued what be the fruits of repentance, euen the duties of godlines toward God, and of charitie toward men, and therewithall a holines and purenes in all our life. Finally, the more earnestly that any man examineth his life by the rule of Gods lawe, so much the surer tokens he sheweth of his repentance. Therefore the holy Ghost oftentimes, when he exhorteth vs to repentance, calleth vs sometime to all the commandements of the lawe, sometime to the duties of the second table. Albeit in other places after that he hath condemned vncleanness in the verie fountaine of the heart, he descendeth afterward to outward testimonies that do set out true repentance, of which thing I will hereafter set before the readers eyes a table in the description of a Christian life. I will not gather testimonies out of the Prophets, wherein they partly sorne at their follies that goe about to appease God with ceremonies, and do they that they be meere mockeries, and partly do teach that outward vprightnesse of life is not the principall part of repentance, because God looketh vpon the heart: whosoever is euen meanely exercised in the Scripture, shall perceiue of himselfe without any other mans putting in minde, that when we haue to do with God, we labour in vaine, vnlesse wee beginne at the inwarde affection of the heart. And the place of *Isa* shall not a little helpe to the vnderstanding of the rest, where he saith: Teare your heart and not your garments. Also both those points are expressed in these wordes of *Iames*: Yee wicked doers, cleanse your hands: yee double men, purge your hearts. Where indeede there is an addition ioyned to the first part, but after is shewed the verie fountaine and beginning that they must wipe away their secret filthines, that there may be an altar set vp to God in the very heart. Beside this there are also certaine outward exercises, which we vse priuately as remedies to humble our selues or to tame our flesh, and publickely for the declaration of repentance. And they proceede from that punishment of which *Paul* speaketh, for these are the properties of an afflicted minde, to be in loathsomenes, mourning and weeping, to flee gorgeousnesse and all trimming, and to forsake all delights. Then hee that feelth how great an euill is the rebellion of the flesh, seeketh all remedies to bridle it. Moreover he that well bethinketh him how grieuous a thing it is to haue offended the iustice of God, cannot rest vntill he haue in his owne humilitie giuen glorie vnto God. Such exercises the old writers do oftentimes rehearse, when they speake of the fruits of repentance. But albeit they do not place the whole force of repentance in them, yet the readers shall pardon me, if I speake what I thinke: it seemeth vnto mee that they stande too much vpon them. And if any man will wisely wey it, I trust he will agree with me, that they haue two waies gone beyond measure. For when they so much enforced, and with immeasurable commendation aduanced that bodily discipline, this indeed they obtained,

The fruits of repentance, purging of the heart, outward amendment of life and manners. Besides which there are also certaine externall exercises seruing to humble or to declare that we are humbled, wherein the old writers haue two waies gone beyond measure.

Isa. 60. 13.
Iac. 4. 8.

2. Cor. 7. 11.

that the people did the more earnestly embrace it, but they in a maner darkened that, which ought to haue been of much greater importance. Secondly, in giuing punishments they were somewhat more rigorous then ecclesiasticall mildnes may beare, as we shall haue occasion to shew in another place.

The vse of weeping, fasting, of sackcloth and such like outward things in the act of repentance.
Ioch. 2. 12.

17 But because many when they heare weeping, fasting and ashes spoken of, both often in other places and specially in *Ioch*, they measure the chiefe part of repentance by fasting and Weeping: therefore their error is to be taken away. That which is there spoken of the turning of the whole heart to the Lord, of cutting their hearts and not their garments, is properly belonging to repentance: but weeping and fasting are not ioyned as continuall or necessarie effects thereof, but are spoken of in respect of a speciall circumstance. Because he had prophesied, that there hanged ouer the Iewes a most grieuous destruction, therefore he counselleth them to preuent the wrath of God, not onely in repenting, but also in vttering tokens of their sorrow. For as a man standing to be arraigned, vteth humbly to abase himselfe with an ouergrown beard, yncombed haire and blacke apparell, to moue the iudge to pittie: so it behooued them when they stood accused before the iudgement seat of God in piteous aray to beseech him not to extend his rigour. But although ashes and sackcloth did peraduenture more fitly agree with thoe times: yet it is certaine, that weeping and fasting should be to a very conuenient good vse among vs, so oft as the Lord seemeth to threaten vs any plague or calamity. For when he maketh any danger to appeare, he doth asier a certaine maner giue warning, that he is prepared or armed to reuenge. Therefore the Prophet did well, when he exhorted his countymen to weeping and fasting, that is to the sorrowfull manner of accusid men, whose offences he said a little before, were had in examination. Euen as the Pastors of the Church should not do ill at this day, if when they see any ruine hanging ouer the neckes of their people, they would erie out vpon them to make haste to fasting and weeping: so that they would with greater and more inward care and diligence, alway enforce that which is the principall point, that they must cut their hearts and not their garments. It is out of doubt, that fasting is not alway ioyned with repentance, but is appointed peculiarly for times of miserable plagues: and therefore a Christ ioyneth it with wayling, when he acquainteth the Apostles from neede thereof, vntill the time that being spoiled of his presence, they should be tormented with griefe. I speake of solemne fasting. For the priuate life of the godly ought to be tempered with honest sparing and sobrietie, that in the whole courte thereof there may appeare a certaine kind of fasting. But because all this matter shall be to be declared againe in the place where we shall entreat of the discipline of the Church, therefore I do now the more slenderly touch it.

The name of repentance improperly giuen to the outward selfification of our penitence: which reification by words or otherwise although God do not alwaies regeare, yet he doth exact alwaies an inward sorrow for sin committed, and for more grieuous offences more than an outward shewing of penance.
Mat. 11. 21.
Luc. 10. 13.
1. Cor. 11. 3.

18 But this one thing I wil adde here by the way: when the name of repentance is applied to this outward profession, then it is vs: properly turned from the naturall meaning which I haue aboue set forth of it. For it is not so much a turning vnto God as a confession of fault, with a beseeching of God not to charge them with the paine and guiltines. So to do penance in ashes and sackcloth is nothing else, then to vtter a displeasidnes when God is angrie with vs for grieuous offences. And this is a publicke kinde of confession, whereby we condemning our selues before the Angels and the world, do preuent the iudgement of God. For *Paul* rebuking their slothfulnesse that tenderly beare with their own faults, saith: if we did iudge our selues, we should not be iudged of God. But it is not alway necessarie to make men openly of counsell and wisdoms of our repentance: but to confesse priuately to God is a part of true repentance which cannot be omitted. For there is nothing more vntreasonable than to looke to haue God to pardon vs the finnes in which we flatter our selues and doe lude them by hypocrisie, least he should bring them to light. And it behooueth vs not onely to confesse those finnes which we daily commit, but more grieuous offences

offences ought to draw vs further, and to call againe into our remembrance things that seeme long agoe buried. Which Ileson *Dauid* giueth vs by his example. For being touched with thame of his newly committed fault, hee examineth him selfe 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 doth not to diminish the hainousnesse of his fault, as many hide them selues in the multitude, and seeke to escape punishment by wrapping other with them. But *Dauid* doth farre otherwise which with simple plamenes enforceth his fault in saying, that being corrupt from his first infancie, he hath not ceased to heape euils vpon euils. Also in another place he likewise examineth his passed life, that he craueth the mercy of God for the sinnes of his youth. And truly then onely shall we prooue our drouines to be shaken away from vs, if growing vnder our burden and bewailing our euils, we askereliefe of God. It is moreover to be noted, that the repentance which we are commanded continually to apply, differeth from that repentance, that listeth vp as it were from death, them that either haue filthily fallen, or with vnbrideled licentiousnesse haue throwen foorth themselues to sinne, or after a certaine manner of rebellious reuolting, haue shaken off the yoke of God. For the Scripture oftentimes, when it exhorteth to repentance meaneth thereby as it were a passage or rising againe from death into life: and when it reheriseth that the people did penance, it meaneth that they were turned from their idolatrie and other grosse offences. And in like manner *Paul* threatneth mourning vnto sinners that haue not done penance for their wantonnes, fornication & vnchastitie. This difference is to be diligentlie marked, least while we heare that few are called to penance, a more than carelesse assurednesse should creepe vpon vs, as though the mortifying of the flesh did no more belong vnto vs, the care whereof, the corrupt desires that alway tickle vs, and the vices that commonly bud vp in vs, doe not suffer vs to release. Therefore the speciall Repentance which is required but of some, whom the Deuil hath violently carried away from the feare of God, and fast bound with damnable snares, taketh not away the ordinary Repentance which the corruptnesse of nature compelleth vs to apply throughout all the whole course of our life.

19 Now if that be true, which is most euidently certaine, that all the summe of the Gospell is contained in these two principall pointes, Repentance and forgiveness of sinnes: doe wee not see, that the Lord doth therefore freely iustifie them that be his, that he may also by the sanctification of his Spirit restore them into true righteousness? *Iohn* the Angell sent before the face of Christ to prepare his waies, preached: Repent ye, for the kingdome of heauen is come neere at hand. In calling them to Repentance, he did put them in minde to acknowledge themselues sinners, and all that was theirs, to be damnable before the Lord, that they might with all their harts desire the mortifying of their flesh and a newe regeneration in the Spirit. In telling them of the kingdome of God, he called them to Faith For by the kingdome of God which he taught to be at hand, he meant forgiveness of sinnes, saluation, and life, and all that euer we get in Christ. Wherefore in the other Euangelistes it is written, *Iohn* came preaching the Baptisme of Repentance vnto forgiveness of sinnes. And what is that else, but that they being oppressed and wearied with the burden of sinnes, should turne to the Lord, and conceiue good hope of forgiveness and saluation? So Christ also began his preaching: The kingdome of God is come neere at hand: repent yee and beleue the Gospell. First he declarcth that the treasures of Gods mercy are opened in him, and then he requircth repentance, and lost of all confidence in the promises of God. Therefore when he meant briefly to comprehend the whole summe of the Gospell, he said that he must suffer and rise againe from the dead, and that Repentance and forgiveness of sinnes must be preached in his name. The Apostles also preached the same after his resurrection, that he was

Psal. 51. 7.

Psal. 15. 9.

2. Cor. 12. 21.

How Repentance and forgiveness of sinnes constitute the substance of the Gospell.
 March 11. 10.
 March 3. 2.

Matth. 1. 4.
 Luk. 3. 3.

Marke 1. 15.

Luk 24. 26.

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raised vp by God, to giue to *Israel* repentance and forgiuenesse of finnes. Repentance is preached in the name of Christ, when men doe heare by the doctrine of the Gospell, that all their thoughts, their affections, their endeouors are corrupt and faultie, and that therefore it is necessary that they be borne againe if they will enter into the kingdome of God. Forgiuenes of finnes is preached when men are taught that Christ is made to them redemption, righteousnes, saluation and life: in whose name they are freely accounted righteous and innocent in the sight of God, whereas both these graces are receiued by Faith, as I haue in another place declared: yet because the goodnesse of God whereby finnes are forgiuen is the proper obiect of Faith, therefore it shall be good that it be diligently distinguished from Repentance.

Cor. 1. 30.

As Repentance openeth vs the doore vnto Christ, so Christi iustie must lead vs on in the way of continuall repenting or amending our liues.

Esa. 61. 1.

Math. 11 5.

Luk. 1. 18.

Mat. 9. 14.

Act. 3. 26. &

5. 31.

Esa. 56. 1. & 59.

20. & 55. 6.

Act. 2. 38.

20 Now as the hatred of sinne, which is the beginning of Repentance, openeth vs the first entery vnto Christ, which sheweth himselfe to none but to miserable and afflicted sinners, which grone, labor, are loden, are hungry and thirstie, and pine away with sorrow and misery: so must wee endeouour towards Repentance, throughout all our life apply it, and follow it to the end, if we will abide in Christ. For he came to call sinners, but to Repentance: he was sent to blesse the vnworthy, but so that every one should turne himselfe from his wickednes. The Scripture is full of such sayings. Wherefore when God offereth forgiuenesse of finnes, he likewise vseth to require on our part Repentance, secretly declaring thereby, that his mercie ought to be to men a cause to repent them, Doe (saith he) iudgement and righteousnes, because saluation is come nere at hand. Againe, there shall come to *Sion* a Redeemer, and to them that in *Jacob* repent from their finnes. Againe, Seeke the Lord while he may be found: call vpon him while he is nere. Let the wicked leaue his way and the wickednes of his thoughts, and be turned to the Lord, and he shall haue mercy on him. Againe, Turne ye and repent, that your finnes may be done away. Where yet is to be noted, that this condition is not so annexed as though our Repentance were a foundation to deserue pardon, but rather (because the Lord hath determined to haue mercy vpon men to this end that they should repent) he teacheth men whither they shall trauell if they will obtaine grace. Therefore so long as we shal dwell in the prison of our body, we must continually wastle with the vices of our corrupt flesh, yea with our owne naturall soule. *Plato* saith in certaine places, that the life of a Philosopher is a meditation of death, but we may more truely say, that the life of a Christian man is a perpetuall study and exercise of mortifying the flesh, till it being vtterly flaine, the Spirit of God get the dominion in vs. Therefore I thinke that he hath much profited, that hath learned much to mislike himselfe: not that he should sticke fast in that mire and goe no further, but rather that he should hast and long toward God, that being grafed into the death and life of Christ, hee should study vpon a continuall repentance: as truely they cannot otherwise doe, that haue a naturall hatred of sinne: for no man cuer hated sinne, vlesse he were first in loue with righteousness. This doctrine, as it was most simple of all other, so I thought it best to agree with the truth of the Scripture.

Id cum alib. tum in Phaedone multis disputat.

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ficial.*

Repentance the gift of God: which gift being denied vnto some kinde of sinners the Nouatians tooke thereby occasion to exclude all from it that sin after grace once received.

Act. 3. 16.

2. Tim. 2. 25.

Ephes. 2. 10.

21 Now that Repentance is a singular gift of God, I thinke it be so well knownen by the doctrine aboue taught, that I neede not to reapeate a long discourse to prooue it againe. Therefore the Church prayeth and hath in admiration the benefit of God, that he hath giuen the *Gentiles* Repentance vnto saluation. And *Paul* commanding *Timothy* to be patient and milde toward the vnbeleeuers, saith: If at any time GOD giue them Repentance that they may repent from the snares of the deuill. God indeed affirmeth that he willetch the conuersion of all men, and directeth his exhortations generally to all men: but the effectuall working thereof hangeth vpon the Spirit of regeneration. Because it were more easie to create vs men, than of our owne power to put on a better nature. Therefore in the whole course of regeneration

we are not without cause called, the woike of God created to good workes, which he hath prepared that we should walke in them. Whomsoever the Lords will is to deliuer from death, those he quickeneth with the spirite of regeneration: not that repentance is properly the cause of saluation, but because it is already seene that it is vnseparable from Faith and from the mercie of God: sith (as *Esay* testifieth) that there is a Redeemer come to him, and to those that in *Iacob* are returned from their wickednesse. This truly standeth stedfastly determined, that where soeuer liueth the feare of God, there the Spirite hath wrought vnto the saluation of man. Therefore in *Esay*, when the Faithfull complaine and lament that they are forsaken of God, they reckon this as a token of being reprobates, that their hartes were hardened by God. The Apostle also meaning to exclude Apostataes from hope of saluation, appointeth this reason, that it is impossible for them to be renewed vnto Repentance: because God in renewing them whom he will not haue perish, sheweth a token of his fatherly fauour, and in a manner draweth them vnto him with the beames of his cheerefull and merie countenance: on the other side with hardening them, he thundereth against the reprobate, whose wickednesse is vnardonable. Which kinde of vengeance the Apostle threatneth to wilfull Apostataes, which when they depart from the Faith of the Gospell, doe make a scorne of God, reprochfully despise his grace, and defile and tread vnder feete the bloode of Christ, yea as much as in them is they crucifie him againe. For he doth not (as some fondly rigorous men would haue it) cut off hope of pardon from all wilfull sinnes: but teacheth that Apostasie is vnworthy of all excuse: so that it is no maruell that God doth punish a contempt of himselfe so full of sacriledge, with vnappeasable rigor. For he saith that it is impossible, that they which haue once bene enlightened, haue tasted of the heavenly gift, haue bene made partakers of the holy Ghost, haue tasted of the good woord of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they fall, should be renewed to Repentance, crucifying againe of new, and making a scorne of the Sonne of God. Againe in another place: It (saith he) we willingly sinne after knowledge of the truth received, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinnes, but a certaine dreadfull expectation of iudgement, &c. These also be the places, out of the wrong vnderstanding whereof, the *Negations* in olde time haue gathered matter to play the mad men: with whose rigorousnesse certaine good men being offended, beleued this to be a counterfaite Epistle in the Apostles name, which yet in all partes doe truly fauour of an Apostolikelike Spirite. But because we contend with none but with them that allow it, it is easie to shew, how these sentences doe nothing maintaine their error. First it is necessarie that the Apostle agree with his Master, which affirmeth that all sinne and blasphemie shall be forgien, except the sinne against the holy Ghost, which is not forgien neither in this world nor in the world to come. It is certaine (I say) that the Apostle was contented with this exception, vnlesse we will make him an aduersarie to the grace of Christ. Whereupon followeth, that pardon is denied to no speciall offences, but onely to one, which proceeding of a desperate rage, cannot be ascribed to weakenesse, and openly sheweth that a man is possessed of a deuil.

22 But to discusse this, it behooueth to enquire what is that same so horrible offence, that shall haue no forgienesse. Whereas *Augustine* in one place defineth it an obstinate stiffenes euen vnto death, with despaire of pardon, that doth not well agree with the very words of Christ, that it shall not be forgien in this world. For either that is spoken in vaine, or it may be committed in this life. But if *Augustines* definition be true, then it is not committed, vnlesse it continue euen vnto death. Whereas some other say that he sinneth against the holy Ghost, that enuieth the grace bestowed vpon his brother: I see not from whence that is fetched. But let vs bring a true definition, which being once proued with sure testimonies, shall easily by it selfe

The definition of sinne against the holy Ghost: which sinne proceedeth not of ignorance but of malice.

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ouerthrow all the rest. I say therefore, that they sinne against the holy Ghost, which of set purpose resist the truth of God, with brightnesse whereof they are so dazeled, that they cannot pretend ignorance: which they do onely to this end to resist. For Christ meaning to expound that which he had said, immediately addeth: Hee that speaketh a worde against the sonne of man, it shall bee forgien him: but he that blasphemeth against the holy Ghost, shall not bee forgien. And *Matthew* for the blasphemie against the holy spirit, putteth the spirite of blasphemie. But howe can a man speake a reproch against the Sonne, but it is also spoken against the holy Ghost? They that stumble vware against the truth of God, not knowing it, which do ignorantly speake euill of Christ, hauing yet this minde, that they would not extinguishe the truth of God disclosed vnto them, or once with one worde offende him, whom they had knowen to be the Lords annointed: these men sinne against the father and the sonne. So there are many at this day, that doe most hatefully detest the doctrine of the Gospell, which if they did know it to be the doctrine of the Gospell, they would be readie to worship with all their hart. But they whose conscience is conuincd, that it is the worde of God which they forsake and fight against, and yet cease not to fight against it, they are saide to blaspheme the holie Ghost: forasmuch as they wrastle against the enlightning that is the worke of the holy Ghost. Such were many of the Lewes, which when they could not resist the Spirit that spake by the *Stephen*, yet endeouored to resist. It is no doubt but that many of them were carried vnto it with zeale of the law, but it appeereth that there were some other that of malicious wickednes did rage against God himselfe, that is to say against the doctrine, which they were not ignorant to be of God. And such were those Pharisees, against whom the Lorde inueieth, which to ouerthrow the power of the holy Ghost, defamed him with the name of *Brelzebub*. This therefore is the spirit of blasphemie, when mans boldnesse of set purpose, leapeth foorth to reproch the name of God. Which *Paul* signifieth when he saith, that he obtained mercy, because he had ignorantly committed those things through vnbeleefe, for which otherwise he had bene vnworthy of Gods fauour. If ignorance ioyned with vnbeleefe was the cause that he obtained pardon, thereupon followeth, that there is no place for pardon, where knowledge is ioyned to vnbeleefe.

23 But if thou make it well, thou shalt perceiue that the Apostle speaketh not of one or other particular fall, but of the vniuersall departing whereby the reprobate do forsake saluation. And it is no manuell, that they whom *Iohn* in his canonical Epistle affirmeth not to haue bene of the elect, from whom they went out, doe feele God vnappeaseable. For he directeth his speech against them, that imagined, that they might returne to the Christian religion, although they had once departed from it: and calling them from this false and pestilent opinion, he saith that which is most true, that there is no way of returne open for them to the communion of Christ, that wittingly and willingly haue cast it away: but they cast it not away, that onely in dissolute licentiousnesse of life transgresse the word of the Lorde, but they that of set purpose cast away his whole doctrine. Therefore the deceite is in these words of falling and sinning. Because the Nouatians expounde Falling to be, if a man being taught by the lawe of the Lord, that he ought not to steale or to commit fornication, abstaineth not from stealing or fornication. But contrariwise I affirme, that there is a secret comparison of contraries, wherein ought to be repeated all things contrarie to that which was first spoken, so that heere is expressed not any particular fault but the whole turning away from God, and (as I may so call it) the Apostasie of the whole man. Therefore when hee saith, they which haue fallen after that they haue once bene enlightened, and haue tasted the heauculy gift, and bene made partakers of the holy Ghost, and also tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come: it is to be vnderstanded of them, that with aduised vngodlines haue

choked

Match. 12. 32.
Mark. 3. 29.
Luk. 12. 10.

Act. 6 10.

Match. 9. 43.
& 12. 24.

1. Tim. 1. 13.

2. Ioh. 1. 19.

Heb. 6. 4.

choked the light of the holy Spirit, haue spit out againe the taste of the heavenly gift, haue estranged them selues from the sanctification of the holy Ghost, haue troden vnder foote the word of God and the powers of the world to come. And the more to expresse that aduised purpose of wickednesse, in an other place afterward he addeth this word by name Wilfully. For when he saith, that there is lesse sacrifice for them that sin willingly after knowledge of the truth receiued, he doth not deny, that Christ is a continuall sacrifice to purge the iniquities of the holy ones (which he expressly crieth out almost in the whole Epistle, where he declareth the priesthood of Christ) but he saith, that there remaineth no other when that is once foraken: and it is forsaken, when the truth of the Gospell is of set purpose renouced.

Hcb. 10. 16.

24 But whereas some doe thinke it too harde and too far from the tender mercifullnesse of God, that any are put away that flee to beseeching the Lordes mercie: that is easily answered. For he doth not say, that pardon is denied them if they turne to the Lord: but he vtterly denieth, that they can rise vnto Repentance, because they are by the iust iudgement of God stricken with eternal blindness for their vnthankfullnesse. And it maketh nothing to the contrarie that afterward he applyeth to this purpose the example of *Esaus*, which in vaine attempted with howling and weeping to recouer his right of the first begotten. And no more doth that threatning of the Prophet, when they crie, I will not heare. For in such Phrases of speech is meant neither the true conuersion, nor calling vpon GOD, but that carefulnesse of the wicked wherewith being bound, they are compelled in extremitie to looke vnto that which before they carelesly neglected, that there is no good thing for them but in the Lords helpe. But this they doe not so much call vpon, as they mourne that it is taken from them. Therefore the Prophet meaneth nothing else by crying, and the Apostle nothing else by weeping, but that horrible torment which by desperation fretteth and vexeth the wicked. This it is good to marke diligently, for esse God should disagree with himselfe, which crieth by the Prophet that he will be mercifull so soone as the sinner turneth. And as I haue already saide, it is certaine that the minde of man is not turned to better, but by Gods grace preuenting it. Also his promise concerning calling vpon him, will neuer deceiue. But that blinde torment wherewith the reprobate are diuersly drawn, when they see that they must needs seeke God, that they may finde remedy for their euils, and yet doe flee from his presence, is vnproperly called Conuersion and Prayer.

To them that sinne against the holy Ghost pardon is not denied if they repent, but repentance because they are vnworshie of pardon. Zach. 7. 13.

Ezec. 18. 21.

25 But a question is moued, where as the Apostle denieth that God is appeased with fained Repentance, how *Achab* obtained pardon and turned away the punishment pronounced vpon him, whom yet it appeareth by the rest of the course of his life to haue bene onely stricken amased with sodaine feare. He did indeede put on sackcloth, scattered ashes vpon him, lay vpon the ground, and (as it is testified of him) he was humbled before GOD: but it was not enough to cut his garmentes when his hart remained thicke and swollen with malice. Yet we see howe God is turned to mercy. I answer that so sometime hypocrites are spared for a time, but yet so that euer 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 profite got he thereby, but that he should not feele it aliuie in earth? Therefore the curie of GOD although it were hidden, yet had a fast abiding place in his house, and he himselfe went into eternal destruction. This same is to be seene in *Esaus*. For though he had a repulse, yet a temporall blessing was granted him at his weeping. But because the spirituall inheritance, by the Oracle of God could not rest but with one of the brethren, when *Jacob* was chosen and *Esaus* refused, that putting away did exclude the mercy of GOD: this comfort was left him as to a beastly man, that he should be fatte with the fatte of the earth and the deaw of Heauen. And this is it that I said euen now, that it ought to be referred to

Although God for common examples sake doe sometimes remitt temporall punishments vpon a counterfeite repentance as in *Achab*, yet his wrath without his true conuersion is not turned away.

1. Reg. 28. 19.

Gen. 27. 18.

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the example of the other, that we should learne the more chearefully to applie our mindes and endeouours to repentance, because it is not to be doubted that when we are truly and hartly turned, God will be ready to forgie vs, whose mercifulnes extendeth it selfe euen to the vnworthy, so long as they shew any griefe at all. And therewithall we be also taught, how terrible iudgement is prepared for all the obstinate, which now make it a sport with no lesse shameles face than yron heart to despise and set nought by the threatnings of God. After this maner he oftentimes reached out his hand to the children of Israell, to releue their miseries, although their crimes were counterfait, and their hearts double and false, as himselfe in the Psalme complaineth, that they by and by returned to their nature, and so minded with so friendly gentle dealing to bring them to earnest conuersion, or to make them vnexcusable. Yet in releasing punishments for a time, he doth not binde himselfe to a perpetual law thereby, but rather riseth somtimes more rigorously against Hypocrites, and doubleth their paines, that thereby may appeare how much fainting displeaseth him. But (as I haue saide) he sheweth some examples of his readines to giue pardon, by which the godly may be encouraged to amendment of life, and their pride may be the more grieuously condemned, that stubbornly kick against the pricke.

The iiii. Chapter.

That all that the Sophisters babble in their Schooles of Penance, is far from the purenesse of the Gospell. Where is entreated of Confession and satisfaction.

The schoolmens error both in defining and deuising repentance. The first is out of Gregoric, and is rehear'd lib. 4. Sent. Dist. 14. c. 1. The second out of Amb. & refer. illic, & in Decr. Dist. 3 de penitent. c. Penit. priore. The third out of August. refer. ca. Dist. c. Penit. post. The fourth out of Amb. refer. Dist. 1. Penit. c. Vera Penit.

NOW I come to discusse those things, which the Schoole Sophisters haue taught of repentance. Which I will runne ouer in as few wordes as may bee, because I munde not to goe through all, least this booke, which I labour to draw into a short abridgement, should grow to a huge greatnesse. And the Sophisters haue entangled it in so many volumes, beeing a matter otherwise not verie hard, that a man shall hardly finde how to get out, if he once fall into their degrees. First, in defining it, they shew that they neuer understood what repentance was. For they take holde of certaine sayings of the old writers, which do nothing at all expresse that nature of repentance, as that to repent is to weepe for sinnes passed, and not to commit sinnes to be wept for: Againe, that it is to lament euils passed, and not to commit againe other euils to be lamented. Againe: that it is a certaine sorrowfull reuenge, punishing in himselfe that which he is sorrie to haue committed. Againe: that it is a sorrowe of heart, and bitternesse of soule, for the euils that a man hath committed or to which hee hath consented. But, to graunt these things well saide of the fathers (which a contentious man might easily enough denie) yet they were not spoken to this intent to describe repentance, but onely to exhort them to whom they wrote, that they should not fall againe into the same offences, out of which they had bene drawn. But if we list to turne al such titles of commendation into definitions, then other may also be adioyned as rightfully as they. As this of *Chrysofome*, Repentance is a medicine that destroyeth sinne, a gift giuen from heauen, a maruellos vertue, a grace surmounting the force of the law. Yea and the doctrine which they afterward teach, is somewhat woorse then these definitions. For they sicke so earnestly in outward exercises, that a man can gather nothing else out of infinite volumes, but that repentance is a discipline and rigorousnesse that serueth partly to tame the flesh, and partly to chastice and punish vices: but they keepe mauellous silence of the inward renewing of the minde that draweth with it correction of life. There is indeede much talke among them of Contrition and Attrition: they torment soules with many doubts, & do thrust into them much trouble & carefulnes: but when they seem

to haue thoroughly wounded the hearts, they heale the bitterneſſe with a light ſprinkling of ceremonies. And when they haue thus curiouſly defined repentance, they diuide it into contrition of hart, confeſſion of mouth, and ſatisfaction of worke, no more logically then they defined it, although they woulde ſeeme to haue waſted all their age in framing of ſyllogiſmes. But if a man will goe about to prooue by the definition (which kind of argument is of force among logicians) that a man may weepe for his ſins paſſed, and commit no more to be wept for, that he may bewaile his euils paſſed, and commit no more to be bewailed, and that he may puniſh himſelf for that which he was ſorry to haue committed, &c. although he doe not confeſſe with his mouth: howe will they maintaine their diuiſion? For if that true penitent man doe not confeſſe, then repentance may be without confeſſion. But if they anſwere, that this diuiſion is referred to repentance, in reſpect that it is a ſacrament, or is meant of the whole perfection of repentance, which they comprehend not in their definitions, then is there no cauſe to blame me, but let them laye the fault in themſelues that make not a purer and plainer definition, I truly (according to my groſſenſſe) when any thing is diſputed of, do referre all things to the very definition, which is the ſtay and ground of the whole diſputation. But admit that to be their maſter licence. Now let vs particularly conſider all the parts in order. Where as I do negligently leape ouer as trifles thoſe things that they with great grauitie of countenance do publiſh for myſteries, I do it not vnwittingly, (neither were it verie painefull for mee to confute all that they thinke themſelues to haue deeply and ſutely diſputed) but I woulde thinke it againſt conſcience to wearie the Readers with ſuch trifles without any profite. Truly it is eaſie to knowe by the queſtions which they moue and toſſe, and wherewith they miſerable encombe themſelues, that they prate of things that they know not. As for example: whether the repentance of our ſin pleaſeth God, when obſtinacie endureth in other. Againe: whether the puniſhments laid vpon man by God, do auile to ſatisfaction. Againe: whether repentance may be oftentimes reiterate for deadly ſins: where they ſouly and wickedly define, that penance is daily done but for veniall ſins. Likewise they very much torment themſelues with a groſſe error, vpon the ſaying of *Hierome*, that repentance is a ſecond bourde after ſhipwracke. Wherein they ſhew that they neuer waked from their brutiſh dulneſſe, to feele ſo much as a farre off the thouſandth part of their faults.

2 But I would the Readers ſhould note, that here is not a quarrell about the ſhadow of an aſſe, but the moſt earneſt matter of all others is intrated of, that is to ſay, forgiuenefſe of finnes. For whereas they require three things to repentance, contrition of hart, confeſſion of mouth, and ſatisfaction of worke: they doe therewithall teach that thoſe three things are neceſſarie to the obtaining of forgiuenefſe of ſins. But if it behouo vs to know any thing at all in al our religion, this truly behouoeth vs moſt of all, I meane to vnderſtande and knowe well by what meane, with what lawe, vpon what condition, with what eaſineſſe or hardneſſe the forgiuenefſe of ſins is obtained. If this knowledge ſtande not plaine and certaine, the conſcience ſhall haue no reſt at all, no peace with God, no confidence or aſſurednes, but continually trembleth, wauereth, is troubled, is tormented, is vexed, horrible dreadeth, hateth and fleeth the ſight of God. But if the forgiuenefſe of finnes hang vpon thoſe conditions to which they doe binde it, then nothing is more miſerable, nothing in more lamentable caſe than wee. They make Contrition the fiſt part of obtayning pardon, and they require that to bee a true Contrition, that is to ſaie perfect and full: but in the meane time they doe not determine when a man may bee aſſured, that he hath to the full meature perfectly performed this contrition. True-lye I grant that euerie man ought diligently and earneſtly to enforce himſelfe, with bitterly weeping for his finnes, to whet himſelfe more and more to a loching and hatred of them. For this is a ſorrow not to bee repented, that breedeth repentance

Lib. 4. Sen 6. ca. 1.
de Penit. diſti. 1.
c. perfecta penit-
tentia.

*We ſhoulde neuer
attain to any quiet-
nes of minde if
that which the
Schoolemen haue
taught concerning
contritions were
true.*

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vnto saluation. But when there is such a bitterness of sorrow required as may proportionally answere the greatnes of the fault, and such as may in balance counterpoise with the trust of pardon, heere the poore consciences are maruellously tormented and troubled, when they see themselues charged with a due contrition of sins, and do not so attaine the measure of that due, that they can determine with themselues, that they haue duly performed so much as they duly ought. If they say that we must do as much as lyeth in vs, then come we still to the same point that we are at before: for how dare any man assure himselfe that he hath imployed all his force to bewaile his sins? So when the consciences haue long wraffled with themselues, and long bene exercised with battles, do at length finde no hanen to rest in, yet somewhat to ease themselues, they enforce themselues to a sorrow, and wring out teares to make perfect their contrition.

The pardon of our sins doth not depend upon the measure of our contrition.

Matt. 11. 18.
Esay. 61.
Luk. 4. 18.

3 But if they say that I flaunder them: Let them come forth and shew any one man, that by such doctrine of contrition hath not either bene driuen to dispaire, or hath not set for his defence a counterfaying of sorrow in steede of true sorrow, against the iudgement of God. We haue also our selues said in one place, that forgiveness of sinnes neuer commeth without repentance, because none but the afflicted and wounded with conscience of sinnes, can sincerely call vpon the mercie of God: but we haue therewithall further said, that repentance is not the cause of the forgiveness of sinnes. As for those torments of soules, which they say must be performed of vs, we haue taken them away: we haue taught the sinner not to looke vpon his owne contrition nor his owne teares, but to fasten both his eies vpon the onely mercie of God. We haue onely put him in minde that Christ called the labouring and loaden, when he was sent to publish glad tydings to the poore, to heale the contrite in hart, to preache remission to captiues, to deliuer prisoners, and to comfort them that mourne. From which should be excluded both the Pharisees, that filled with their owne righteousness, do not acknowledge their owne pouertie, and also the despisers that careles of Gods wrath do seeke no remedie for their culls. For such do not labour, nor are loaden, nor contrite in hart, nor bond, nor captiue. But there is great difference betwene teaching a man to deserue forgiveness of sins with due and full contrition, which the sinner can neuer performe: and instructing him to hunger and thirst for the mercie of God, that by the acknowledging of his owne miserie, by his owne vnquittnes, wearines and captiuitie, it may be shewed him, where he ought to seeke for reliefe, rest and libertie: and finally, he may be taught in the humbling of himselfe, to giue glory to God.

The grounds of Popish confession.

4 Concerning confession, there hath bene alwaies great strife betwene the Canonistes and the Schoole diuines: while the one sort affirme, that confession is commaunded by the speciall commaundement of God, and the other sort denie it and say, that it is commaunded onely by the Ecclesiasticall constitutions. But in this contention hath appeared the notable shamelesse of the diuines, that haue corrupted and violently wrested as many places of Scripture, as they alleaged for their purpose. And when they saw that they could not so obtain that which they required, they which would be thought more subtle than the rest escaped away with this shift, that confession came from the lawe of God, in respect of the substance of it, but afterward receiued forme of the lawe Positiue. Euen as the foolishlest sort among the lawyers do say, that Citations came from the law of God, because it is saide: *Adam* where art thou? And likewise Exceptions, because *Adam* answered as it were by way of exception saying: The wife that thou gauest me, &c. But that both citations & exceptions receiued from giuen them by the Ciuil law. But let vs see by what arguments they prooue this confession, either Formed or Vnformed to be the commaundements of God. The Lord (say they) sent the leprous men to the Priests. But what? Sent he them to confession? Who euer heard it spoken, that the Leuiticall priestes

Gen. 3. 9.

Matt. 8. 4.
Luk. 5. 15.

priestes were appointed to heare confessions? Therefore they flie to Allegories, Deut. 17. 8. And say: It was commaunded by the Lawe of *Moses*, that the priestes should discern betweene leprosie and leprosie: sinne is a spirituall leprosie: therefore it is the priestes office to pronounce vpon it. Before that I aunswere them, I aske this by the way, If this place make them iudges of the spirituall leprosie? why do they draw to them the knowledge of naturall and fleshy leprosy? This forsooth is not to mocke with the Scriptures. The lawe giueth to the Leuiticall Priestes the knowledge of the Leprosie, therefore let vs take it vpon vs. Sinne is a spirituall leprosie, therefore let vs also be examiners of sinne. Now I answere: sith the priesthoode is remooued, it is necessarie that the Lawe be remooued also. All priesthoodes are remooued to Christ, and fulfilled and ended in him, therefore to him onely all the right and honour of priesthoode is also remooued. If they loue so well to follow allegories, let him set Christ before them for the onely priest, and heape vpon his iudgement seate the free iurisdiction of all things: thus we can easily be contented to suffer. Moreover their allegorie is verie vnfit, that setteth among the ceremonies that lawe which is meere-ly politike. Why then did Christ send the leprous men to the Priestes? That the Priestes should not caull that he did breake the lawe that commaunded the man healed of the leprosy, to be shewed before the Priest and purged with offering of sacrifice: therefore he commaunded the leprous men being cleansed, to doe that which belonged to the lawe. Goe (saith he) and shewe your selues to the Priest, and offer the gift that *Moses* hath commaunded in the Lawe that it should be for a witness vnto them. And truly this miracle should haue bene a witness vnto them, for they had pronounced them leprous, and now they pronounce them healed. Are they not whether they will or no compelled to become witnesses of Christs miracles? Christ leaueth to the his miracle to be examined, they cannot deny it. But because they still dally with it, therefore this worke is for a witness vnto the. So in another place: This Gospel shal be preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations. Again: Ye shal be led before kings and gouernors, for a witness to them, that is: that in the iudgement of God they may be more strongly conuincid. But if they had rather follow *Chrysostome*: he also teacheth that Christ did this for the *Jewes* sake, that he should not be accounted a breaker of the Law. Albeit in so cleare a matter I am ashamed to alleage the witness of any man: whereas Christ pronounceth that he leaueth the right of the lawe whole to the priestes as to the professed enimies of the Gospell, which were alway bent to cary against it, if their mouth had not bene stopped. Wherefore that the popish sacrificing priests may still keepe this profession, let them openly take parts with them which must of necessity be restrained by force, that they speake not ill against Christ. For this nothing belongeth to his true ministers.

Heb. 7. 11.

Math. 24. 14.
Math. 10. 18.

Hom. 12. de muliere Chananaea.

5 They bring their second argument out of the same fountaine, that is from an allegorie, as though allegories were of great force to confirme any doctrine. But let them be of force, if I do not proue that I can make a fairer shew of them for my side, then they can for theirs. They say, The Lord commaunded his Disciples, that when *Lazarus* was raised vp, they should vnbind and loose him from his bonds. Heere first they lie: for it is no where read that the Lorde saide this to the disciples: and it is much more likely that he saide to the *Jewes* that stood by him, that the miracle might be made the more euident without suspicion of fraud, and his power appeare the greater, that without any touching, with his onely word he raised vp dead men. For thus I expound it: that the Lord, to take away all wrongfull opinion from the *Jewes*, willed the to roll away the stone, to feele the stincke, to behold assured tokens of death, to see him rising by the only power of his word, and them first to feele him liuing. And this is the iudgement of *Chrysostome*. But let vs graunt that this was spoken to the Disciples: what will they get thereby? That the Lord gaue his Apostles power

Christs commaunding to loose the bonds from *Lazarus* whom he raised out of the graue frigidously alleaged to proue another confession.

Ioh. 11. 44.

Ser. contra Iudeos, Gentiles. & heretic.

to loose. But how much more fitly and more handiömy might these things be applied by way of allegorie, to say that by this signe the Lord meant to instruct his faithfull, to loose them that he had raised vp: that is, that they should not call into remembrance those finnes that he had forgotten: that they should not condemne them for sinners whome he had acquitted: that they should not reproch men with those things that he had forgien: that they should not be rigorous to punish, and lightly offended, where he is mercifull and easily entreated to spare? Truly, nothing ought to moue vs more to readinesse to forgiue, than the example of the Iudge that threatneth that he will be vnappealeable to them that be too rigorous and vngentle. Now let them go and boast of their allegories.

Auricular confession weakely proued either by their acknowledging of their sins whom Iohn did baptize, or by S. Iames his willing men to make their mutuall confessions.

6 But now they ioine more neere hand with vs, when they fight (as they thinke) with open sentences. They that came to *Iohns* baptisme, did confesse their finnes, and *Iames* willeth that we confesse our finnes one to another. No marueile if they that would be baptized did confesse their finnes, for it was said before that *Iohn* preached the baptisme of repentance, and baptized in water vnto repentance. Whom should he then haue baptized, but them that had confessed themselues sinners? Baptisme is a token of the forgiuenesse of finnes: and who should be admitted to this token but sinners, and they that acknowledge them selues to be such? Therefore they confessed their finnes, that they might be baptized. And not without a cause doth *Iames* bid vs confesse one to another. But if they did make what followeth next after, they would vnderstand, that this also maketh little for them. Confesse (saith he) one to another your finnes, and pray one for another. He ioyneth together mutuall confession and mutuall prayer. If we must confesse to priests only, then must we also pray for priests only. Yea, What and if it might follow of the words of *Iames* that onely priests might confesse? for when he willeth that we should confesse one to another, he speaketh onely to them that may heare the confessions of other: his word is in Greeke *Altelous*, mutually, interchangeable, by turnes, or (if they so like best to terme it) by way of reciprocauon one to another. But so interchangeably none can confesse, but they that are meete to heare confessions. Which prerogative sith they vouchsaue to graunt only to priests, we do also put ouer the office of confelling to them only. Therefore away with such triflings, and let vs take the very meaning of the Apostle which is simple and plaine: that is, that we should lay our weaknesse one in anothers bosome to receiue mutuall counsell, mutuall compassion, and mutuall cöfort one of another: then that we being naturally pruy to the weakenes of our brethren, should pray for them to the Lord. Why do they then alludge *Iames* against vs: which do so earnestly require the confession of the mercy of God? but no man can confesse Gods mercy, vnlesse he haue first confessed his owne miserie. Yea we rather pronounce him accursed that doeth not before God, before his Angels, before the Church, yea and before all men confesse himselfe a sinner. For the Lord hath concluded all vnder finnes, that all mouthes might be stopped, and all flesh humbled before God, and he onely iustified and exalted.

Gal. 3. 22.
Rom. 3. 9.

Auricular confession a meere humane constitution not grounded vpon any diuine Law.

This was the
183. Pope.

7 But I marueile with what face they dare affirme, that the confession whereof they speake, is of the lawe of God: the vse whereof we graunt in dede to be verie auncient, but such as we are able to proue in old time to haue bene at liberty. Truly euen their owne chronicles declare, that there was no certaine Lawe or constitution of it before the times of *Innocent* the third. Surely, if they had had a more ancient law, they would rather haue taken hold thereof, than haue bin contented with the decree of the councill of *Laterane*, and so made themselues to be laughed at, euen of children. In other things they sticke not to make forged decrees, which they fater vpon the most auncient Councils, that they may with very reuerence of antiquitie dazle the eyes of the simple. In this point, it came not in their minde to thrust in such a false pack. Therefore by their owne witness, there are not yet passed three hundred

hundred yeeres since Innocent the third laide that share vpon men, and charged them with necessitie of Confession. But, to speake nothing of the time: the very barbarousnes of the wordes minisheth the credite of that lawe. For where these good fathers command euery one of both kindes, male and female, once euery yeare to confesse all his sins to his own priest, pleasant men do merily take exception, that in this commandement are contained onely *Hermaphrodites*, and saye that it belongeth not to such a one as is either male or female onely. Since that time, a more grosse beastlinesse hath bewraied it selfe in their schollers, that cannot expound what is meant by his owne priest. Whatsoeuer all the Popes hyred bablers do prate, we hold both that Christ was neuer the authour of this law that compelleth men to reckon vp their sins, and also that there passed a thousand and two hundred yeeres from the resurrection of Christ before that any such law was made. And so, that this tyrannie was then first brought in, when all godlinesse and learning being destroyed, the victors of Paskois had without choise taken all licentioulines vpon them. Morcouer there are euident testimonies both in histories and other ancient writers, which teacheth that this confession was a politike discipline redeemed by the Bishops, not a law made by Christ or his apostles. I will alleage but one out of many, which shall be a plain prooffe thereof. *Sozomenus* reporteth that this constitution of bishops was diligently kept in all the West churches, but specially at Rome. Wherby he sheweth that it was no vniuersall ordinance of all churches. But he saith that there was one of the priests peculiarly appointed to serue for this office. Wherby he doth sufficiently confute that which these men doe falsely say of the keyes giuen for this vse vniuersally to the whole order of priesthood. For it was not the common offic of all priests, but the speciall dutie of some one that was chosen therunto by the Bishop. The same is he, whom at this day in all cathedrall churches they call Penitentiare, the examiner of haunous offences, and such whereof the punishment pertaineth to good example. Then he saith immediately after, that this was also the manner at Constantinople, till a certaine woman faining that she came to confession, was founde so to haue coloured vnder that pretence the vnhonest company that she vsed with a certaine Deacon. For this act, *Nectarius* a man notable in holinesse and learning, bishop of that Church, tooke away that custome of confessing. Heere, heere let these asses lift vp their eares. If auricular confession were the law of God, how durst *Nectarius* repell and destroy it? Will they accuse for an heretike and schismatike *Nectarius* a holy man of God, allowed by the consenting voices of all the old fathers? But by the same sentence they must condemne the Church of Constantinople, in which *Sozomenus* affirmeth that the manner of confessing was not onely let slip for a time, but also discontinued euen till within time of his remembrance. Yea let them condemne of apostasie not onely the Church of Constantinople, but also all the East Churches which haue neglected that lawe, which (if they say true) is inuolable and commanded to all Christians.

8 This abrogation *Chrystostome*, which was also bishop of Constantinople eoth in so many places euidently testifie, that it is maruel that these dare mutter to the contrary. Tell (saith he) thy sins that thou maist do them away, if thou be ashamed to tell any man the sins that thou hast done, tell them daily in thy soule. I doe not say, Confesse them to thy fellow seruant, that may reproch thee: tell them to God that taketh care of them. Confesse thy sins vpon thy bed, that there thy conscience may daily recognize her euils. Againe: but nowe it is not necessarie to confesse when witness is bee present: let the examination of thy finnes be done with thy thought: let this iudgement bee without witness: let onely God see thee confessing. Againe: I doe not lead thee into a stage of thy fellow seruants, that may reproch thee: disclose thy finnes to men, rehearse and vter thy conscience before God. Shew thy wounds to the Lord the best surgeon, and aske salue of him. Shew to him that will reproch thee with

Tripert. hist. lib. 9

In the Church of Constantinople auricular confession taken by S. Chrystostome for no such thing, and beneuolent to all men, should stand bound.
Horn. 2. in Psal. 50.
Sende Penit & confes.
Horn. 5. de incomprehens. Dei natura. contra Anol. 1. 205.
H. Mart. La. 200.

with

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with nothing, but will most gently heale thee. Againe: Tell not man, least hee reproch thee, for neither is it to be confessed to thy fellow seruant, that may vtter it abroad, but to the Lord. To the Lord shew thy wounds which hath care of thee, that is both gentle and a Phisition. Afterward he bringeth in God speaking thus: I compel thee not to come into the mids of a stage, and call manie witnesses, tell thy sinne to me alone priuately, that I may heale thy fore. Shall wee say that *Chrysofome* did so rashly, when he wrote this and other like things, that he would deliuer mens consciences from these bonds wherewith they be bound by the law of God? not so. But he dare not require that as of necessitie, which he doth not vnderstand to be commanded by the word of God.

The Scripture requireth confession of finnes, but vnto God.

9 But that the matter may be made the plainer and easier, first we will faithfully rehearse, what kind of confession is taught by the word of God: and then we will also declare their inuentions, but not all (for who could draw drie such an infinite sea?) but onely those wherein they comprehend the summe of their secret confession. Here I am loth to rehearse how oft the old translator hath giuen in translation this worde Confesse in steede of Praise: which the grossest vnlearned men commonlie know: sauing that it is good to haue their presumptuousnesse bewraied, that do giue away that which was written of the praises of God, to their owne tyrannicall commandement. To prooue that confession auaieth to cheere the mindes they thrust in that place of the Psalm: In the voice of reioycing and confition. But if such change may serue, then we shall haue what we list, prooued by what we list. But seeing they are to become past shame, let the godly readers remember that by the iust vengeance of God they haue beene cast into a reprobate minde, that their presumption shoulde be the more detestable. But if we wil rest in the simple doctrine of the scripture, we thal not be in danger of any such deceits to beguile vs. For there is appointed one order of confessing, that forasmuch as it is the Lorde that forgiveth, forgetteth, and putteth away sins, therefore we should confesse our sins to him for to obtaine pardon, he is the Phisition, therefore let vs shewe our diseases vnto him. It is he that is greued and offended, therefore let vs seeke peace at his hand. Hee is the knower of harts, and priuie to all thoughts, therefore let vs make haste to powre out our hearts 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, and haue not hidden my vnrighteousnesse. I haue said, I will confesse against me my vnrighteousnes to the Lord, and thou hast forgiven the wickednes of my hart. Such is the other confession of *Dauid*. Haue mercy vpon me O God, according to thy great mercy. And such is the confession of *Daniel*: We haue sinned, Lord we haue done puerly, we haue committed iniquities, and haue been rebellious in swaruing from thy commandements. And such are other confessions that are commonly found in Scripture, the rehearsall whereof woulde almost fill a great volume. If we confesse our finnes (saith *Iohn*) the Lord is faithfull to forgie vs our finnes. To whom shoulde wee confesse? euen to him: that is, if we fall downe with a troubled and humbled hart before him, if hartily accusing and condemning our selues before him we pray to be acquitted by his goodness and mercy.

Psal. 13. 5.

Psal. 51. 5.

Dan. 9. 5.

1. Ioh. 1. 9.

A confession of our finnes openlie as occasion shall require euen vnto men also allowable.

2. Sam. 12. 13.

10 Hee that hartily and before God shall embrace this confession, shall vndoubtedly haue both a toong readie to confesse, so oft as it shall be needfull for him to publish the mercie of God before men, and not onely to whisper the secret of his hart to one man, and once and in his care: but oft and openly, and in the hearing of all the world simply to rehearse both his own shame and the magnificence & glorie of God. After this manner when *Dauid* was rebuked of *Nathan*, hee was pricked with the sting of conscience, and confessed his sinne before both God and man. I haue (saith he) sinned to the Lord, that is to say, now I alleage nothing for my excuse, I vse no shifts, but that all men may iudge me a sinner, and that the same thing which I would

would haue had secret from the Lord, may be also open to men. Therefore a willing confession before men alway followeth the secret confession 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 Lorde in old time ordained in the people of *Israel*, that the priest should first speake the words, and the people saying after him should openly confesse their iniquitie in the Church. For he foresaw that this help was necessarie for them, that euery man might be the better brought to a iust reknowledging of himselfe. And meeete it is that with the confession of our owne nuserie we should among our selues, and before all the world glorifie the goodnes and mercie of our God.

11 And it is conuenient that this kinde of confession be both ordinary in the Church, and also extraordinarily vsed in speciall manner, if it happen at any time the people to be guiltie of anie generall fault. Of this second kinde we haue an example in that solemne confession which all the people vsed by the meanes and guiding of *Esdras* and of *Nehemias*. For whereas that long banishment, the destruction of the City and Temple, the dissoluing of religion, was the punishment of the common reuoluing of them all: they could not acknowledge the benefit of deliurance in such sort as was meeete, vnlesse they did first condemne themselves. Neither maketh it matter, if in a whole Congregation some few sometime be innocent. For sith they be the members of a feeble and diseased body, they ought not to boast of healthfulness. Yea it is not possible but they must also themselves gather some infection and beare part of the blame. Therefore so oft as we be afflicted, either with pestilence or war, or barrenesse or any other plague: if it be our duetic to flie to mourning, to fasting, and to other signes of guiltines: then confession it selfe, whereupon all these things do hang, is not to be neglected. As for the ordinarie confession, beside that it is commended by the Lords owne mouth, there is no wise man that considering the profit thereof, dare disallow it. For where as in all holie assemblies we make our appearance in the sight of God and the Angels: what other beginning may there be of our pleading, but our reknowledging of vnworthinesse? But that (some man wil saie) is done by euery prayer. For so oft as we pray for pardon, we thereby confesse our finnes. I graunt. But if you consider how great is our carelesnesse, or drowsinesse, or sluggishnes, you will graunt me that it should be a profitable ordinance, if by some solemne vse of confession, the Christian common people should be exercised to humbling themselves. For though the ceremony that the Lord commanded the *Israelites*, was parcell of the nurture of the law, yet in some maner it also belongeth to vs. And truly we see that this vse is in well ordered Churches profitably obserued, that euery Sunday the minister should rehearse a forme of confession in the name of himselfe and of all the people, wherein he accuseth all of wickednes, and craueth pardon of the Lord. Finally, with this keie the gate to praier is opened as well privately to euery man, as vniuersally to all men.

12 Moreover the Scripture alloweth two formes of priuate confession, one that is made for our owne sake, whereof that saying of *James* is spoken, that we shoulde confesse our finnes one to another, for his meaning is, that disclosing our wickednesse one to another, we should one help another with mutuall counsell and comfort. The other forme that is to be vsed for our neighbours sake, to appease him and reconcile him vnto vs, if he haue in anie thing bene offended by vs. Now in the first kinde of confession, although *James* in this hath assigned no man by name, into whose bosome we should vnloade our selues, leaue it vs a free choise to confesse to him that shall seeme meeetest vnto vs of all the flocke of the Church: yet we ought principally to choose the Pastors, because they are for the most part in comparison of the other to be iudged meeetest. I say that they are meeetest in comparison of the rest, because the Lord appointeth them by the verie calling of their ministerie, at whose mouth we should be instructed to subdue & correct our finnes, and also may receiue

Publique confession of finnes not only in particular persons but in generall assemblies also both ordinarie and sometimes extraordinary allowable and verie needefull.
Leuit. 16. 19.
Nehc. 1. 7.

Priuate confession of finnes for some men in some cases requisite to be made vnto their pastors.
1ac. 5. 16.

Math. 16. 19.
Math. 18.
1ohn. 3. 23.

comfort by trust of pardon. For as the office of mutuall admonishment and reproofing is committed to all men, yet it is specially enioyned to the ministers. So when as we all ought to comfort and confirme one another in confidence of Gods mercie: yet we see that the ministers, to assure our consciences of the forgiveness of sinnes, are ordeined as it were witnesses and pledges thereof, in so much that they be saide to forgive sinnes and loose soules. When thou hearest this to be ascribed vnto them, thinke that it is for thy profite. Therefore let euery one of the faithfull remember this to be his dutie, if he be priuately so vexed and troubled with the feeling of sinnes that he cannot winde out himself without help of another, not to neglect the remedie that the Lord hath offered him: that is, for his reliefe to vse the priuate confession to his owne Pastor: and for his comfort to craue the priuate help of him, whose duty it is both publicly and priuately to comfort the people of God with the doctrine of the Gospell. But alwaie this moderation is to be vsed, where God appointeth no certainty, not to binde consciences with a certaine yoke. Hereupon followeth that such Confession ought to be free: not to be required of all men, but to be commended to those onlie that shall vnderstand themselves to haue neede of it. Then that euen they that vse it for their neede, should not be compelled by anie commandement, or trained by anie decree, to reckon vp all their sinnes, but so farre as they shall thinke it behoouefull for them, that they may receiue sound fruit of comfort. Faithfull Pastors ought not only to leaue this libertie to the churches, but also to maintaine it, and stoutly stand in defence of it, if they will haue tyrannie absent from their ministerie and superstition from the people.

13 Of the other sort of confession Christ speaketh in *Matthew*. If thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath anie thing against thee, leaue thy gift there, and go, and first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. For so charity that hath bin appaired by our fault, is to be repaired by acknowledging and crauing pardon of the offence that we haue committed. Vnder this kind 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 holie mysteries all them that haue sinned against their brother, till they be with iust amends reconciled: how much 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 againe to the communion, when he had yeilded himselfe obedient to correction. Also this forme of confession was vsed in the old church, as *Cyprian* maketh mention. They do penance (saith he) in due time, and then they come to confession, and by laying on of the hands of the Bishop and the Clergy, they receiue leaue to come to the communion. Any other order or forme of confessing, the Scripture vterly knoweth not, and it is not our duty to bind consciences with new bonds, whom Christ most sharply forbiddeth vs to bring in bondage. In the meane time I do so much not speake against it that the sheepe should present themselves to their shepheard when they meane to be partakers of the holy supper, that I would most gladlie haue it euery where obserued. For both they that haue an encombred conscience, may frō thence receiue singular profit, and they that are to be admonished do by that meane prepare place for admonishment, but so alway that tyrannie and superstition be away.

14 In these three kinds of confession, the power of the keyes hath place: that is, either when the whole church with solemne reknowldging of their faults craueth pardon: or when a priuate man, that by any notable fault hath bred common offence, doth declare his repentance: or when he that for the vnquietnesse of his conscience, doth neede helpe of the minister discloseth his weakenes vnto him. But there are diuerse waies of taking awaie offence, because although thereby also the peace of conscience is prouided for, yet the principal end is, that hatred should be taken away, and

*Particular men
bound to confesse
their faults vnto
me against whom
they haue offend-
ed.
Math. 5. 23.*

3. COL. 2. 6.

*A commendable
kinde of absolu-
tion correspondent
to the former
kinde of confession.*

and mens mindes knit together with a bond of peace. But this vse that I haue spoken of, is not to be despised, that we may the more willingly confesse our finnes. For when the whole church standeth as it were before the iudgement seate of God, confesseeth it selfe guiltie, and hath one onely refuge vnto the mercie of God: it is no slender or light comfort to haue there present Christs embassador, hauing commandement of reconciliation, of whom it may heare absolution pronounced vnto it. Here the profitableness of the keyes is worthily commended, when this embassage is performed rightly, and with such order and religiousnes as becometh it. Likewise when he that had in a maner estranged himselfe from the Church, receiueh pardon and is restored into brotherly vnitic: how great a benefit is it that hee vnderstandeth himselfe to be forgiven by them, to whom Christ hath said: To whomsoeuer ye forgieue sins in earth, they shall be forgiven in heauen. And of lesse effectualnes and profit is priuate absolution, when it is asked by them that haue need of speciall remedie to relieue their weaknes. For it happeneth oftentimes, that he which heareth the generall promises that are directed to the whole congregation of the faithfull, remaineth neuertheles in some doubt, and hath stil an vnquiet minde, as though he had not yet obtained pardon: and the same man, if he haue disclosed to his person the secret fore of his minde, and heareth peculiarly directed to himselfe that saying of the Gospel, Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good hope, stablisheth his minde vnto assurednes and is deliuered from that trembling, wherewith he was before tormented. But when we speake of the keyes, wee must take heed that we dreame not of a certaine power seuered from the preaching of the Gospel. In another place we shal haue occasion more fully to declare this matter againe, where we shal entreat of the gouernment of the church: and there shall we see that all the power to binde and to loose, which Christ hath giuen to his Church, is bound to the worde. But this is most true in the mysterie of the keyes, the whole force whereof standeth in this, that the grace of the Gospell be publicly and priuately sealed vp in the hearts of the faithfull, by them whom the Lord hath ordained: which cannot be done but by onely preaching.

Mat. 18. 19.
Ioh. 20. 23.

Mat. 9. 2.

15 But what say the Romish diuines? They decree that euerie one of either kinde, so soone as they come to the yeeres of discretion, must yeerely once at the least confesse all their sins to their owne priest: and that their sin is not forgiven, vnlesse they haue firmly conceived an intent to confesse it: which intent if they performe not when occasion is offered that they may do it, there is now no more entrance open for them into Paradise. And that the priest hath the power of the keyes, wherewith he may loose & bind a sinner: because the word of Christ is not in vaine. Whatsoeuer ye bind, &c. About this power they stoutly fight among themselues. Some say that there is but one keie in substance, that is the power to bind and loose, and as for knowledge, that it is indeed requisite for a good vse, but that it is only as an accessorie & is not essentially ioined with the other. Some other, because they sawe this to be too much an vnbridled licence, haue reckoned vp two keyes, discretion & power. Other againe, when they saw the leud boldnes of priests to be restrained by this moderation, haue forged other keyes, that is to say, authority, of discerning which they should vse in giuing determinate sentence: and power, which they should practise in executing of their sentence: and that knowledge standeth by as a counsellor. But they dare not simply expound this binding & loosing to be to forgieue & put away sins: because they heare the Lord crying out in the Prophet: It is I, and none other but I: it is I, it is I that put away thy finnes, O Israell. But they say it is the priestes office to pronounce who be bound or loosed, and to declare whose sins are forgiven or retained: and that he doth declare it, either by confession when he absolueth and retaineth sins, or by sentence when he excommunicateth and receiueh againe to partaking of the Sacraments. Finally, when they vnderstand that they bee not yet out of this doubt, but that it still may be objected against them, that oftentimes their

The keyes wherewith the Church of Rome supposed her priests authorized to binde and loose after confession made.

C. Omnis vniuersus trinitate & fide cath.

It is a decree of Pope Innocentius, in the counsell of Laterane, and is recited.

Lib. 4. Senent. 14. cap. 2 li. 4. Sent. dist. 19. ca. 2.

Mat. 18. 19.

Eccl. 43. 11. and 15.

priestes do binde and loofe men vnworthie, which are not therefore bound or loosed in heauen: then (which is their last refuge) they answere that the giuing of the keies must be construed with a limitation, that is to say, that Christ hath promised, that before his iudgement seat such sentence of the Priest shall be allowed as hath been iustly pronounced, according as the desertings of him that is bound or loosed, did require. Moreouer, they say, that these keies are giuen by Christ to alpriests, and are deliuered to them by their Bishops, at the time of their promoting to priesthood: but the free vse of them remaineth onely with such as do exercise Ecclesiasticall offices: and that the excommunicate and suspended Priests haue indeede the keies, but rustie and bound vp. And they that say these things may well seeme modest and sober in comparison of the rest, which vpon a newe aniuell haue forged newe keies with which they say the treasure of the Church is locked vp. These keies we shall heereafter try in place fit for it.

A tyranny to impose vpon men a law binding them to reckon vp all their finnes.

Pla. 19. 13.

Pla. 38. 5.

16 Now I will in few wordes answere to euery one of these particularly. But at this present I speake not by what right or what wrong they binde the soules of the faithfull with their lawes, so far as we will consider that when place serueth. But where they charge men with a law of reckoning vp all their finnes: where they say that sinne is not forgiuen but vpon condition, if there bee an intent conceiued to confesse it: where they babble that there remaineth no entrie into Paradise, if occasion of confessing be neglected: this is in no wise to be suffered. Must all finnes be reckoned vp? But *David*, (who as I thinke) had well studied vpon the confession of his finnes, yet cried out: who shall vnderstand his errours? Lord cleanse me from my secret finnes. And in another place. My iniquities haue passed aboue my head, and like a weightie burden haue waxed heauie about my strength. Truly he vnderstoode how great was the bottomlesse depth of our finnes: how many were the sorts of our mischieuous doings, how many heads this monster *Hydra* did beate, and how long a taile she drew after her. Therefore he went not about to reckon vp a register of them, but out of the depth of euils, he cried vnto the Lord: I am ouerwhelmed, I am buried and choaked, the gates of hels haue compassed me, let thy hand draw me out, which am drowned in the great pit, and am fainting and readie to die. Who now may thinke vpon the numbring of his finnes, when he seeth that *David* can make no number of his?

The miserie wherewith their soules were vexed which had a care and did make a conscience of confessing in such sort as the Church of Rome required.

17 With this butcherie, the soules that haue been touched with any feeling of God, haue bene more cruelly vexed. First they called themselues to account: then they diuided finnes into armes, into bowes, into braunches, and into twigges, according to these mens rules: then they weighed the qualities, quantities, and circumstances. And so the matter went a little forward. But when they had proceeded a little further, than was on each side skie, and on each sea, no haven, no safe roade: the moe that they had passed ouer, the greater heape alway did thrust it selfe into their sight, yea they rose vp as high mountaints, and there appeared no hope, nor so much as after long compassings, any way to escape. And so they did sticke fast betweene the sacrifice and the stone, and at last was found no other issue but desperation. Then these cruel butchers, to ease the wounds that themselues had made, laid certaine gentle plaisters, that euery man should do as much as he could. But new cares againe rose vp, yea new torments did flea the silly soules, as to thinke: I haue not employed time enough, I haue not enclouered my selfe with such diligence as I ought, I haue passed ouer many things by negligence, and the forgetfulness that commeth by negligence is not excusable. Then were there ministred other plaisters to aswage such paines, as, Repent thee of thy negligence: if it be not altogether carelesse, it shall be pardoned. But all these things cannot close vp the wound, and are not so much easement of the euil, as poyson couered with honie, that they should not with their bitterness offend the first taste but enter into the bowels before that they be perceiued. Therefore

this terrible saying alway calleth vpon them and soundeth in their eares: Confesse all thy finnes. And this horreur can not be appeased but by assured comfort. Here let the readers consider, how possible it is to bring into account all the doings of a whole yeere, and to gather together what sins they haue done euery day: forasmuch as experience proueth to euery man, that when at euening he shall reckon vp the faults but of one daie, his memory is confounded therewith, so great a multitude and diuersitie presenteth it selfe. For I speake not of grosse and blockish hypocrites that thinke they haue done sufficiently, if they haue noted three or foure of the greatest sins: but I speake of the true worshippers of God, which whē they see themselues oppressed with the examination that they haue made, doe adde also this saying of *Iohn*: If our owne hart doe accuse vs, God is greater than our hart: and so they quake for feare at the sight of that Iudge, whose knowledge far surmounteth our vnderstanding.

1. Iohn. 3. 20.

18 But whereas a great part of the world rested them vpon such flatteries, wherewith so deadly a poyson was tempered, this came not so to passe, because they beleued that God was satisfied, or because they themselues were fully satisfied: but that the anchor cast as it were in the mid sea, should rest a litle from sailing, or as a way-faring man weary and fainting, should lie downe in the way. I labour not much in proouing this. For euery man may be witness to himselfe, I will in a short summe shew, what manner of Law this was. First simple it is impossible, and therefore it can doe nothing but destroy, damne, confound, and cast in ruine and desperation. And then when it hath led sinners from the true feeling of their finnes, it maketh them hypocrites and ignorant of God and themselues. For while they are wholly busied in reckoning vp of their finnes, in the meane time they forget the secret sinke of vices, their hidden Iniquities, and inward filthines, by knowledge wherof they should chiefly haue weighed their miserie. But this was a most certaine rule of confession, to acknowledge and confesse the bottomlesse depth of our euill to be so great as passeth our vnderstanding. After this rule we see that the Publicanes confession was made, Lord be mercifull to me a sinner: as if he should say: All that euer I am, I am altogether a sinner, and I cannot attaine with wit or expresse with toong the greatness of my finnes: let the bottomlesse depth of thy mercy swallow vp the bottomlesse depth of my sinne. But then thou wilt say, what? are not all our finnes to be confessed? is no confession acceptable to God, but that which is knitte vp in these two words, I am a sinner? No, but rather we must endeouour our selues as much as in vs lieth, to poure out our hart before the Lord, and not onely in one word confesse our selues sinners, but also truely and hartily acknowledge our selues to be such: and with all our thought record, how great and diuerse is our filth of finnes, not onely that we be vn-cleane, but what, how great, and in how many partes is our vn-cleaneesse: not onely that we be debtors, but with how great debtes wee be laden, and how many waies charged: not onely that we be wounded, but also with how many and deadly strokes we be wounded. With this reknowldging when the sinner hath wholly powred out himselfe before God, let him earnestly and sincerely thinke, that yet there remaine moe finnes, and that the secret corners of their euils are so deepe, that they cannot be throughly disclosed. And he cryeth out with *Dauid*: Who vnderstandeth his errors? Lord cleanse me from my hidden finnes. Now where they affirme that sins are not forgiven but with an intent of confessing firmly conceiued, and that the gate of Paradise is shut against him that neglecteth occasion offered when he may be confessed, God forbid that we should graunt them that. For there is no other forgiveness of finnes, than alwaies hath bene. It is not read that they haue confessed their finnes in the care of some Priest, that we read to haue obtained forgiveness of finnes at Christs hand. And truely they could not confesse, where there were neither any Priestes confessors, nor any confessing at all. And in many ages after, this confession was vheard of, at which time finnes were

The confessing of all our finnes a thing impossible, neither is the confessing of them if it were possible so necessarie that without it all men are excluded heauen.

Luc. 18. 23.

Psal. 19. 31.

Cap. 4. Of the maner how to receiue

forgiuen without this condition. But that we may not neede to dispute longer about this, as about a doubtfull matter, the worde of God is plaine, which abideth for euer: Whensoever the sinner repenteth, I will no more remember all his iniquities. He that dare adde any thing to this word, bindeth not sinnes, but the mercie of God. For whereas they say, that iudgement cannot be giuen but when the cause is heard, we haue a solution in readinesse, that they do presumptuously take that vpon themselves, which haue made themselves Iudges. And it is a maruell that they doe so boldely fraime to themselves such principles, as no man in his right wit will graunt. They boast that the office of Binding and Loosing is committed to them, as though it were a certaine iurisdiction ioyned with Inquisition. Moreouer their whole doctrine cryeth out, that this authoritie was vnknowne to the Apostles. Neither doth it belong to the Priest, but to him which desireth absolution, to know certainele whether the sinner be loosed or no: forasmuch as he that heareth can neuer know whether the reckoning be iust and perfect. So should there be no absolution but such as is restrained to his words that is to be iudged. Moreouer the whole order of Loosing standeth of Faith and Repentance, which two things are hidden from the knowledge of man, when sentence must be giuen vpon another man. It followeth therefore that the assurance of Binding and Loosing is not subiect to the iudgement of an earthlie Iudge: because the minister of the word, when he doth his office, can not giue absolution but conditionally: but that this is spoken for the sinnes sake, Whole sinnes ye forgiue, &c. that they should not doubt that the pardon which is promised by the Commandement and word of God, shall be ratified in Heauen.

Auricular confession a meane to make men not ashamed of sinning but bold so sinne.

19 Therefore it is no maruell, if we condemne and desire to haue vtterly taken away this Auricular confession, a thing so pestilent and so many waies hurtfull to the Church: but if it were a thing by it selfe indifferent, yet forasmuch as it is to no vse nor profite, and hath giuen cause to so many wickednesse, sacrileges and errors, who will not thinke that it ought to be presently abolished? They doe indeede reckon vpon some good vses, which they boast vpon as very profitable, but these either false or of no value at all. One onely they commend with a singular prerogatiue, that shame is a great punishment of him that confesseth, wherby the sinner both is for a time to come made warer, and preuenteth the punishment of God in punishing himselfe. As though we did not humble a man with thankfastnesse enough when we call him to that high iudgement seate of heauen. I meane to the hearing of God. It is forsooth very wel profited, if for shame of one mans knowledge we cease to sin, and be not ashamed to haue God witnes of our euill conscience. Although the very same is also most false, for it is to be seene that by nothing groweth greater confidence or licentiousnesse to sinne, than when men hauing made confession to a Priest, thinke that they may wipe their mouth and say, I did it not. And not onely they are made all the yeere long the bolder to sinne: but all the rest of the yeere bearing themselves bold vpon confession, they neuer sigh vnto God, they neuer returne to themselves, but heape sinnes vpon sinnes, till they vomit vp all at once as they thinke. And when they haue once vomited them vp, they thinke them selues discharged of their burden, and that they haue taken away from God the iudgement that they haue giuen to the Priest, and that they haue brought God in forgetfulness when they haue made the Priest priuie. Moreouer who doth merilie see the daie of confession at hand? Who goeth to confession with a cheerefull heart, and commeth not to it rather against his will, and as it were drawing backwarde, like as if hee were taken by the necke and drawn to prison? vnlesse peradventure it be the very Priestes, that vse ioyfully to delight themselves with mutuall rehearals of their dooings, as it were with meric tales? I will not defile much paper with monstrous abominations whereof auricular confession swarmeth full. Onely this I say, if that holy man did not vnwisely, that for one rumor of fornication tooke away confession

cession out of the Church, yea out of the remembrance of his flocke: then we be thereby put in minde what is needfull to be done at this day vpon infinite whoredomes, adulteries, incests, and bawderies.

20 Where the Confessioners alledge for this purpose the power of the Keyes, and doe thereupon set the poupe and proue of their kingdome, as the prouerbe is: it is to be seene how much they ought to auaille. Then (say they) are the Keyes giuen without cause? Is it said without cause: Whatsoeuer you loose vpon earth, shall be also loosed in Heauen? Doe we then make the word of Christ void? I answer there was a weightie cause why the Keyes should be giuen, as both I haue euen now already declared, and shall more plainly shew againe when I come to entreat of Excommunication. But what if I doe with one sword cut off the holde of all that they require, that is, with saying, that sacrificing Priests are not the vicars nor successors of the Apostles? But this shall also be to be intreated of in an other place: but now they raise vp an engine whereby they would most of all defend themselves, and thereby may all their buildings be ouerthrowen. For Christ did not giue his Apostles the power to binde and loose, before that he gaue them the holy Ghost. Therefore I say, that none haue the power of the keyes that haue not first receiued the holy Ghost. I deny that any man can vse the Keyes but hauing the holy Ghost going before, and teaching him and informing him what is to be done. They trising say, that they haue the holy Ghost. But indeede they deny it, vlesse peradventure they saie (as they doe saie indeede) the holy Ghost to be a vaine thing and a thing of nothing, but therein they shall not be beleued. And by this engine they are viterly ouerthrowen, that of whatsoeuer doore they boast that they haue the Keye, a man may alway aske them whether they haue the holy Ghost which is the Iudge and gouernour of the Keyes. If they answer that they haue, then they may be asked againe, whether the holy Ghost may erre. This they will not be glad to speake expressly, although they crookedly vter the same by their doctrine. It is therefore to be gathered, that no Priestes haue power of the Keyes which doe commonly without consideration loose those things that the Lord would haue to be bound, and bind those things that the Lord commanded to be loosed.

21 Whereas they see themselves conuincd by most cleere experiments, that they doe without choice loose and binde the worthie and vnworthie, they vsurpe a power without knowledge. And though they dare not deny that knowledge is requisite for a good vse, yet they write that the very power is giuen to euill disposers of it. But this is the power, whatsoeuer thou bindest or loosest in earth, shall be bound or loosed in heauen. Either the promise of Christ must lie, or they that haue this power doe well binde and loose. Neither may they dally and say, that the saying of Christ is limited according to the desertings of him that is bound or loosed. And we also confesse, that none can be bounde or loosed, but they that are woorthie to be bound or loosed. But the Messengers of the Gospell and the Church haue the worde, by which they measure this woorthinesse, in this worde the Messengers of the Gospell, may promise to all men forgiveness of sinnes in Christ by Faith; they may proclaime damnation vnto all and vpon all that embrace not Christ. In this worde the Church pronounceth that fornicators, adulterers, thecues, manslayers, conetous men, vniust men, haue no part in the kingdome of God, and bindeth such with most sure bondes. With the same worde the Church looseth them whom it comforteth being repentant. But what power shall this be, not to know what is to be bounde or loosed, and not to be able to binde or loose without knowledge? Why then doe they say that they loose by authoritie giuen vnto them, when the loosing is vncertaine? What haue we to doe with this imaginatiue power, if there be no vse of it? But I haue it already proued that either there is no vse of it, or so vncertaine an vse as may be accounted for none at all. For whereas they

Authoritie granted to binde and loose is no authorizing of Popish priestes to absolute in such sort as they doe.
Matt. 18. 18.

The abuse of binding and loosing without knowledge.

1. Cor. 6. 9.

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confesse that there is a great part of Priestes that do not rightly vse the keies, and that the power without lawfull vse is of no effect. Who shall assure me that he of whom I am loosed is a good vser of the keies? If he bee an euill vser of it, what hath hee else but such a voidē disposing of them, as to saie, what is to be bound or loosed in thee I know not; for as much as I lacke the right vse of the keies, but if thou deserue I loose thee. But so much might do; I will not say a laie man (for they could not beare that with patient eares) but a Turke or a Diucll. For it is as much as to say, I haue not the word of God the sure rule of loosing, but there is power giuen mee to loose thee, if thy deservings be so. We see therefore what they meant, when they defined the keies to be the authoritie of discerning, and power of executing; and that knowledge is adioyned for a counsellor, and like a counsellor serueth for a good vse: vndoubtedly euen they desired to raigne at their owne will, licentiously without God and his word:

*The uncertaintie
and absurdities of popish
absolution.*

22. If any man take exception and say, that the lawfull ministers of Christ shall be no lesse doubtfull in their office, because the absolution that hangeth vpon faith shall alway remaine doubtfull: and then that sinners shall haue either none or a cold comfort, because the minister himselfe which is no competent iudge of their faith, cannot be assured of their absolution: we haue answere therunto in readinesse. For they say that no sinners are forgiven by the Priest, but such whereof himselfe hath bene the hearer: so by their opinion, the forgiveness hangeth vpon the iudgement of the Priest, and if he do not wisely discern who be worthie of pardon, the whole doing is voidē and of no effect. Finally the power wherof they speak, is a iurisdiction adioyned to examination, wherunto pardon and absolution is restrained. In this point is found no sure ground, but rather it is a bottomles depth. For where the confession is not found, the hope of pardon is also lame, and then the Priest himselfe must needs sticke in suspence while he cannot tell, whether the sinner do faithfully reckon vp all the euill deedes. Finally (such is the ignorance and rudenesse of priestes) the most part are no fitter to do this office, than a thoomaker to plowe the ground, and the rest in a manner all ought worthily to suspect themselves. Hereupon therefore riseth the perplexitie and doubtfulness of the Popes absolution, because they will haue it grounded vpon the person of the priest, and not onely that, but also vpon knowledge, that he may iudge onely of things informed, examined and proued. Now if a man should aske of these good doctours, whether a sinner be reconciled to God, when some sinnes are forgiven: I see not what they haue to answere, but that they shall be compelled to confesse that all is vnprofitable, that the Priest pronounceth of the forgiveness of those sinnes that he hath heard rehearsed, so long as the other sins are not deliuered from condemnation. On the behalfe of him that confesseth how hurtfull carefulnesse holdeth his conscience bound, appeareth hereby that when he resteth vpon the priests discretion, as they call it, he can determine nothing certainly by the worde of God. The doctrine that we teach is free and cleere from all these absurdities. For the absolution is conditionall, that the sinner should trust that God is mercifull vnto him, so that hee sincerely seeke the cleansing of his sinnes in the sacrifice of Christ, and obey the grace offered him. So hee cannot erre, which according to the office of a preacher, proclaimeth that which is giuen him in instructions by the word of God. And the sinner may embrace a sure and cleare absolution, when that simple condition is annexed of the embracing the grace of Christ, according to that generall doctrine of the master himselfe. Be it done to thee according to thy faith. Which hath been wickedly despised in the Papacie.

Math. 9. 29.

*Things spoken of
the Gospell and of
excommunication
wrested to.*

23. How foolishly they confounde those things that the Scripture teacheth of the power of the keies, I haue promised that I will speake in another place, and there shall be a more conuenient place for it, when I come to intreat of the govern-
ment.

ment of the Church. But let the readers remember that those things are wrongfully wrested to Auricular and secrete confession, which are spoken by Christ partly of the preaching of the Gospell, and partly of excommunication. Wherefore when they obiect that the power of loosing is given to the Apostles, which Priestes may vse in forgiuing sinnes acknowledged vnto them, it is plaine that they take a false and fond principle, because the absolution that serueth Faith, is nothing else but a witness of pardon taken out of the free promise of the Gospell. As for the other confession, that hangeth vpon the discipline of the Church, it pertaineth nothing to secrete sinnes but rather to example, that common offence of the Church may be taken away. But whereas they scrape together here and there testimonies, to prooue that it sufficeth not to confesse sinnes either to God onely or to laie men, vnlesse a Priest be the hearer of them, their trauell therein is but lewd, and such as they may be ashamed of. For when the Auncient Fathers counsell sinners to vnburden themselves to their owne Pastour, it cannot be expounded of particular rehearfall which then was not in vse. Then *Lombard* and such like (such was their sinister dealing) seeme of set purpose to haue giuen themselves to fained bookes, by pretence whereof they might deceiue the simple. They doe indeede truly confesse, that because absolution alway accompanieth Repentance, therefore there properly remaineth no bond when a man is touched with Repentance, although he haue not yet confessed, and therefore that then the Priest doth not so much forgiue sinnes as pronounce and declare them forgiuen. Albeit in the word of declaring they stely bring in a grosse error, thrusting a ceremony in steede of doctrine. But whereas they patch vnto it, that he is absolved in the face of the Church that had already obtained pardon before God: they doe inconueniently draw to the peculiar vse of euery particular man, that which wee haue already saide to be appointed for the common discipline, where the offence of a humous and notorious fault is to be taken away. But by and by after, they depraue and corrupt moderation, adding an other manner of forgiuing, with an enioyning of penaltie and satisfaction, wherein they presumptuously claime to their owne sacrifices a power to part that in halves, which God hath in all places promised vs whole together. For when he simply requireth Repentance and Faith, this partition or exception is a very robbetrie of God. For it is in effect as much as if the Priest taking vpon him the person of a Tribune, should become intercessor to God and would not suffer God of his meere liberalitie to receive him into fauour, that hath lien prostrate before the Tribunes seates and there hath been punished.

24 The whole summe cometh to this point, that if they wil make God the Author of this counterfaite confession, therein is their falschoode condemned, as I haue prooued them false forgers in the fewe places that they alleadge. But sith it is euident that it is a Law made by men, I say that it is both tyrannicall and made iniuriously against God, who binding mens consciences to his word, will haue them free from the bondage of men. Now when for the obtaining of pardon, there is a necessitie prescribed of that thing which the Lord would be free, I say that this is a sacrifice not to be suffered, because there is nothing more properly belonging to God, than to forgiue sinnes, wherein consisteth saluation for vs. Moreouer I haue shewed that this tyranny was first brought in, when the world was oppressed with filthy barbarousnesse. I haue also taught that it is a pestilent law, that either throweth downe headlong into desperation the poore soules in whom soeuer abideth a feare of God: or where there reigneth carelesnes, delighteth them with vaine flatteries, and so maketh them duller. Last of all I haue declared, that whatsoeuer mitigations they bring, tend to no other end, but to entangle, darken and depraue pure doctrine, and hide vngodlines with deceitfull colours.

25 The third place in Repentance they assigne to satisfaction, whereof all that euer they babble may be ouerthrowen with one worde. They say that it is not

the maintenance of auricular confession, vaine excuses concerning the absolution of them that confesse, corrupt inuentions of penalties and satisfactions laide vpon them that are absolved.

Auricular confession an humane constitution, established in most corrupt times of the Church, bringing some to despair and some to be carelesse, impossible to be defended or coloured by any sacrifice in the world.

Satisfaction grossly added as a part necessary in Repentance.

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Lib.4.Sentent.
Distin. 10. ca.4
Non sufficit de
por t. ca. med ca-
dem. Ar. ca. nul-
lus. eadem dist.

Esay 57. 3.
Rom. 5. 3.
Col. 2. 14.
Tit. 3. 5.

Esay 43. 15.

Ar. 10. 43.

2. Cor. 5. 19.

*The faith wh:ch
holdeth Christ to
be the propitiation
for our sins cannot
stand with th:is
doctrine which
teacheth satisfac-
tion to be made by
us for sins comm:it-
ted after baptisme.*
Lib. 3. Sentent.
dist. 9.
1. Pet. 2. 24.
2. Tim. 1. 9.
1. Iohn. 2.
2. & 12.

enough for him that repenteth, to abstaine from his former euils, and change his behaviour into better, vnlesse he make satisfaction to God for those things that he hath done: And that there be many helpes by which we may redeeme vs, as weepings, fastings, oblations and the works of charitie. With these we must winne the Lord to be fauorable, with these we must pay our debts to the righteousnesse of God, with these we must make amendes for our faultes, with these we must deserue pardon. For although by the largnes of his mercie he hath forgien our fault, yet by the discipline of his iustice he retaineth the paine, & that this is the paine that must be redeemed with satisfactions. But in effect all that they saie cometh to this point, that wee doe in deede obtaine pardon of our sinnes at the mercifullnesse of God, but by meanes of the deseruing of our workes, by which the offence of our sinnes may be recompensed, that due satisfaction may be fully made to Gods righteousnesse. Against such lies, I set the free forgiveness of sinnes, than which there is nothing more evidently spoken of in the Scripture. First, what is forgiveness, but a gift of meer liberalitie? For the creditor is not said to forgive, that acknowledgeth by acquittance that the money is paide, but he that without any payment willingly of his owne liberalitie cancelleth the debtors bond. Secondly, why is this word, Freely, added, but to take away all opinion of satisfaction? With what confidence therefore do they ye: set vp their satisfaction, that are stricken downe with so mightie a thunderbolt? But what? when the Lord crieth out by *Esaie*, It is I, it is I, that do put away iniquities for mine owne sake, and will not be mindfull of thy sinnes: doeth hee not openly declare that he fetcheth the cause & foundation of forgiveness only from his owne goodnes? Moreover whereas the whole scripture beareth this witness of christ, that forgiveness of sins is to be receiued by his name, doth it not thereby exclude all other names? How then do they teach that it is receiued by the name of satisfactions? Neither can they deny that they giue this to satisfactions, although they say that the same be vsed as helps by way of meanes. For whereas the scripture saith By the name of Christ, it meaneth that we bring nothing, we alleage nothing of our owne, but rest vpon the onely commendation of Christ. As *Paul*, where he affirmeth that God is reconciling the world to himselfe in Christ, for his sake not imputing to men their sins, he immediately sheweth the meane and maner how, because he that was without sinne, was made sinne for vs.

26 But (such is their perversitie) they say that both forgiveness of sinnes and reconciliation are performed both at one time, when we are in Baptisme receiued into the fauour of God by Christ: that after Baptisme we must rise againe by satisfactions, and that the blood of Christ profecth nothing, but so far as it is distributed by the keyes of the Church. Neither do I speake of a doubtfull matter, for as much as they haue in most euident writings bewraied their owne filthines, and not one or two of them, but all the Schoolemen vniuersally. For their master after that he had confessed that Christ had paid the penaltie of sinnes vpon the tree, according to the doctrine of *Peter*, immediately correcteth his saying with adding this exception, that in baptisme all temporall penalties of sinnes are releas'd, but after baptisme they are minished by the helpe of penance, that so the crosse of Christ and our penance may worke together. But *Iohn* saith farre otherwise, if any sin, we haue an aduocate with the father, euen Iesus Christ, which is the propitiation for our sinnes; I write vnto you children, because your sinnes are forgiven you for his names sake. Truly, hee speaketh to the faithfull, to whom when he setteth foorth Christ to be the propitiation of sinnes, he sheweth that there is no other satisfaction, by which God being displeas'd, may be made fauorable and appeas'd. He doth not saie: God was once reconciled vnto you by Christ, nowe seeke you other meanes; but hee maketh him a perpetuall aduocate, alway to restore vs by his intercession into the fauour of his father: a perpetuall propitiation, by which our sins may be cleans'd away, For this

is euer true that the other *Iohn* said: Behold, the Lambe of God, behold him that taketh away the finnes of the world. He taketh them away (saith he) himselfe and none other, that is to say, forasmuch as he alone is the Lambe of God, he alone also is the oblation for finnes, he alone the propitiariou sacrifice, he alone the satisfaction. For whereas the right and power to forgie belongeth properly to the father, in the respect that he is distinguished from the sonne, as wee haue already seene: Christ is heere set in another degree, that taking vpon himselfe the paine due vnto vs, he hath taken away our guiltinesse before the iudgement of God. Whereupon followeth, that we shall no other wise be partakers of the satisfaction made by Christ, vnlesse the same honour remaine whole with him, which they do wrongfully take to themselves that go about to appease God with their owne recompensings.

27 And here it is good to consider two things: that Christ may haue his due honour kept vnto him whole and vaminished: and that the consciences being assured of the forgiuenesse of sinne, may haue peace with God. *Esaie* saith, that the father hath laide the iniquities of vs all vpon his sonne, that wee shoulde bee healed by his stripes. Which thing *Peter* rehearsing in other wordes saith: that Christ did in his body beare our finnes vpon the tree. *Paul* writeth that sinne was condemned in his flesh, when he was made sin for vs. That is to say, that the force and curse of sin was slaine in his flesh, when he was giuen to be a sacrifice, vpon which the whole heape of our sins with all their malediction and curse, with the dreadfull iudgement of God, and condemnation of death should be cast. Heere those triflings are in no case to be heard, that after the first purging, euery one of vs doth none otherwise feele the effectualnes of the passion of Christ, than after the measure of satisfie: & orie repentance; but so oft as we fall, we be called backe to the onely satisfaction of Christ. Nowe set before thee their pestilent follies, as for example: That the grace of God worketh alone in the first forgiuenesse of finnes: that if we afterwarde fall, to the obtaining of a second forgiuenesse our workes do worke with it. If these things may haue place, do these thinges that are heere before assigned to Christ remaine safe vnto him? It is a maruellous great difference, betweene this that our iniquities are laid vpon Christ, that they shoulde be cleansed in him, and this that they are cleansed by our owne workes: between this that Christ is the procuring of mercy, and this that God must be made mercifull by workes. But if we speake of pacifying the conscience: what pacification shall this be for a mans conscience, to heare that his sins are redeemed by satisfactions? When shall he certainly know the measure of his satisfaction? Therefore he shall alway doubt whether he haue God mercifull or no, he shall alwaie be vexed, & alway quake for fear. For they that rest vpon light petie satisfactions, do too contemptuously esteeme the iudgement of God, and do little consider how great is the greuousnes of sinne, as we shall declare in another place. But although we graunt them to redeeme some sins with iust satisfaction: yet what will they do when they are oppressed with so many finnes, for satisfaction whereof an hundred lues, although they were wholly applied thereunto cannot suffice? Beside that, all the places wherein the forgiuenesse of finnes is affirmed, doe not belong to yoonglings, but to the already regenerate children of God, and them that haue bene long nourished in the bosome of the Church. That embassadage which *Paul* so honourably extol-
 2. Cor. 5. 20.
 I beseech you in the name of God, be yce reconciled vnto God, is not directed to strangers, but to them that had bin already regenerate. But he, bidding satisfactions farewell, sendeth them to the crosse of Christ. So when he writeth to the Colossians, that Christ by the blood of the crosse hath pacified all thinges in heauen or in earth, he restraineth not this to the onely moment wherein we are receiued into the church, but extendeth it to our whole course. Which easily appeereth by the proesse of the text, where he saith, that the faithfull haue a redempt. o by the blood of Christ, that is forgiuenesse of finnes. Albeit it is superfluous to heape together in one places, that

They can not yeeld vnto Christ vnto honour which they shoulde nor finde that peace in their owne consciences which they might vbo rest any thing vpon the force of their owne satisfactions.
 Esai. 53. 4.
 1. Pet. 2. 24.
 Rom 8. 3.
 Gal. 3. 13.

Coloss. 1. 20.

readily

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readily offer themselves to be found.

*The idle distinction
of sins venial and
deadly sins.*

28 Heere they flee to the sanctuarie of the foolish distinction, that some sins are veniall, and some deadly: that for deadly finnes is great satisfaction due, that veniall finnes are purged with more easie remedies, as with saying of the Lords prayer, with springing of holy water, with absolution at the masse. So they mocke and twifle with God. But whereas they alway haue in their mouth veniall and deadly sinne, yet they could neuer discern the one from the other, sauing that they make vngodlines and vncleannes of hart a veniall sinne. But we (as the Scripture the rule of right and wrong teacheth vs) doe pronounce, that the reward of sinne is death, and that the soule that sinneth is woorthy of death. But that the finnes of the faithfull are veniall, not for that they doe not deserue death, but because by the mercie of God there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Iesus, because they are not imputed: because they are taken away by pardon. I knowe how vniustly they slander this our doctrine. For they say, that it is the Stoicks strange conclusion, concerning the equalitie of finnes. But they shall easily bee conuincd by their owne mouth. For I demaund of them, whether among the very same finnes that they confesse to be deadly, they doe not acknowledge one to bee greater than another. It doth not therefore immediately followe, that finnes are equal, because they are altogether deadly. When the Scripture definitiue saith, that the reward of sinne is death, that the obedience of the Law is the way of life, and that the transgression of the lawe is death, they cannot escape this sentence. What ende of satisfying then will they finde in so great a heap of sins? If the satisfaction of one day be the satisfaction of one sin, while they are about that one satisfaction, they wrap themselves in many sins, sith the iustest man passeth no one day wherein he falleth not many times. Nowe when they shall prepare themselves to make satisfaction for the finnes, they shall heape vp great numbers, yea rather innumerable. Then the hope of satisfying being cut off, what do they stay vpon? how dare they still thinke of satisfying?

Rom. 6. 2.
Ezec. 18. 2.
Rom. 8. 1.

Pro. 24. 16.

*Good doth not re-
mit our finnes and
leave the penal-
ties still without
our owne satisfac-
tion take them a-
way to be endured.*

29 They goe about to winde out themselves: but (as the prouerbe is) the water still cleaueth vpon them. They forge a distinction of fault and penalty. They confesse that the fault is forgien by the mercy of God, but that when the fault is forgien, the penaltie remaineth which the righteousnes of God requireth to be paid; and that satisfactions doe properly belong to the release of the penaltie. Good God, what a skipping lightnes is this? now they confesse that the forgienes of the fault lieth freely open for men which sometime they teach men to deserue with prayers and weepings, and all other kinds of preparations. But yet still all that is taught vs in the scripture concerning the forgienesse of finnes, doth directly fight against this distinction. Which although I thinke that I haue already more then sufficiently confirmed, yet I will adde some other testimonies wherewith these winding snakes may be holden so fast, that they shall not be able once to folde in the toppe of their tail. This is the new Testament which the Lorde hath couenanted with vs in Christ, that he will not remember our iniquities. What he meant by these wordes, we learne by another Prophet, where the Lord saith: If the righteous turne away from his righteousness, I will not remember all his righteousnesses. If the wicked depart from his wickednesse, I will not remember all his iniquities. Whereas he saith that he will not remember their righteousness, that is as much to say, that he will haue no regarde of them in respect to reward them. Therefore not to remember finnes, is as much as not to call them to punishment. The same thing is called in another place to cast it behinde his backe, to wipe it away like a cloude, to drowne it in the bottome of the sea, not to impute it and to hide it. By such manners of speech the holy Ghost doth plainly expresse his meaning vnto vs, if we woulde apply vnto him willing eares to learne. Truly, if God do punish finnes, he imputeth them: if he taketh vengeance, he remembereth them: if he call them to iudgement, he doth not hide them: if hee

Ier. 31. 31.

Eze. 18. 24.
Esa. 38. 17.

Esa. 44. 22.
Mich. 7. 19.

Psa. 32. 12.
Psa. 52. 2.

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we haue aboue recited, do expresse meane this, that God receiue vs into fauour with this condition, that in pardoning the fault, he pardoneth all the paine whatsoever we had thereby deserued. And so oft as *Dauid* or the other Prophets doe craue pardon of finnes, they do also therewithall pray to be released of the paine. Yea, the verie feeling of Gods iudgement doth driue them thereunto. Againe, when they promise mercy at the Lords hand, they do in manner alwaie of purpose preach of the paines and the forgiuenesse thereof. Truly, when the Lord in *Ezechiel* pronounceth that he will make an end of the exile in Babylon, and that for his owne sake, not for the Iewes sake, he doth sufficientlie shew that both are of free gift. Finally, if we be deliuered by Christ from guiltines of fault, the paines that come thereof, must needs cease.

Eze. 36. 22. & 31.

Places of Scripture supposed to proue that except we our selues doe satisfie God, our finnes are punished after they are remitted.

2. Sam. 12. 13.

Dan. 4. 24.

Pro. 16. 6. &

10. 12.

1. Pet. 4. 8.

Lukc. 7. 47.

31 But forasmuch as they do also arme themselves with testimonies of Scripture, let vs see what manner of arguments those be that they alleage. *Dauid* (say they) being rebuked by *Nathan* the Prophet of adulterie and manslaughter, received pardon of his sinne, and yet he was afterward punished by the death of his sonne that he had gotten by that adulterie. We are taught to redeme with satisfactions such paines as were to be extended after forgiuenesse of the fault. For *Daniel* aduised *Nebuchadnezer* to redeme his finnes with almes. And *Salomon* writeth that for equitie and godlinesse, iniquities are forgiuen. And in another place, that with charitie the multitude of finnes is couered. Which sentence *Peter* also confirmeth. Againe, in *Luke* the Lord saith of the woman that was a sinner, that many finnes are forgiuen her, because she hath loued much. How peruerlie and wrongfully they euer wey the doings of God, But if they had marked (as they should not haue ouerpassed it) that there are two kinds of Gods iudgement, they would haue seene in this rebuking of *Dauid*, a farre other maner of punishment, than such as might be thought to tend to reuengement. But because, it not a little behooueth vs all to vnderstand whereunto the chastisements haue respect, wherewith God correcteth vs for our finnes, and how much they differ from those examples wherewith he pursueth the wicked and reprobate with indignation: therefore I thinke it shall be not beside the purpose to comprehend it shortly in a summe. For the order of plaine teaching, let vs call the one kinde of iudgement, the iudgement of reuenge, the other of Chastisement. It is to be vnderstanded, that God so punisheth his enemies with the iudgement of reuenge, that he vseth his wrath against them, confoundeth them, destroyeth them, and bringeth them to nought. Therefore let vs take that to be properly the vengeance of God, when his punishing is ioyned with his indignation: with the iudgement of chastisement he dealeth not so cruelly, as to be angrie: nor punisheth to destroy, nor sendeth downe his lightening to kill. Therefore it is not properly punishment or vengeance, but correction and admonishment. The one is the dooing of a Iudge, the other of a Father. For the Iudge when he punisheth an euill doer, he hath regard to the offence, and punisheth the verie fault: when the father somewhat rigorously correcteth his childe, he doth it not to be reuenged on him, or to punish him, but rather to teach him, and make him warier in time to come. *Chrysostome* in a certaine place vseth a similitude somewhat differing from this, but yet it cometh to the same point. The sonne (saith he) is beaten, and the seruant also is beaten: but the one is punished as a bondseruant, because he hath offended, and the other is chastised as a free man and as a sonne, needing correction. To the one his correction serueth for prooffe and amendment, to the other for a scourge and punishment.

kind of reuenge
kind of chastisement

Comparison

God punisheth his enemies in wrath, his children in loue.

32 But that we may haue the whole matter shortly and in a ready summe, let this be the first of two distinctions. Wheresoeuer punishment is to reuenge, there sheweth it selfe the curse and wrath of God, which he alway withholdeth from the faithfull. Contrariwise, Chastisement both is a blessing of God, and beareth a testimonie of his loue, as the Scripture teacheth. This difference is comonlie euery where sufficiently

sufficiently expressed in the word of God. For whatsoever afflictions the wicked suffer in this present life, therein is painted out vnto vs as it were a certain jentrie of hell, from whence they do already see a farre off their eternall damnation: and they are so farre from being amended or taking any profit thereby, that rather by such beginnings they are prepared to the most cruell hell that at length abideth for them. But the Lord chastising chasticeth his seruants, but he doth not put them to death. Therefore they confesse that to be beaten with his rodde, was good for them vnto true instruction. But as we read euery where that the holy ones suffer such punishments with quiet minde, so they haue alway praied to escape the first kind of scourges. Chastice me Lord (saith *Jeremie*) but in thy iudgement, not in thy wrath, least thou destroy me. Poure out thy wrath vpon the nations that haue not knowne thee, and vpon the kingdoms that haue not called vpon thy name. And *Dauid* saith: Lord rebuke me not in thy wrath, nor correct me in thine anger. And it maketh nothing to the contrarie, that oftentimes it is said, that the Lord is angry with them that be his, when he punisheth their sinnes. As in *Esay*: I will confesse to thee O Lord, because thou hast been angry with me: thy wrath is turned, and thou hast comforted me. Againe *Abacuc*. Thou that hast bene angry shall remember mercy. And *Michee*: I will beare the wrath of the Lord, because I haue sinned against him. Where he putteth vs in minde that not onely they that are iustly punished, nothing preuaile with murmuring against him, but also that the faithfull haue asswagement of their sorrow, in considering the purpose of God. For after the same manner it is saide that he doth defile his owne inheri- tance, which yet (as we knowe) he will neuer defile. But that is spoken not in respect of the purpose or meaning of God that punisheth, but of the vehemēt feeling of sorrow which they feele that suffer any of his seueritie whatsoever it bee. But he not onely pricketh his faithfull with no small rigour, but sometimes so woundeth them, that they thinke themselues not farre from the damnation of hell. So he testifieth that they haue deserued his wrath, and so it behooueth that they shoulde loath themselues in their euils, and bee touched with the greater care to appease God, and carefully make haste to craue pardon. But euen in the very same dooing he sheweth a more euident testimonie of his fauourable kindnes than of his wrath. For the couenant continueth that was made with vs in our true *Salomon*: the truth whereof he that cannot decerne, hath affirmed, that it shall neuer be made voide. If (saith he) his children forsake my lawe, and walke not in my iudgements: if they defile my itatutes, and keepe not my commandments; I will visite their sinnes with a rodde and with stripes: but I will not take away my mercie from him. Of which mercy to make vs assured, he saith, that the rodde wherewith hee will correct the posteritie of *Salomon*, shall be of men, and stripes of the children of men: by which clauses when he meaneth moderation and lenitie, he therewithall secretly declareth, that they cannot but be confounded with extreme and deadlie hor- rour, that feele the hand of God to be against them. How great regard he hath of this lenitie in chastising his Israel, hee sheweth in the Prophet: I haue purged thee (saith he) in fire: But not as Siluer, for then thou shouldest haue bene all consumed. Albeit he teacheth that chasticements serue him for to cleanse him, but hee further saith, that he vseth the same so temperately, that hee be not too much consumed by them. And that is needfull. For the more that euery man reuerently searcth God, and giueth himselfe to follow godlines, so much the tenderer he is to beare his wrath, For the reprobate, although they groane vnder his scourges, yet for that they weigh not the cause, but rather turne their backe both to their owne sinnes & to the iudgement of God, by that slouthfulness they gather a hardnesse: or because they mur- mure and kicke against him, and do make a vprore against their iudge, that furious sudden rage astonieth them with madnesse and furor. But the faithfull being admon- ished by his correction, by and by descend to consider their sinnes, and being stricken

Job. 3. 17.
Prou. 3. 11.
Heb. 12. 5.

Psal. 118. 18.

Psal. 119. 17. j

Ierc. 10. 14.

Psal. 6. 2. & 38. 2.

Esa. 12. 7.
Hab. 3. 2.

Mich. 7. 9.

Psal. 89. 31.

2. Sam. 7. 14.

Esa. 48. 10.

with

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with dread and horror, they flee in humble wise to pray to him for pardon, vnlesse the Lord did alwaie these sorrowes wherewith the poore soules torment themselues, they would faint a hundred times euen in small tokens of his wrath.

God purishesth the wicked to be reuenged on them for hauing sinned, but his children to make them careful not to sinne.

In serm. de poenit. & confess.

Esaï. 1. 5.

1. Sam. 15. 23.
2. Sam. 12. 18.
1. Cor. 11. 32.

Lib. de peccat. merito, ac remis.
2. cap. 33. & 34.

Esaï. 40. 2.

The miseries wherunto we are subject would swallow vs up if we did not

33 Then let this be the second distinction, that when the reprobate are stricken with the scourges of God, they do alday after a certaine maner begin to suffer paines by his iudgement, and though they shal not escape vnpunished, for that they haue not taken heede to such tokens of the wrath of God, yet they are not punished to this end, to make them come to a better minde: but onely that, to their great hurt, they should prooue God to be a iudge and reuenger. But children are beaten with rods, not that they should thereby be punished of God for their sinnes, but that they should thereby profite to amendment. Therefore we take it that they rather haue respect to the time to come, then to the time past. This I had rather expresse in *Chrysostomes* words than mine owne. For this (saith he) God doth lay paine vpon vs, not punishing our sinnes past, but correcting vs against time to come. And so saith *Augustine*: That which thou sufferest, that for which thou lamentest, is a medicine to thee and no paine, a chastisement and no damnation. Put not away the scourge, if thou wilt not be put away from the inheritance, &c. Knowe yee brethren that all this miserie of mankinde when the world groneth is medicinall sorrow, and not a penall sentence, &c. These sentences I haue therefore thought good to alleage, that the manner of speech that I haue aboue written, should not seeme to any man new and vnused. And herunto serue all the complaints full of indignation wherein the Lord oftentimes doth expostulate of the vnkindnesse of the people, for that they stiffely despised all punishments. In *Esaï* he saith: To what purpose should I strike you any more: from the sole of the foote to the crowne of the head, there is no whole place. But because the Prophets are full of such sayings, it shall be sufficient to haue briefly shewed that God doth punish his Church for none other intent; but that it should be tamed and amend. Therefore when he did cast *Saul* out of the kingdome, he punished him to reuengement: When he tooke from *Dauid* his yong sonne, hee corrected him to amendment. According to this meaning is that to be taken which *Paul* saith, we are iudged of the Lord, we are corrected that we should not be damned with this world: That is, when we that be the children of God are afflicted with the hand of our heauenly father, this is no paine wherewith we should be confounded, but onely a chastisement wherewith we should be instructed. In which point *Augustine* is plainly on our side. For he teacheth that the paines wherewith men are alike chastised by God, are diuersly to be considered: because to the holy ones they are battels and exercises after the forgiuenesse of their sinnes, to the reprobate they are without forgiuenesse paines of wickednesse. In which place he rehearseth how paines were laide vpon *Dauid* and other godly men, and saith, that the same tended to this ende, that their godlinesse should by such humbling of them, be exercised and prooued. And where *Esaï* saith, that the Iewish people had their iniquitie forgiuen them, because they had receiued full chastisement at the Lordes hande: this prooueth not that the pardon of sinnes hangeth vpon the full payment of the paine: but it is in effect as much as if he had saide: Because ye haue already suffered paines enough, and by the greuousnesse and multitude thereof haue bene now pined away with long mourning and sorrow, therefore it is now time that receiuing the tidings of full mercie, your harts should reioyce and feele me to be your father. For there God did take vpon him the person of a father, which repenteth him euen of his iust seueritie, when he was compelled sharply to correct his sonne.

34 With these thoughts it is necessarie that the faithfull be furnished in bitterness of afflictions. It is time that the iudgement began at the house of the Lorde, in which his name is called vpon. What should the children of God doe, if they did beleue the seueritie of God that they feele to be his vengeance? For he that being

stricken

stricken by the hand of God, imagineth God a punishing iudge, cannot conceiue him but angrie and enemie vnto him, and detest the verie scourge of God as a curse and damnation. Finally, he can neuer be perswaded that God loueth him, that shall thinke him so minded toward him, that he is still minded to punish him. But he only profreth vnder the rod of God, that thinketh him to be angrie with his finnes, but mercifull and louing to himselfe. For otherwise that must needes happen, which the Prophet complaineth that he felt, where he saith. Thy wrathes, O God haue passed ouer me: thy terrors haue oppressed me. Also that which *Moses* writeth, because we haue fainted in thy wrath: and we haue bene troubled in thy indignation, thou hast fet our iniquities in thy sight, and our secrets in the light of thy countenance: because all our dayes are gone away in thy wrath: our yecres are consumed as the word that is passed out of a mouth. On the other side *Dauid* saith thus of his fatherly chastisements, to teach that the faithfull are rather holpen than oppressed thereby: Blessed is the man whom thou hast corrected O Lord, and hast instructed in thy law, to giue him quiet from euill dayes, while a pit is digged for the sinner. Truly it is a hard tentation, when God sparing the vnbeleeuers and winking at their faults, seemeth more rigorous against 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 againe into the way, and the wicked are caried headlong into their errors, whose end is the pit. And it is no difference whether the paine be cuerlasting or during for a time. For as well warre, famine, pestilence, and sicknes, as the iudgement of eternall death are the curses of God: when they are laid vpon men to this end, to be instruments of the Lords wrath and vengeance against the reprobate.

35 Now (as I thinke) all men do perceiue whereunto tended that chastisement of the Lord vpon *Dauid*: euen to be an instruction that God is greuously displeased with manslaughter and adulterie, against which he had shewed so great indignation in his beloued and faithfull seruant: that *Dauid* should be taught to be no more so bold to do the like deede: and not to be a paine whereby he should make a certaine recompence to God. And so is to be iudged of the other kind of correction, whereby the Lord punished his people with a fore pestilence, for *Dauids* disobedience whereinto he was fallen in numbring the people. For he did in deede freely forgieue to *Dauid* the guiltinesse of his sinne: but because it pertained both to the publike examples of all ages, and also to the humbling of *Dauid*, that such a hainous offence should not remaine vnpunished: therefore he most sharply chastised him with his rod. Which marke also we ought to haue before our eyes in the vniuersall course of mankind. For whereas after pardon obtained, we do all yet suffer the miseries that were laid vpon our first parent for paine of sinne, we perceiue our selues by such exercises to be admonished, how greuously God is displeased with the transgression of his law: that being throwne downe and humbled with knowledge in conscience of our owne miserable estate, we may the more seruenly aspire to true blessednes. But he shall be most foolish that shall thinke, that the calamities of this present life are laid vpon vs for the guiltinesse of sinne. And that I thinke was the meaning of *Chrysostome* when he wrote thus. If God do therefore lay paines vpon vs, that he should call vs, perseuering in euils to repentance, then whē repentance is once shewed, the paine shall be superfluous. Therefore as he knoweth it to be expedient for euery mans nature, so he handleth one man more roughly, and another with more louing tendernes. Therefore where he mindeth to teach that he is not vmeasurable in taking punishments, he reprocheth to the hard hearted and obstinate people that being stricken yet they make not an end of sinning. In this meaning he complaineth, that *Ephraim* was a cake scorched on the one side, and raw on the other, because the corrections did not pearce into their mindes, that the people hauing their vices

knowe that he which afflicteth vs doth it as a father and not as a Iudge.

1. Pet. 4. 17.
Iere. 25. 29.

Psal. 88. 17.
Psal. 90. 7.

Psal. 94. 12.
Psal. 88. 17.

Neither that which Dauid suffered after his sinne forgieuen nor that which Adā and his posterity euen they whose iniquities are done away do endure is sustained to the end that God may be recompenced with paine for sinne.

2. Sa. 24. 15.

Horn. 3. de prouid. ad Stargiriu.

Iere. 5. 3.
Osc. 7. 7.

boiled.

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boiled out, might be made meete to receiue pardon. Truly he that so speaketh, sheweth, that so soone as a man hath repented, he will by and by become appeasable: and that by our stiffness he is enforced to that rigour in chastising of faults, which should haue bene preuented with willing amendment. Yet forasmuch as we all are of such hardnesse and rudenesse, as vniuersally needeth chastisement: it seemed good to him being a most wise Father, to exercise all without exception with a common scourge all their life long. But it is meruellous why they so cast their eyes vpon the onely example of *Dauid*, and are not moued with so many examples, in which they might haue beholden free forgiveness of sinnes. It is read that the Publicane went out of the Temple iustified. There followed no paine. *Peter* obtained pardon of his offence, his teares we reade (saith *Ambrose*) his satisfaction we reade not. And the man sicke of the Palsie heard it spoken to him: Rise: thy sinnes are forgiven thee. There was no paine layd vpon him. All the absolutions that are rehearsed in the Scripture, are set out as giuen freely. Out of this great number of examples a rule should rather haue bene gathered, than of that only example that containeth in it a certaine speciall matter.

Luke. 18. 14.
Luke. 22. 61.
Math. 2. 9.

Daniel counselling *Nabuchodonozor* to redeeme his sinnes with righteousness, and *Salomon* teaching that charitie hideth a number of sinnes, did not meane that either the one or the other is any satisfactory appeasement of God for sinne.

Dan. 4. 24.
Pro. 10. 12.

1. Pct. 4. 8.
Prou. 16. 6.

Heb. 13. 16.
Matt. 23. 25.
Luc. 11. 39.

36 *Daniel* in his exhortation wherein he counselleth *Nabuchadnezer* to redeeme his sinnes with righteousness, and his iniquities with pitying of the poore: his meaning was not to say, that righteousness and mercy are satisfactory appeasements of God, and redemption of paines (for God forbid that there were euer any redemption sauing only the blood of Christ) but to referre this word Redeeming rather to men than to God, as if he had sayd: O king, thou hast vsed an vnrightheous and violent government, thou hast oppressed the humble, thou hast spoiled the poore, thou hast hardlie and vniustlie handled thy people: for thy vniust exactions, for thy violence and oppression, now render to them mercie and righteousness. Likewise *Salomon* saith, that with charitie the multitude of sinnes is couered: not before God, but among men themselues. For thus is the whole verse: Hatred raiseth vp contentions, but charitie couereth all iniquitie. In which verse, as his manner is, he doth by waye of comparison of contraries, compare the euils that grow of hatreds, with the fruites of charitie: in this meaning, they that hate together, do one bite, barke at, reproch and raile at an other, and turne all things to the worst, but they that loue together, do dissemble many things among themselues, do winke at many things, and pardon many things one to the other: not that the one alloweth the others faults, but beareth with them, and helpeth them with admonishing, rather than galleteth them with reproching them. And it is not to be doubted that *Peter* alleageth this place in the same sense, vntlesse we will accuse him of deprauing and wrongfully wresting the scripture. But whereas he teacheth that sin is purged with mercifulnes and liberalitie, he doth not meane that recompence is therewith made for sin before the face of the Lord, so that God being appeased by such satisfaction doth release the paine that otherwise he would haue laide vpon them, but after the accustomed manner of the Scripture he declareth that they shall finde him mercifull vnto them that leauing their former vices and iniquities, doe turne to him by godlines and truth: as if he should saie, that the wrath of God doth cease and his iudgement rest, when we cease from our euill doings. Neither doth he there describe the cause of pardon, but rather the manner of true conversion. As many times the Prophets do declare that Hypocrites do in vaine pester God with forged ceremonious vsages in steede of repentance, whereas it is vprightnes of life with the duties of chantie that delighteth him. As also the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues commending liberalitie and gentlenes, teacheth that such sacrifices please God. And when Christ, taunting the Pharises that giuing heede onely to cleansing of dishes, they neglected the cleanness of the heart, commaunded them to giue almes that all might be cleane: he did not thereby exhort them to make satisfaction: but only teacheth what manner

of cleanness pleaseth God. Of which kinde of speech we haue intreated in another place.

37 As touching the place of *Luke*, no man that hath with sound judgement read the parable that the Lord did there recite, will make vs any controuersie thereupon. The Pharisee thought with himselfe, that the Lord did not know the woman, which he had so easily receiued into 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 such sort be deceiued. The Lord, to shewe that shee was no sinner to whom her sinnes were alreadye forgien, did put out this parable. There were two debtors vpon vsurie: the one ought fifty, the other ought five hundred, both had their debts forgien them. Whether oweth more thanke? the Pharisee answered: he to whom most is forgien. The Lord replied: learne hereby that this womans sinnes are forgien her, because she hath loued much. In which wordes (as you see) he maketh not her loue the cause, but the prooffe of the forgiveness of her sinnes. For they are deriued vpon a similitude of that debtour, to whom five hundred was forgien, to whom he did not say that therefore it was forgien, because he had loued much: but therefore loued much, because it was forgien. And hereunto must that similitude be applied in this sort: Thou thinkest this woman to be a sinner: but thou oughtest to know that she is none such, for as much as her sinnes be forgien her. And that her sinnes be forgien her, her loue ought to prooue vnto thee, whereby she rendereth thanke for this benefit. It is an argument gathered of the following effect, whereby any thing is prooued by signes ensuing. By what meane she obtained forgiveness of sinnes, the Lord openly testifieth: Thy faith, saith he, hath saued thee. Therefore we obtaine forgiveness by faith: By charitie wee giue thanks, and testifie the bountifullnesse of the Lord.

The loue which the woman so whom many sins were forgien did shew towards him which did forgive her, was not a cause, but a prooffe of her pardoning.
Luke. 7. 35.

38 As for those things that are commonly found in the bookes of olde writers concerning satisfaction, they little moue me. I see indeed that many of them, (I will speake plainly) in a manner all whose bookes remaine, haue either erred in this point, or spoken too crabbedly and hardly: but I will not graunt that they were so rude and vnskilful as to haue written those things in that sence that the new Satisfactionars do read them. *Chrysostome* in one place writeth thus: where mercie is required, examination ceaseth: where mercie is asked, iudgement is not rigorous: where mercie is craued, there is no place for paine: where is mercie, there is no inquisition. Where is mercie, the answer is pardoned. Which wordes howsoever they be wrested, yet they can neuer be made to agree with the schoolemaisters doctrines. In the booke of Ecclesiasticall doctrines, which is fathered vpon *Augustine*, is read thus: Satisfaction of repentance is, to cut off the causes of sinnes, and not to graunt an entrie to their suggestions. Whereby appeareth that the doctrine of satisfaction that was saide to be giuen in recompence of sinnes committed, was euen in those times laughed to scorn: forasmuch as they referre all satisfaction to a heedfulnessse in abstaining from sinnes in time to come. I will not alleage that which the same *Chrysostome* saith, that he requireth of vs no more, but that we should confesse our sinnes vnto him with teares such sentences are manie times found in his writings and others. *Augustine* in deede in some places calleth the workes of mercie, remedies to obtaine forgiveness of sins: but because no man should stumble at that little word, he himselfe preuenteth it in another place. The flesh of Christ (saith he) the true and onely sacrifice for sins, not onely these sinnes that are wholly put away in baptisme, but also these that afterward creepe in by weakenes: for which the whole Church crieth out at this day, Forgiue vs our trespases. And they are forgien by that singular sacrifice.

The Fathers though speaking somewhat hardly concerning satisfactions, do notwithstanding meanes far otherwise than these new satisfactioners.

Hom. 2. in Psal. 50.

Hom. 10. in Gen. Enchirad Laurentium. Marc. 6. 12.

39 They haue for the most part called satisfaction, not a recompence to be

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Defenders of Popish satisfactions not much helpen by the writings of the ancient Fathers.

Cap 65, & is rehearsed in the Decrets, cap. in actionibus de poenit. distin. 1.

rendred to God, but an open declaration wherby they that had bin excommunicate when they would be receiued againe to the communion, did ascertaine the Church of their repentance. For there were ioyned vnto them when they did repent certaine fastings and other things, whereby they might perswade men that they were truly and heartily weane of their former life, or rather blot out the remembrance of their former dooings: and so they were saide to make satisfaction not to God, but to the Church. Which is also expressed of *Augustine* in these wordes in his Enchiridion to *Laurence*: Out of that auncient custome the confessions and satisfactions that are at this day vsed, tooke their beginning. Truly verie viperous birthes, by which is brought to passe, that there remaineth not so much as a shadow of that better forme, I know that the old writers do sometime speake somewhat hardly, and as I said euen now, I do not deny that peradventure they erred herein. But those things that were besprinkled with a few spots, when they are once handled with these mens vnwashed hands, are altogether defiled. And if we must contend with the authoritie of old writers: good God, what old writers do they thrust vnto vs? A good part of those wherewith *Peter Lombard* their champion hath botched vp his patched Sentences, is gathered out of the vnfauorie dotages of certaine Monkes that are carried about vnder the name of *Ambrose*, *Hierome*, *Augustine* and *Chrysostome*. As about this present question he taketh in a manner all out of *Augustines* booke of repentance, which is foolishly botched of good and bad by some scraper together. It beareth in dede the name of *Augustine*, but such a booke as no man being but meanely learned, would vouchsafe to acknowledge for his. But whereas I doe not so narrowly examine their follies, let the readers pardon me whom I would ease of that tediousnes. For to me it should not be verie laboursome, and yet verie plausible to bewray to their great shame those things that they haue heretofore boasted vpon as mysteries, but bicause my purpose is to teach fruitfully, therefore I passe them ouer.

Thev. Chapter.

Of the supplyings which they adde to satisfactions, as pardons and purgatorie.

The world euen wrongfully abused by pardons.

Of this doctrine of satisfactions do flowe indulgences or pardons. For they say that that which our power wanteth to make satisfaction, is supplied by these pardons. And they run so fure sooth into madnesse, that they define them to be the distribution of the merits of Christ and of the Martyres, which the Pope dealeth abroad by his bulles. But although they haue more neede of *Helleborus* to purge their frenlike braine, than argumentes to aunswere them, so that it is not much woorthie the trauaile to stande vpon confuting such trifling errors, which are alreadie shaken with many batlerammies, and of themselues growe into decayed age, and bende toward falling: yet because a short consutation of them shall be profitable for some that be ignorant, I will not altogether omit it. As for this that pardons haue so long stand safe, and haue so long bene vnpunished, hauing bene vsed with so outrageous and furious licentiousnes: this may serue to teach vs in how darke a night of errors, men in certaine ages past haue bene drowned. They saw themselues to be openly and vncolouredly scorned of the Pope and his Bulbearers, gainful markets 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 freely given: that by this colour they bee wiped of offerings to be filthily spent vpon brothels, bawds and banquetings, that the greatest blowers abroade of pardons are the greatest despisers of them, that this monster doth daily more and more with greater licentiousnesse ouerunne the worlde, and growe into outrage, and that there is no ende, newe leade daily,

daily brought, and new money gotten. Yet with his reverence they received, they worshipped and bought pardons, and such as among the rest saw somewhat farther, yet thought them to be godly deceites, whereby men might be beguiled with some profit: At the length, since the world suffered it selfe to be somewhat wiser, pardons waxe colde, and by litle and litle become frozen, till they vterly vanish away.

2 But forasmuch as many that see the filthy gaminges, the deceites, theftes, and robberies, wherewith the pardoners haue heretofore mocked and beguiled vs, yet see not the very fountaine of vngodlines from whence they spring: it is good to shew not onely of what sort pardons be, but also what they be, when they are wiped from all spots. They call the treasure of the Church, the merites of Christ and of the holy Apostles and Martyres. The principall custodie of this barne (as I haue already touched) they feine to be deliuered to the Bishop of Rome, that he should haue the distribution of so great giftes, that he might both giue them by himselfe, and also graunt iurisdiction to other to giue them. Hereupon proceede from the Pope some time plenary pardons, sometime pardons for certaine yeeres: from the Cardinals, pardons for a hundred daies: from Bishops, pardons for fortie daies. But they be (as I may naturally describe them) the profaning of the blood of Christ, Satans mockerie, to leade away the Christian people from the grace of God; from the life that is in Christ, and to turne them from the true way of saluation. For how could the blood of Christ be more filthily prophaned, than when it is denied to suffice to the remission of sinnes, to reconciliation and satisfaction, vnlesse the want thereof as being withered and wasted, should be otherwise supplied and perfected? The law and all the Prophets (saith Peter) beare witness of Christ, that by him forgiveness of sin is to be received: Pardons giue remission of sinnes by Peter, Paul and the Martyrs. The blood of Christ (saith Iohn) cleanseth vs from sinne: Pardons doe make the blood of Martyrs the washing away of sinnes. Christ (saith Paul) which knew not sin, was made sin for vs, that is, the satisfaction of sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him: Pardons doe set the satisfaction of sinnes in the blood of Martyrs. Paul cried out and testified to the Corinthians, that onely Christ was crucified and died for them: the pardons pronounce, that Paul and other died for vs. In an other place he saith that Christ purchased the Church with his blood: the pardons appoint an other price of purchase in the blood of Martyrs. The Apostle saith, that Christ with one oblation made perfect for euer them that were sanctified: the pardons cry out to the contrarie and say, that sanctification is made perfect by the Martyrs, which otherwise were not sufficient. Iohn saith that all the Saintes washed their Gownes in the blood of the Lambe: the pardons teach men to wash their Gownes in blood of Saintes.

3 Leo Bishop of Rome, writeth notable well to the *Palestines* against these sacrileges. Although (saith he) the death of many Saintes hath been precious in the sight of the Lord, yet the killing of no innocent hath bene the propitiation of the world. The righteous received, but gaue not crownes: and out of the valiantnesse of the faithfull are grauen examples of patience, not giftes of righteousness. For their deatnes were euery one singular to themselves, and none of them did by his end pay the debt of an other, forasmuch as there is one Lord Christ, in whom all are crucified, all are dead, buried, and raised vp againe. Which sentence (as it was worthy to be remembered) he repeated 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 blood of no Martyrs is shed for the forgiveness of sinnes. Which thing Christ hath done for vs, neither hath he therein done that for vs, that we should follow him, but hath giuen vs a thing to reioice vpon. Againe in an other place, As onely the Sonne of God was made the Sonne of Man, to make vs with him the Sonnes of God: so he alone

The ground of pardons is the merit of Saints whom which unto the merit of Christ nothing can be more opposite.

A 2. 10. 43.

1. Iohn 2. 7.
2. Cor. 5. 21.

1. Cor. 1. 13.

A 2. 20. 18.
Heb. 10. 14.

Recue 7. 14.

The euident testimonies of Leo and Augustine against their owne vaine allegations for the desertes of Saintes applicable vnto others.

Epi. 81.
Psal. 116. 15.

Epi. 95.
Tra. 2. in Ioan. 83.

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Lib. 4 ad Bonif.
cap. 4.
Col. 1. 24.

for vs hath taken vpon him punishment without euill deseruings, that wee by him might without good deseruings, obtaine grace not due vnto vs. Truly whereas all their doctrine is patched together of horrible sacriledges and blasphemies, yet this is a more monstrous blasphemie than all the other. Let them remember themselves whether these be not their decrees: that the martyrs haue by their death done more to God, and deserued more, than was needfull for themselves: and that they had remaining so great a plentie of deseruings, as did also ouerflow vnto other: and that therefore, least so great goodnes should be superfluous, their blood is mingled with the blood of Christ, & of both these bloods is made the treasure of the Church, for the remission and satisfaction of sins. And that so is the saying of *Paul* to be taken: I supplie in my body those things that want of the sufferings of Christ for his body, which is the Church. What is this else but to leaue Christ onely his name, otherwise to make him but a common petie saint, that may scarcely among the multitude be known from the rest? Hee onely, onely shoulde haue bene preached, he onely set forth, he onely named, he onely bene looked vnto, when the obtaining of forgiveness of sin, satisfaction, and sanctification are entreated of: But let vs heare their curtailed arguments. Least the blood of the Martyrs shoulde be shed in vaine, therefore let it be employed to the common benefite of the Church. Is it so? was it no profite to glorifie God by their death? to subscribe to his truth with their blood? by despising this present life, to testifie that they sought for a better life? by their steadfastnesse to strengthen the faith of the Church, and ouercome the stubbornnes of the enimies? But this is the matter indeed: they acknowledge no profite of the Martyrs death, if Christ onely be the propitiator, if he onely died for our sins, if he onely was offered vp for our redemption. So (say they) *Peter* and *Paul* might neuertheless haue obtained the crowne of victorie, if they had died in their beds. And whereas they haue sought euen to the shedding of their blood, it would not agree with the iustice of God to leaue the same barren and fruitlesse. As though God could not tel how to encrease in his seruants their glorie, according to the measure of his gifts. But the church receiueth in common together profite enough, when it is by their triumphes encouraged to a zealous desire to fight.

Saint Pauls words of supplying that which wanted in Christs sufferings maliciously wrested to this purpose
Col. 1. 24.

4 But how maliciously doe they wrest that place of *Paul* where he saith, that he supplieth in his bodie those things that wanted of the sufferings of Christ? for hee referreth not the default of supplying to the worke of redemption, satisfaction, and expiation: but to those afflictions wherewith all the members of Christ, that is to saie, all the faithfull must be exercised so long as they shall be in this flesh. Hee saith therefore, that this remaineth of the sufferings of Christ, that he daily suffereth in his members the same that he once suffered in himselfe. Christ vouchsafeth to doe vs so great honour, to reckon and account our afflictions his owne. Whereas *Paul* addeth these words, For the Church; hee meaneth not for the redemption, for the reconciliation, for the satisfaction of the Church, but for the edifying and profite of the Church. As in another place he saith, that he suffereth all things for the electes sake, that he may obtaine the saluation which is in Christ Iesu. And he wrote to the *Corinthians*, that he suffered all the troubles that he suffered, for their comfort and saluation. And immediately in the same place expoundeth himselfe, when he saith further, that he was made a minister of the Church, not for redemption, but according to the dispensation that was committed vnto him, to preach the Gospell of Christ. If they yet require another expostor, let them heare *Augustine*. The sufferings of Christ (saith he) are in Christ onely as in the head: and both in Christ & the Church, as in the whole bodie. Whereby *Paul* being one member saith, I supplie in my bodie that which wanteth in the sufferings of Christ. Therefore if thou whatsoeuer thou be that hearest this, art one of the members of Christ, whatsoeuer thou sufferest of them that are not the members of Christ, that same wanted in the sufferings

2 Tim. 1. 10.
1. Cor. 1. 6.

In Psal. 16.

sufferings of Christ. But wherunto the sufferings of the Apostles taken for the Church of Christ do tend, he expoundeth in another place where he saith: Christ is to me the gate vnto you: because ye are the sheep of Christ bought with his blood: acknowledging your price, which is not giuen of me, but preached by me. Then he addeth, As he hath giuen his soule, so ought we to giue our soules for our brethren, to edifie peace, and confirme Faith. These are *Augustines* words. But God forbid, that *Paul* should haue thought that any thing wanted in the sufferings of Christ, as concerning all fulnes of righteousness, saluation and life, or that he meant to adde any thing thereunto, which so plainly and honorably preacheth, that the aboundance of grace was so largely powred out by Christ, that it farre surmounted all the force of sinne. By it onely all the Saints haue bene saued, and not by the merite of their owne life or death as *Peter* expressly testified: so that he should be slanderous against God and Christ, that should repose the worthines of any Saint any where else than in the onely mercie of God. But why doe I tarry hereupon any longer, as vpon a matter yet doubtfull, sith the very bewraying of such monstrous errors is a sufficient confutation of them?

Track in Ioan. 47.

Rom. 5. 15.

Ag. 15. 11.

5 Now (to passe ouer such abominations) who taught the Pope to enclose in leade and parchment the grace of Iesus Christ, which the Lord willed to be distributed by the worde of the Gospell? Truly either the Gospell of God must be false, or their pardons false. For, that Christ is offered vs in the Gospell, with all aboundance of heauenly benefites, with all his merites, with all his righteousness, wisdom and grace, without any exception, *Paul* witnesseth where he saith, that the word of reconciliation was deliuered to the ministers, whereby they might vse this forme of message as it were Christ giuing exhortation by them: we beseech you, be yee so reconciled to God. He hath made him that knew no sinne, to be made sin for vs, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. And the faithfull know of what value is that common partaking of Christ, which (as the same Apostle witnesseth) is offered vs to be enjoyed in the Gospell. Contrariwise the pardons doe bring out of the storehouse of the Pope, a certaine pittance of grace, and fasten it to leade parchment, yea and to a certaine place, and seuer it from the worde of God. If a man should aske whence this abuse tooke beginning: it seemeth to haue proceeded hereof, that when in time past penitentes were charged with more rigorous satisfactions than all could beare, they which felt themselves about measure oppressed with penance enjoyed them, required of the Church a release. The mitigation that was granted to such, was called an indulgence or pardon. But when they turned satisfactions from the Church to God, and said that they were recompences whereby men may redeeme themselves from the iudgement of God, then they therewithall did also draw these indulgences or pardons to be propitiatorie remedies, to deliuer vs from deserued punishments. As for these blasphemers that we haue recited, they forged them so shamelesly, that they can haue no colour at all.

Whence the gracious indulgence of Christ which should be published by preaching of the Gospell began to be folded up in parchment and lead.

2. Cor. 1.

1. Cor. 1. 7.

6 Now let them no more trouble vs with their purgation, because it is with this axe already broken, hewed downe, and ouerthrowen from the verie foundations. For I doe 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 doe arise, but small edification is gotten. Truly I my selfe would also thinke such trifles worthe to be negligently passed ouer, if they did not account them earnest matters. But foras much as Purgatorie is builded of many blasphemies, and is daily vpholden with new blasphemies, and raiseth vp many and grievous offences, truly it is not to be winked at. This peradventure might after a sort haue ben dissembled for a time, that it was inuented by curious and bold rashnes without the worde of God: that men beleued of it by I wot not what reuelations, fained by the craft of Satan: that for the confirmation of it, certaine places of Scripture were fondly wrested.

The foresaide ground being taken away purgatorie thereupon builded falleth.

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Deut. 18. 21.

Albeit the Lord giueth not leaue to mans presumptuousnes so to breake into the secret places of his iudgements, and hath seuerely forbidden men to enquire for truth at dead men, neglecting his worde, and permitteth not his worde to be so vnreuerently defiled. But let vs graunt, that all those things might for a while haue bene borne with, as things of no great importance. But when the cleansing of sins is sought else where than in the blood of Christ, when satisfaction is giuen away to any other thing, then it is most perillous not to speake of it. Therefore we must crie out not onely with vehement stretching of our voice, but also of our throate and sides: that Purgatorie is the damnable deuse of Sathan, that it maketh void the Crosse of Christ, that it layeth an intollerable slander vpon the mercie of God, that it febleth and ouerthroweth our faith. For what else is Purgatorie among them, but the satisfaction that the soules of men departed do pay after their death? So that ouerthrowing the opinion of satisfaction, Purgatorie is immediately ouerthrowen by the verie rootes. But if in our former discourse it is more than euident that the blood of Christ is the onely satisfaction, propitiatorie sacrifice, and cleansing for the sins of the faithfull: what remaineth but that purgatorie is a meere and horrible blasphemie against Christ? I passe ouer the robberies of God wherewith it is daily defended, the offences that it breedeth in religion, and other things innumerable, which we see to haue come out of the same spring of vngodlines.

That sin against the ho'y Ghost shal neither in this world, nor in the world to come be forgiven, is a fl vnderproofs for Purgatorie.
 March. 12. 52.
 Mar. 3. 28.
 Luk. 12. 10.

7. But it is good to wring out of their handes such places as they haue falsly and wrongfully taken out of the Scripture. When (say they) the Lorde affirmeth that the sinne against the holy Ghost should not be forgiven in this worlde, nor in the world to come, thereby he sheweth that there is a forgiveness of some sinnes in the world 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 much as by their opinion the pain is there suffered of those sins, wherof they deny not the fault to be forgiven in this present life? But that they may no more carpe against vs, they shall haue yet a playner solution. When the Lord meant to cut off all hope of pardon from so hainous wickednes, he thought it not ynough to say that it should neuer be forgiven, but the more to amplify it, he vsed a diuision, wherin he comprehended both the iudgment that euery mans conscience feeleth in this life, & the last iudgment that shal be openly pronounced at the resurrection: as though he should haue said: Beware ye of malicious rebellion, as of most present damnation. For he that of set purpose shal endenour to quench the light of the holy Ghost, shall not obtaine pardon, neither in this life which is giuen to sinners for their conuersion, nor in the last day when the lames shal be seuered by the Angels of God from the goates, and the kingdom of heauen shall be cleansed from all offences. Then they bring forth that parable out of *Matteu*: Agree with thine aduersarie, least he deliuer thee to the Iudge, and the Iudge to the Sargeant, & the Sargeant to the prison, from whence thou shalt not get out, vntill thou hast paid the vitermost farthing. If in this place the iudge do signifie God, and the aduersarie plainise the diuel, the Sargeant the Angell, and the prison purgatorie, I will gladly yeeld vnto them. But if it be euident to all men, that Christ meant there to shew into how many dangers and mischies they cast themselves, that had rather obstinately pursue the extremitie of the law, than deale according to equity and good right, to the end to exhort his disciples the more earnestly to agreement with equity: where then I pray you shal Purgatorie be found?

Matteu 5. 15.

Other proofs alleged out of S. Pauls the booke of Reuelation and the booke of Malchies.
 Philip. 3. 10.

8 They fetch an argument out of the saying of *Paul*, where he affirmeth, that the knees of things in heauen, earth, and hels, shall bow to Christ. For they take it as confessed, that hels cannot there be meant of those that are adiudged to eternall damnation. Therefore it remaineth that it must be the soules lying in paine in Purgatorie. They did not reason verie euill, if the Apostle did by kneeling meane the true godly worshipping. But such he teacheth onely, that there is dominion giuen to Christ,

Christ, whereby all creatures are to be subdued, what prooffe is there to the contrary, but that we may by hels vnderstande the Devils, that shall bee brought before the iudgement of God, to acknowledge him their iudge with feare and trembling? Like as *Paul* himselfe expoundeth the same prophecie in another place. All (saith he) shall be brought before the iudgement seate of Christ. For it is written. So truly as I liue, euerie knee shall bow to me, &c. But we may not so expound that which is in the Reuclation: I haue heard all creatures, both these things 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 heard them all say to him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lambe, Blessing, and honor, and glorie, and power for euer & euer. That I do in deed easily grant, but what creatures do they thinke to be heere rehearsed? For it is most certaine, that there are contained creatures both without reason & without sense. Whereby is affirmed nothing else, but that all the parts of the worlde, from the highest top of the heauens to the very middle point of the earth, do in their maner declare the glorie of their creator. As for that which they alleage out of the history of the *Machabees*, I will not vouchsafe to answer it, least I shoulde seeme to reckon that worke in the number of the holy bookes. But *Augustine* receiued it for Canonicall. But first, of what sure credit did he receiue it? The Iewes (saith he) esteeme not the writing of the *Machabees* as they do the law, the Prophets, and the Psalmes, of which the Lord himselfe hath witnessed as of his witness, saying: It was necessary that all things should be fulfilled that are written in the law, & the Psalmes, and Prophets concerning me. But it hath bene receiued of the Church not vnprofitable, if it be soberly read or heard. And *Hierome* teacheth without any doubting that the authoritie thereof is of no force to proouing of doctrines. And it evidently appeereth by that old booke, which is entituled vnder the name of *Cyprian*, concerning the exposition of the Creede, that it had no place at all in the old Church. But why do I heere stiaue without cause? As though the author himselfe doth not sufficientlie shew, how much he is to be credited, when in the end he craueth pardon, if he haue spoken any thing not well. Truly he that confesseth his writings to neede pardon, saith plainly that they are not the oracles of the holy Ghost. Beside that, the godlines of *Iudas* is praised for none other cause, but for that hee had an assured hope of the last resurrection, when he sent an offering for the dead to Hierusalem. Neither doth the writer of that historie referre that which *Iudas* did to be a price of redemption, but that they might be partakers of the eternall life with the other faithfull, that had died for their countrey and religion. This doing was in deed not without superstition and preposterous zeale, but they are more than fooles, that draw a sacrifice of the lawe so far as vnto vs: forasmuch as we knowe that things do cease by the coming of Christ, that then were in vse.

9 But they haue an inuincible bulwarke in *Paul*, which cannot so easily be battered. If any man (saith he) build vpon this foundation, gold, siluer, precious stones, timber, heue, stubble, the Lord shall shewe euery mans worke what it is: because it shall be reuealed in fire, and the fire shall trie euery mans worke what it is. If any mans worke do burne, it shall suffer losse, but he shall be safe, but as through the fire. What fire (say they) can that be, but the fire of purgatorie? by which the filthines of sinne are clesed away, that we may enter pure into the kingdome of God? But the most part of the olde writers thought it to be another fire, that is to say, Trouble or the crosse, by which the Lord trieth them that be his, that they shoulde not rest in the filthines of the flesh: and that is much more probable, than in faining purgatorie. Albeit I do neither agree with these men, because I thinke I haue attained a certaine and much plainer vnderstanding of that place. But before that I vter it, I woulde haue them answer me, whether the Apostles and all the Saints must haue gone through this fire of Purgatorie? I know they will say, nay. For it were too much inconuenient

Rom. 13. 10.

Rcucl. 5. 13.

2. Mac. 12. 43.

Contra Gaudens
epist. 2. cap. 23.
Luk. 23.

2. Mach. 15. 36.

The fire wherof
S. Paul maketh
mention to the
Corinthians is no pur-
gatorie fire.
1. Cor. 3.

Chrysost. August
and others.

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Enchirad Lau-
rent. 68.

that they must haue needed to be purged, whose merites they dreame to ouerflowe aboute measure to all the members of the Church. But the Apostle affirmeth it. For he doth not say that the worke of some shall be proued, but the worke of all. Neither is this my argument, but *Augustines*, which so confuteth that exposition. And (which is more absurditie) he doth not say, that they shal passe through the fire for all works: but if they haue faithfully builded the Church, they shall receiue reward when their worke is examined with fire. First, we see that the Apostle vsed a Metaphore, when he called the doctrines inuented by mans braines, wood, hey, and stubble. And the Metaphore hath an apparant rescue: that as wood so soone as it is put in the fire, consumeth and wasteth, so cannot those doctrines continue when they come to be examined. Now no man is ignorant that such triall commeth of the holy Ghost. Therefore to follow the true cause of his Metaphore, and match the partes together with iust relation, he called the trial of the holy Ghost, fire. For euen as the neerer that gold and siluer are put to the fire, so much the surer prooffe they haue of their goodnes and sinenesse: so the Lords truth, the more exactly it is weyed with spiritual examination, so much the greater confirmation of credite it receiueth. As hey, wood, and stubble put to the fire, are brought to sudder cōsuming, so the inuentions of men, not stablished by the word of God, cannot beare the triall of the holy Ghost, but they by and by fall away and perish. Finally, if forged doctrines be compared to wood, hey, and stubble, because like wood, hey, and stubble, they are burned with fire & destroyed: but they are not destroyed or driuen away but by the spirit of the Lord: it followeth that the holy ghost is the fire wherwith they shal be proued, whose prooffe *Paul*, according to the cōmon vse of the scripture, calleth The day of the Lord. For it is called, the day of the Lord, whensoeuer he doth any way shew his presence to men. But then his face principally shineth, when his truth shineth vpon vs. Nowe haue wee proued, that *Paul* meaneth no other fire, but the triall of the holy Ghost. But how are they saued by the fire, that suffer losse of their worke? That shall not be hard to vnderstand, if we consider of what kinde of men he speaketh. For he toucheth those builders of the Church, that keeping the true foundation, do build disagreeing matter vpon it, that is to say, they that not swarung from the chiefe and necessarie articles of faith, do erre in points that be smaller and lesse perillous, mingling their own deuises with the word of God. Such I say, must suffer losse of their work, hauing their deuises destroyed. But themselues are saued, but as by the fire: that is to say, not that their ignorance and error is allowable before the Lorde, but because they are clesed from it by the grace and power of the holy Ghost. Therefore, whosoever haue defiled the golden sinenesse of Gods worde with this dung of purgatorie, they must needes suffer losse of their worke.

10 But they will say, it hath beene an ancient vsage of the Church. *Paul* answered this obiection when he comprehendeth his owne time in that sentence, where he saith, that all they must suffer losse of their work; that in the building of the church, do lay any thing vpon the foundation that agreeth not with it. Therefore when the aduerfaries obiect against me, that it hath beene vsed aboute a thousand and three hundred yeeres, to haue prayers made for the dead: I aske them againe, by what word of God, by what reuelation, by what example it was done. For heere they doe not onely want testimonies of Scripture but also all the examples of holy men that there are read, do they no such thing. Of the mourning and order of funerals there are somtimes found many and long tales: but of prayers you cannot see one title. But of the greater weight that the matter is, the more it ought to haue beene expressly spoken. But the very old fathers themselues that prayed for the dead, did see that herein they wanted both commandement of God, and lawfull example. Why then durst they do so? In this I say, they did suffer somewhat as men: and therefore I affirme that that which they did, ought not to be drawen into exāple. For wheras the faithful
ought

The occasion
whence prayer for
the dead first rose,
which now is
standing doth not
argue the soules of
the dead, which
were prayed for to
haue been in pur-
gatory.

ought to enterprife the doing of nothing, but vpon assured conscience, as *Paul* teacheth: this assurednesse is principally required in praier. But it is likely that they were led by some reason vnto it: they sought some comfort to relieue their sorrow: and it seemed vnnaturall not to shew before God some testimony of their loue toward the dead. How mans wit is enclined to this affection, all men know by experience. Also the receiued custome was like a burning brand to set many mens mindes on fier. We know that with all nations and in all ages there were funerals done for the dead, and their soules yerely purged. For though Satan beguiled foolish men wjth these deceits: yet he tooke occasion so to beguile by a true principle: that death is not a destruction, but a passage out of this life into another. And it is no doubt, but that euen very superstition condemneth the Gentiles before the iudgement seate of God, for neglecting the care of the life to come, which they professed themselues to beleue. Now Christians, because they would not be worse than Heathen men, were ashamed to do nothing for the dead, as though they were viterly destroyed. Hereupon came that ill aduised diligence: because if they were slow in looking to the funerals, in bankettings and offrings, they thought that they had put themselues in danger of a great reproch. And that which first proceeded from a wrongfull following of the Heathens example, was so multiplied by often new encreases, that now it is the principall holinesse of Papistrie, to help the dead in distresse. But the Scripture ministreth another much better and perfecter comfort, when it testifieth, that the dead are blessed that die in the Lord. And it addeth a reason: because from thenceforth they rest from their labors. And we ought not so much tenderly to follow our owne affection of loue, to set vp a wrongfull maner of praying in the Church. Truly he that hath but meane wisdome, doth soone perceiue that all that is read hereof in the old writers, was done to beare with the common vsage, and the ignorance of the people. They themselues also, I grant, were carried away into error euen as vnaduised lightnes of beliefe is wont to rob mens wits of iudgement. But in the meane time the verie reading of the doct shew, how doubtingly they commend prayers for the dead. *Augustine* in his booke of confessions, reporteth that *Monica* his mother did earnestly desire, that she might be remembered in celebrating the ministeries at the Altar. An old wifes request, which the sonne neuer examined by the rule of the scripture, but according to his affection of nature, would haue it allowed of other. As for the booke that he made of care for the dead, containeth so many doubtings, that of right it ought with the coldnes thereof to quench the heate of a foolish zeale: if any man desire to be a proctor for dead men, truly with cold likelihoodes it will bring them out of care that were before carefull. For this is one pillar of it, that this doing is not to be despised, because it is a custome growen in vse, that the dead should be praied for. But though I grant to the old writers of the church, that it is a charitable vse to help the dead: yet we must still hold one rule which cannot deceiue: that it is not lawfull for vs in our prayers, to vse any thing of our owne, but our requests must be made subiect to the word of God: because it is in his will to appoint what he will haue to be asked. Now where as the whole law and the Gospell, do not so much as in one syllable giue libertie to pray for the dead, it is a prophane abuse of the inuocation of God to attempt more than he commandeth vs. But that our aduersaries may not boast that they haue the ancient church companion of their error: I say there is great difference betweene them and it. They vsed a memorial of the dead, least they should seeme to haue cast away all care of them: but they did therewithall confesse that they doubted of their state. As for purgatorie, they so affirmed nothing that they held it for a thing vncertaine. These men require to haue that which they haue dreamed of purgatorie, to be holden without question for an article of faith. They slenderly and onely to passe it lightly ouer, did in the communion of the holy supper commend their dead to God: These do continually call vpon the care of the dead,

Reuc. 14. 13.

An old wifes
Request

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Hom. in Ioan.
456.

and with importunate praizing it, doe make it to be preferred aboue all dutifull works of charitie. Yea, and it were not hard for vs to bring foorth some testimonies of the olde writers, that doe manifestly ouerthrow all those praizers for the dead, which then were vsed. As this of *Augustine*, when he teacheth that all men looke for the resurrection of the flesh and the eternall glorie, and that euery man then receiuethe the rest that followeth after death, if he be woorthie when he dieth. And therefore he testifieth, that all the godly doe immediately after death enioy the blessed rest as well as the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs. If their estate be such, what I beseech you shall our praizers auaille them? I passe ouer the grosser superstitions, wherewith they haue bewitched the mindes of the simple: which yet are so innumerable and the most part so monstrous, that they can haue no honest colour to excuse them. Also I let passe those most filthy buyings and sellings that they haue vsed, while the world was in such grosse senselesse ignorance. For both I should neuer make an end, and also the readers shall without any rehearfall of them, haue here sufficient, whereupon they may stablish their consciences.

The vj. Chapter.

Of the life of a Christian man: And first, by what arguments the Scripture exhorteth vs thereunto.

An order of framing our liues needefull to be gathered out of Scriptures.

WE haue alreadie said, that the marke whereunto regeneration tendeth is that in the life of the faithfull there should appeere an agreement and consent betwene the righteousnesse of God and their obedience: and that so they should confirme the adoption, whereby they are receiued to be children. But although his lawe containe in it selfe that newnesse, whereby the image of God is restored in vs, yet because our dulnesse hath neede both of many prickings forwarde and helpes, therefore it shall be profitable to gather out of diuers places of the Scripture an order of framing of life, that they that haue a desirous minde of amendment, may not wander out of the way in their endeouour. Now when I take vpon me the framing of a Christian mans life, I am not ignorant that I enter into a manifolde and plentious argument, and such as may with the greatnesse thereof fill a long volume, if I wolde absolutely treat of it in all pointes. For we see into what great length are stretched the exhortatorie orations of old writers, made onely euery one of one seueral vertue. And that is not done with too much idle babbling. For whatsoeuer vertue a man purpose to set out in oration, the stile runneth of it selfe into such largenesse with plentie of matter, that a man cannot seeme to haue discoursed well of it, ynlesse he haue spoken much. But my minde is not to stretch so farr the institution of life, which I promise to teach, as peculiarly to goe through euery speciall vertue, and wander abro ad into exhortations. Let such things be fetched out of other mens writings, and specially out of the Homilies of the olde fathers. It shall be enough for me to shewe an orderly trade, wherby a godly man may be guided to a right marke of framing his life, and shortly to appoint out a certaine vniuersall rule, by which he may well trie what be his duties. There shall peraduenture at some other season be a fit time to make declamations, or I will leaue that to other, which I my selfe am not meete to doe. I doe naturallly loue shortnesse, and peraduenture if I would speake more at large, it would not frame wel with me. And if a longer maner of teaching were neuer so much pleasing, yet I would scarce haue mind to put it in prooffe. But the course of this present worke requireth to knit vp a simple doctrine with as great shortnesse as I may. As the Philosophers haue their certaine ends of right and honestie, from which they deriue particular duties and all the company of vertues: so the Scripture is not without her order in this matter: but holdeth a most goodly well ordered disposition, and much more certaine than all the Philosophers orders. Thus onely is the difference, that

that they (as they were vaine glorious men) haue diligently endeoured to attaine an exquisite plainenes of order, to shewe forth the ready aptnesse of their wit. But the Spirit of God, because he taught without curious affection, hath not so exactly nor continually kept an orderly trade: which yet when he sometime vseth, he doth sufficiently declare, that it is not to be neglected of vs.

2 This instruction that the Scripture teacheth, whereof we now speake, standeth chiefly vpon two parts. The first, that there be powred and brought into our mindes a loue of righteousnes, to which otherwise we are of nature nothing enclined. The second, that there be a rule set out vnto vs, that may not suffer vs to go out of the way in following righteousnes. In commendation of righteousnes it hath both verie many and verie good reasons: of which we haue here before in diuerse places spoken of some, and other some we shall in this place briefly touch. At what foundation may it better begin, than when it putteth vs in mind that we must be holy, because our God is holy? For when we were scattered abroad like straying sheepe, and dispersed abroad in the maze of the world, he gathereth vs together againe, to ioyne vs in one flocke with himselfe. When we heare mention made of our ioyning with God, let vs remember that holynesse must be the bonde thereof. Not that by the merite of holynesse we come into common with him: (whereas rather we must first cleaue vnto him, that being endued with his holynesse, we may follow whither he calleth) but because it greatly pertaineth to his glorie, that he haue no fellowship with wickednesse and vncleanenesse. Therefore also it teacheth, that this is the end of our calling, which we ought alway to haue respect vnto, if we will answer God that calleth vs. For to what purpose was it, that we should be drawn out of the wickednesse and filthinesse of the world, if we giue our selues leaue all our life long to wallow in them still? Moreover it also admonisheth vs that to the end we may be reckned among the people of God, we must dwell in the holic citie Hierusalem. Which as he hath hallowcd to himselfe, so is it vnlawfull that it be vnholily prophaned by the vncleanenesse of the inhabitants. From hence came these sayings, that they shall haue a place in the tabernacle of God that walke without spot, and studie to follow righteousnes, &c. Because it is not meete that the Sanctuarie whereon he dwelleth, should be like a stable full of filthinesse.

3 And the better to awake vs it sheweth that God the father, as he hath ioyned vs to himselfe in Christ, so hath printed an image for vs in him, after which he would haue vs to be fashioned. Now let them finde me a better order among the Philosophers, that thinke that the philosophic concerning maners, is in them only orderly framed. They when they will excellently well exhort vs to vertue, bring nothing els but that we should liue agreeably to nature. But the Scripture bringeth here exhortation from the true welspring, when it not only teacheth vs to ferre our life to God, the author of it, to whom it is bond: but also when the hath taught that we are swaued out of kinde from the true original and state of our creation, she immediately addeth, that Christ by whom we came againe into fauour with God, is set before vs for an example, that we should expresse the forme thereof in our life. What may a man requite more effectual than this one thing? Yea, what may a man require more than this onely thing? For if the Lord hath by adoption made vs children with this condition, that our life should resemble Christ the bond of our adoption: if we doe not giue and auow our selues to righteousnes, we doe not onely with most wicked breach of allegiance depart from our creator, but also we forswear him to be our fauour. Then the scripture taketh matter of exhortation out of all the benefites of God, which she rehearseth vnto vs, and all the parts of our saluation. And sheweth that sith God hath shewed himselfe a father vnto vs, wee are worthe to be condemned of extreme vthankfulnessse, if we do not likewise in our behalfe shew our selues children vnto him. Sith Christ hath cleansed vs with the washing of his

The first entrance vnto newnesse of life is the loue of holynesse, wherewith to enflame vs we are taught that God is holie.

*Psal. 35. 8.
Psal. 15. 2. & 23.*

Another motive vnto holines is Christ his holnes. which God hath set to be our patterne.

*Mal. 2. 6.
Ephes 5. 1.
1. Iohn. 3. 7.*

blood;

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Ephe. 1. 5.
 Heb. 10.
 1. Cor. 6.
 1. Pet. 1. 15.
 Iohn. 15. 3.
 Ephe. 5.
 Col. 3.
 2. Cor. 6.
 1. Thes. 5. 15.

blood, and hath made vs partakers of this cleansing by baptisme, it is not seemely that we should be spotted with new filthinesse. Sith he hath graffed vs into his body, we must carefully take heede that we sprinkle not any spot or blot vpon vs that are his members. Sith he himselfe that is our head, is ascended into heauen, it behooueth vs that laying away earthly affection, we doe with all our hart aspire to heauenward: Sith the holy Ghost hath dedicated vs temples to God, we must endeavour that Gods glorie may be honourably set out by vs, and must not doe any thing whereby we may be prophaned with filthinesse of sinne: Sith both our soule and our bodie are ordained to heauenly incorruption and an vnperishing crowne, we must diligently trauell, that the same may be kept pure and vncorrupted vnto the day of the Lord. These (I say) be the best laide foundations to build a mans life, and such as the like are not to be founde among the Philosphers, which in commendation of vertue doe neuer climbe aboue the naturall dignitie of man.

It is the imitation of Christ which declareth a true Christian.

Ephes. 4.

4 And here is a fit place to speake vnto them, that hauing nothing but the title and badge of Christ, yet would be named Christians. But with what face doe they boast of his holy name: sith none haue any fellowship with Christ, but they that haue receiued a true knowledge of him out of the worde of the Gospell? But the Apostle saith, that all they haue not rightly learned Christ, that are not taught that they must cast away the olde man which is corrupted according to the desire of error, and haue not put on Christ. Therefore it is prooued that they falsely, yea and wrongfully pretende the knowledge of Christ, although they can eloquently and roundly talke of the Gospell. For it is not a doctrine of tongue, but of life: and is not conceiued as other learnings be, with onely vnderstanding and memorie, but is then onely receiued when it possesseth the whole soule, and findeth a seate and place to hold it in the most inward affection of the hart. Therefore either let them cease, to the slander of God, to boast of that which they are not, or let them shew themselues not vnworthy schollers for Christ their maister. We haue giuen the first place to the doctrine wherein our religion is contained, because our saluation beginneth at it: but the same must be powred into our hart, and passe into our manners, yea and transforme vs vnto it, that it be not vnfruitfull vnto vs. If the Philosphers doe iustly chafe against them, and doe with shamefull reproch driue them from their companie, that professing an arte that ought to be schoolemaisters of life, doe turne it into a Sophisticall babling: with how much better reason shall we detest these trifling Sophisters, that are contented to role the Gospell vpon the top of their tongues, the effectuall working whereof ought to pearce into the iniermost affections of the hart, to rest in the soule, and to alter the whole man a hundred times more, than the cold exhortation of Philosphers?

Though Christians be far from attaining vnto, yet they ought to be earnest in following after the perfect righteousness which is set before them in the Gospell.

5 Yet doe I not require that the manners of a Christian man saour of nothing but the absolute Gospell: which neuertheless both were to be wished and we must endeavour vs toward it. But I doe not so severely require a gospellike perfection, that I would not acknowledge him for a christian that hath not yet attained vnto it. For so should all men be excluded from the Church, sith there is no man founde that is not by a great space distant from it, and many haue hitherto but a litle way proceeded toward it, who yet should be vniustly cast away. What then? let that be set for the marke before our eies, to which alone all our endeavour may be directed. Let that be appointed the goale for vs to run and trauell vnto. For it is not lawfull for thee so to make partition with God, to take vpon thee part of these things that are commanded thee in his word, and to leaue part at thine owne choise. For first of all he euerie where commendeth integritie as the cheefe part of worshipping him: by which word he meaneth a pure simplicitie of minde that is without all deceitfull colour and faining: against which a double hart is set as contrarie: as if it should be saide, that the beginning of liuing vprightly is spirituall, when the inward affection of the

mind is without fainting dedicate to God to obserue holinesse and righteousnesse. But because no man in this earthly prison of the bodie hath so great strength to hast with such freshnes of running, as he perfectly ought to do, and the greater number are so feeble, that with staggering and halting, yea and creeping vpon the ground, they auance but slowly forward. Let vs euerie one goe according to the measure of his litle power, and proceede on our iourney begun. No man shall go so vntowardly, but he shall euerie day get some ground, though it be but little. Therefore let vs not cease to trauell so, that we may continually proceede somewhat in the way of the Lord. And let vs not despair vpon the slendernes of our going forward, for howsoeuer the successe answer not our desire, yet we haue not lost our labour when this day passeth yesterday: so that with pure simplicitie we looke vnto our marke, and long toward the end of our course, not soothingly flattering our selues, nor tenderly bearing with our owne euils, but with continuall endeuour traouling to this, that we may still become better than our selues, till we attaine to goodnes it selfe: which in deede we seeke for and follow all our life long: but we shall then only attaine it, when being vncliothed of the weakenes of the flesh, we shall be receiued into the full fellowship thereof.

The vij. Chapter.

The summe of a Christian life: wherein is intreated of the forsaking of our selues.

Albeit that the law of the Lord haue a most aptly wel disposed order to frame a mans life, yet it seemed good to the heavenly schoolemaster to instruct men yet with a more exact trade to the same rule that he had set forth in his law. And the beginning of that trade, is this: that it is the dutie of the faithfull to yeld their bodies to God a liuing, holy and acceptable sacrifice vnto him: and that therein standeth the true worshipping of him. Hereupon is gathered occasion to exhort men, that they do not apply themselves to the fashion of this world, but be transformed in renewing of their mind, that they may proue what the will of God is. Now this is a great thing, that we be consecrate and dedicate to God: that we should from thence forth thinke, speake, imagine, or do nothing but to his glorie. For the thing that is consecrate, cannot be applied to vnholly vses, without great wrong done vnto him. If we be not our owne, but the Lords, it appeareth what errour is to be auoided, and wherunto all the doings of our life are to be directed. We are not our owne: therefore let neither our owne reason nor our owne will beare rule in our counsels and doings. We are not our owne: therefore let vs not make this the end for vs to tend vnto, to seeke that which may be expedient for vs according to the flesh. We are not our owne: therefore so much as we may, let vs forget our selues and all things that are our owne. On the other side, we are Gods: therefore let vs liue and die to him. We are Gods: therefore let his wisedome and will gouerne all our doings. We are Gods: therefore let all the parts of our life tend toward him as their only lawfull end. Oh how much hath he profited, that hauing learned that himselfe is not his owne, hath taken from himselfe the rule and gournment of himselfe to giue it to God? For as this is the most strong working pestilence to destroy men, that they obey themselves: so it is the onely haue of safetie, neither to know nor will any thing by himselfe, but only to follow God going before him. Let this therefore be the first step, that man depart from himselfe, that he may apply all the force of his wit to the obeying of the Lord. Obeying I call not only that which standeth in obedience of the word, but that whereby the minde of man, void from his owne sensualitie of flesh, bendeth it selfe whole to the will of Gods spirit. Of this transformation (which Paul calleth renewing of the mind) whereas it is the first entrie into life, all the Philosophers were ignorant.

The first beginning of a new life, is the resigning ouer of our selues from our selues vnto God.
Rom. 12. 1.

Rom. 14. 8.

Eph. 4. 23.

Gala. 1. 20.

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ignorant. For they make onely Reason the gouernesse of man: they thinke she onely ought to be heard: finally to her onely they giue and assigne the rule of manners. But the Christian Philosophie biddeth her to giue place, and to yeeld and be subiect to the holy Ghost: so that man now may not liue himselfe, but beare Christ liuing and reigning in him.

The next degree of righteousness to seeke those things that are of God sincerely for themselues nor in any side respect of our owne.

2 Hereupon followeth also this other point; that we seeke not the things that be our owne, but those things that be according to the will of the Lorde, and that make to the advancement of his glory. This is also a prooffe of great profiting, that in a maner forgetting our selues, and altogether leauing the regard of our selues, we traueill to employ our studie to God and his commandements. For when the Scripture biddeth vs to leaue priuie regard of our selues, it doth not onely race out of our mindes the conetoufnes of hauing the greede seeking for power and fauour of men: but also rooteth out ambition and all desire of worldly glorie, and other more secret pestilences. Truly a Christian man must be so fashioned and disposed, to thinke throughout all his life, that he hath to do with God. In this sort, as he shall examine all his doings by Gods will and iudgement: so he shall reuerently direct vnto him all the earnestly bent diligence of his minde. For he that hath learned to looke vpon God in all things that he hath to doe, is therewithall turned away from all vaine thoughts. This is that forsaking of our selues, which Christ euen from their first beginning of instruction so earnestly gaue in charge to his disciples: which when it once hath gotten possession in the hart leaueth no place at all, first neither for pride, nor disdainfulnes, nor vaine glorious boasting, then neither for couetise, nor filthy lust, nor riotousnes, nor deintines, nor for other euils that are engendred of the loue of our selues. Contrariwise, whersoever it reigneth not, there either most filthy vices do rage without shame, or if there be any spice of vertue, it is corrupted with peruerse desire of glorie. For shew me a man, if thou canst, that vnlesse he haue forsaken himselfe according to the commandement of the Lorde, will of his owne free will vse goodnes among men. For all they that haue not been possessed with this feeling, if they haue followed vertue, they haue done it at the least for praises sake. And all the Philosophers that euer most of all affirmed that vertue was to be desired for it selfe sake, were puffed vp with so great pride, that it appeared that they desired vertue for no other thing, but that they might haue matter to be proud vpon. But God is so nothing at all delighted, neither with those gapers for the peoples breath, nor with these swelling beastes, that he pronounceth that they haue already receiued their rewarde in the worlde, and maketh harlots and Publicanes neerer to the kingdome of heauen, than them. And yet we haue not thoroughly declared with how many and how great stops man is hindered from that which is right, so long as he hath not forsaken himselfe. For it was truly said in times past, that there is a worlde of vices hidden in the soule of man. And thou canst finde no other remedies, but denying thy selfe, and leauing regard of thy selfe, to bende thy minde to seeke those things that the Lorde requirith of thee, and to seeke them therefore onely because they please him.

The parts of a well ordered life, set downe by Saint Paul.
Tit. 2. 12.

3 In another place the same Paul doth more plainly, although shortly, goe through all the parts of a well ordered life, saying: The grace of God that bringeth saluation vnto all men, hath appeared and teacheth vs, that we should denie all vngodlinesse, and worldly lustes, and that we should liue sober minded, righteously and godly in this present world, looking for the blessed hope and glorious appearing of the mightie God, and of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, which gaue himselfe for vs to redeeme vs from all vnrighteousnes, and to purge vs a peculiar people vnto himselfe feruently giuen vnto good works. For after that he hath set foorth the grace of God to encourage them, to make ready the way for vs to worship God, he taketh awaie two stoppes that doe most hinder vs, that is to say, vngodlinesse, wherunto wee are naturally too much inclined, and Worldly desires, which extend further. And vnder

vnder the name of vngodlinesse, he not onely meaneth superstitions, but also comprehendeth all that disagreeeth with the earnest feare of God. And worldly lustes are in effect as much as the affections of the flesh. Therefore he commaundeth vs in respect of both the tables of the lawe, to put off our owne wit, and to forsake all that our owne reason and will informeth vs. And all the doings of our life he bringeth into three partes, sobrietic, righteousnesse, and godlinesse: of the which sobrietic without doubt signifieth as well chastitie and temperance, as a pure and measurable sparing vse of temporal things, and a patient susterance of pouertie. Righteousnesse containeth all the duties of equitie, to giue euery man his owne. The third is Godlinesse, that seuereth vs from the defilings of the world, and with true holinesse ioyneth vs to God. These things, when they be knit together with an vnseparable knot, make a full perfection. But for as much as nothing is more hard, than forsaking the reason of the flesh, yea subduing and renouncing her desires, to giue our selues to God and our brethren, and to studie for an Angelike life in the filthie state of the earth: therefore *Paul*, to loose our mindes from all snares, calleth vs backe to the hope of blessed immortalitye, admonishing vs not to strue in vaine: because as Christ hath once appeared the redeemer, so at his last comming, he shall shew the fruit of the saluation that he hath purchased. And thus he driueth away the entisements that blinde vs, and make vs not to aspire as we ought, to the heauenly glorie: yea and he teacheth that we must trauell as men being from home in this world, that the heauenly inheritance be not lost or fall away from vs.

4 Now in these words we perceiue, that the forsaking of our selues hath partly respect to men, and partly, yea chiefly to God. For whereas 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: therefore it giueth such commaundements as our minde is not able to receiue, but first being made voide of naturall sense. For (with such blindness we runne all into loue of our selues) euery man thinketh himselfe to haue a iust cause to aduaunce himselfe, and to despise all other in comparison of himselfe. If God haue giuen vs any good gift, by and by bearing our selues bold thereof, we lift vp our courage, and not onely swell, but in a manner burst with pride. The vices wherewith we abound we do both diligently hide from other, and to our selues we flatteringly faine them light and slender, and sometime embrace them for vertues. And if the same good giftes, which we praise in our selues, or better doe appeere in other, least we should be compelled to giue place to them, we doe with our enuiousnesse deface them and finde fault with them. If there be any faultes in them, we are not contented severely and sharply to marke it, but we also odiously amplifie it. Hereupon groweth that insolencie, that euery one of vs, as though hee were priuiledged from the common estate, would be higher than the rest, and carelesly and proudly set light by euery man, or despise them as inferiours. The poore yeeld to the rich, base people to gentlemen, seruants to their masters, vnlearned to the learned: but there is no man that doth not nourish within himselfe some opinion of excellencie. So euery man in flattering himselfe, beareth a certaine kingdome in his brest. For presumptuously taking vpon them somewhat whereby to please themselves, they iudge vpon the wits and manners of other men. But if they come to contention, there bursteth out their poyson. For many doe make a shewe of great meekenesse, so long as they finde all things gentle and louely: but how many a one is there that keepeth that continuall course of modestie, when hee is pricked and stirred to anger? And there is no remedie hercof, but that the most hurtfull pestilence of loue, of soueraignetic and selfeloue be rooted out of the bottoome of their harts, as it is rooted out by the doctrine of the Scripture. For there we are taught, that we must remember that the good giftes that God hath giuen vs, are not our owne good things, but the free giftes of God, wherof if any be proud, they bewray their

The deniall of our selues hath relation partly to men but chiefly to God. Rom. 12. 20. Phil. 2. 3.

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their owne vnthankfulnesse. Who maketh thee to excell? *Paul* saith, if thou hast receiued all things, why doest thou boast as if they were not giuen thee: Then, that we must with continuall reknowledging of our faultes, call our selues backe to humilitie. So shall there remaine in vs nothing to be proude vpon, but there shall be much matter to abase our selues. Againe, we are commanded, whatsoeuer giftes of God we see in other men, so to reuerence and esteeme those giftes, that we also honour those men in whom they be. For it were a great lewdnesse for vs, to take from them that honor, that God hath vouchsafed to giue them. As for their faultes, we are taught to winke at them, not to cherish them with flattering, but that we should not by reason of those faultes triumph against them, to whom we ought to beare good will and honour. So shall it come to passe, that with what man soeuer we haue to doe, we shall behaue our selues not onely temperately and modestly, but also gently and friendly. As a man shall neuer come any other way to true meekenesse, but if he haue a hart endued with abasing of himselfe, and reuerencing of other.

It is not possible we should do our dutie to others except we haue first denied our selues. And our dutie it is to profite other men with whatsoeuer God hath benefited vs.
1. COR. 13. 4.

5 Now how hard is it, for thee to doe thy dutie in seeking the profite of thy neighbour? Thou shalt herein labour in vaine, vnlesse thou depart from regard of thy selfe, and in a maner put off thy selfe. For how canst thou performe these things that *Paul* teacheth to be the workes of charitie, vnlesse thou forsake thy selfe, to giue thy selfe wholly to other? Charitie (saith he) is patient and gentle, not proud, not disdainfull, enuie not, swellth not, seeketh not her owne, is not angry, &c. If this one thing be required, that we seeke not the things that are our owne, we shall doe no smal violence to nature, which so bendeth vs to the onely loue of our selues, that it doth not easily suffer vs negligently to passe ouer our selues and our owne things, to watch for other mens commodities, yea to depart with our owne right to resigne it to another. But the Scripture, to leade vs thither as it were by the hand, warneth vs that whatsoeuer gracious giftes wee obtaine of the Lorde, they are committed vnto vs vpon this condition, that they should be bestowed to the common benefite of the Church: and that therefore the true vse of all Gods graces is a liberall and bountifull communicating of them to other. There can be no certaine rule, nor more forceable exhortation could be deuised for the keeping of the same, than when we be taught that all the good giftes that we haue, are things of God deliuered, committed to our trust vpon this condition, that they should be disposed to the benefite of our neighbours. But the Scripture goeth yet further, when it compareth them to the powers where-with the members of mans body are endued. No member hath his power for himselfe, nor applieth it to his priuate vse: but powreth it abroad into the other members of the same bodie, and taketh no profite thereof, but such as proceedeth from the common commoditie of the whole bodie. So whatsoeuer a godly man is able to doe, he ought to be able to doe it for his brethren, in prouiding none otherwise priuately for himselfe, but so that his mind be bent to the common edification of the Church. Let this therefore be our order for kindnesse and doing good: that whatsoeuer God hath bestowed vpon vs, whereby we may helpe our neighbour, we are the Bailifes thereof, and bound to render account of the disposing of it. And that the onely right disposing is that which is tried by the rule of loue. So shall it come to passe, that we shall alway not only ioyne the trauell for other mens commoditie with the care of our owne profit, but also set it before the care of our owne. And that we should not happen to be ignorant that this is the true lawe of disposing all the giftes that we receiue of God, he hath in the old time set the same lawe enen in the finallest grtes of his liberalitie. For he commanded the first fruits of corne to be offered vnto him, by which the people might testifie that it was vnlawfull for them to take any fruit of the goodes that were not first consecrate to him. If the giftes of God be so onely then sanctified vnto vs, when we haue with our owne hand dedicated them to the author thereof, it is euident that it is an vntrue abuse thereof that doth not sauour

Exod. 22. 29.
& 23. 19.

of such dedication. But it shall bee vaine for thee to goe about to enrich the Lorde with communicating to him of thy things. Therefore sith thy liberalitie cannot extend vnto him, as the Prophet saith, thou must vse it towarde his Sainτες that are in earth. Therefore almes are compared to holy oblations, that they may now be correspondent to these of the law.

6 But that we should not be wearie with doing good (which otherwise must needs come quickly to passe) that other thing must be adioyned which the Apostle speaketh of; that charitie is patient & not moued to anger. The Lord commandeth to do good to all vnioersally, of whom a great part are most vnwoorthie, if they be considered by their owne deserting. But heere the Scripture helpeth with a verie good meane, when it teacheth that we must not haue respect what men deserue of themselves, but that the image of God is to be considered in all men, to which we owe all honor and loue. But the same is most diligently to be marked in them of the household of faith, in so much as it is in them renewed and restored by the spirite of Christ. Therefore whatsoever man thou light vpon, that needeth thy helpe, thou hast no cause to withdraw thy selfe from doing him good. If thou say that he is a stranger: but the Lorde hath giuen him a marke, that ought to be familiar vnto thee, by the reason that hee forbiddeth thee to despise thine owne flesh. If thou saie that hee is base and naught woorth: but the Lorde sheweth him to be such a one, to whom he hath vouchsafed to giue the beauty of his image. If thou say that thou owest him nothing for anie thing that he hath done for thee: but God hath set him as it were in his place in respect of whom, thou knowest so many & so great benefites wherewith he hath bound thee vnto him. If thou saie that hee is vnwoorthie that thou shouldest labour any thing at all for his sake: but the image of God whereby he is commended vnto thee, & worthy that thou shouldest giue thy selfe and all that thou hast vnto it. But if hee haue not onely deserued no good at thy hande, but also prouoked thee with wrongs and euill doings: euen this is no iust cause why thou shouldest cease both to loue him & to do for him the dutifull workes of loue. Thou wilt say, he hath farre otherwise deserued of me. But what hath the Lorde deserued? Which when hee commandeth thee to forgiue al wherin he hath offended thee, truly he willett the same to be imputed to himselfe. Truly this is that onely way to com to that which is vtterly against the nature of man, much more is it hard for man, I meane, to loue them that hate vs, to recompence euill with doing good, to render blessings for reproches: if we remember that we must not consider the malice of men, but looke vpon the image of God in them, which defacing and blotting out their faultes, doth with the beautie and dignitie of it selfe allire vs to embrace it.

7 Therefore this Mortification shall then onely take place in vs, when wee performe the duties of charitie. But it is not hee that performeth them, that onelic doth all the dutifull workes of charitie, although he leaue none of them vndone, but he doth them of a syncre affection of loue. For it may happen, that a man may fully performe to all men all that he oweth, so much as concerned outward duties: and yet he may be farre from the true performing of it. For you may see some that woulde seeme verie liberall, which yet doe giue nothing but either with pride of looke, or with churlishnes of wordes they vpbraide it. And we be come to such wretchednesse in this unhappie world, that almost no almes are giuen of any men, or at least of the most part of men, without reproching. Which peruersenesse shoulde not haue bene tollerable among the verie heathen. For of Christians is somewhat more required then to shew a cheerefulnesse in countenance, and make their doings louely with gentlenes of words. First they must take vpon them the personage of him whom they seee to neede their helpe, and then so pittie their case, as if themselves did feele and suffer it: so that they may be carried with feeling of mercie and gentlenes, euen as they woulde be to helpe themselves. He that shall come so minded to helpe

Psal. 16. 3.
Heb. 13. 16.

*Without patience
wee cannot continue
in well doing
vnto others.*
1. Cor. 13. 4.

Gal. 6. 10.

Esa. 5. 7.

Matt. 6. 24. &
18. 35.

Luk. 17. 3.
Math. 5. 44.

*To doe the workes
of Charitie is vnothing,
except they
be done charitably.*

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his brethren, will not onely not desile his dooings with any arrogancie or vpraiding but also neither will despise his brother to whom he doth good as one needing his helpe, nor treade him vnderfooote as one bound vnto him: no more than we vse to reproch a sicke member, for easing whereof the whole bodie laboureth, or to thinke it specially bound to the other members, because it hath drawn more helpe vnto it than it hath recompensed. For it is thought that the common interparting of duties between members of one bodie, hath no free kind of gift, but rather that it is a payment of that which being due by the law of nature it were monstrous to denie. And by this reason it shall follow, that he may not thinke himselfe discharged that hath performed one kinde of duetie, as it is commonly vsed, that when a rich man hath giuen any thing of his owne, he leaueth other charges to other men, as not belonging to him. But rather euerie man shall thinke thus with himselfe, that he is altogether debter to his neighbours, and that he must determine none other end of vsing his liberalitie, but when a ability fayleth, which how large soeuer it be, must be measured by the rule of charitie, *moder.*

*Liberalitie
to embe.*

*The principal part
of denying our
selues, is wholly to
depend vpon the
fauour and blessing
of God, without
any rethouing
or account ma-
king of worldy
things.*

8 Nowe let vs more fully declare the principall part of forsaking our selues, which wee saide to haue respect to God. Wee haue saide much of it already, which it were superfluous to rehearse againe: it shall be sufficient to entreat of it so farre as it frameth vs to quietnesse of minde and sufferance. First therefore in seeking the commoditie or quietnesse of this present life, the Scripture calleth vs herunto, that resigning vs and our things to the Lords wil, we would yeeld vnto him the affections of our heart to be tamed and subdued. To couet wealth and honors, to compassse authoritie, to heape vp riches, to gather together all such follies as serue for royaltie and pompe, our lust is outragious, and our greedinesse infinite. On the other side of pouertie, ignobilitie, and base estate, we haue a maruellous feare and marvellous hatred, that moue vs to trauell by all meanes to eschue them. Herby a man may see, how vnquiet a minde they haue, how many shifts they attempt, with what studies they wearie their life, that frame their life after their owne deuise: to attaine those things that their affection of ambition or courtousnesse requireth, and on the other side to escape pouerty and basenesse. Therefore the godly must keepe this way, 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: and therefore let them safely and boldly rest themselues vpon it. For howsoeuer the flesh thinke it selfe sufficient of her selfe, when she either trauelleth by her owne diligence, or endeouereth with her owne studie, or is holpen by the fauour of men, to the attayning of honour and wealth: yet it is certaine, that all these things are nothing, and that we shall nothing preuaile with wit or trauell; but in so much as the Lord shall prosper both. But on the other side his onely blessing findeth a way through all stops, to make all things proccede with vs to a ioyfull and luckie end. Then howsoeuer we may get of all obtaine any glorie or wealth without it (as we dayly see the wicked to get heaps of great honors & riches) yet forasmuch as they vpon whom resteth the curse, do feele no parcel of felicitie, wee can obtaine nothing without his blessing that shall not turne vs to euill. And it is not at all to be coueted, that maketh men more miserable.

*He which knoweth
himselfe and
his estate to depend
wholly vpon the
blessing of God, will
neither seeke to
aduance himselfe
by euill meanes,
nor immoderately
desire to be aduanced,
nor impatiently
murmure at any
thing which hap-
peth.*

9 Therefore if we beleue that all the meane of prosperous successse and such as is to be wished, consisteth in the onely blessing of God, which being absent, all kinds of miserie and calamitie must happen vnto vs: this remaineth also, that we doe not greedily endeouour to wealth and honors standing vpon our owne facultie of wit or diligence, nor leaning to the fauour of men, nor trusting vpon a vaine imagination of fortune, but that we alway looke vnto the Lord, to be lead by his guiding to whatsoever lot he hath prouided. So first it shall come to passe, that we shall not violently rush to the catching of riches and inuading of honours, by wrongs, by guile and euill

craftie

Chap. 10
 Psal. 137
 Psal. 137
 Psal. 137

craftie meanes, or extortion with doing iniurie to our neighbours, but shall onelie follow those fortunes that may not leade vs from innocencie. For who may 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, and doth rightlie, so it calleth backe all them of whom it is desired, from crooked thoughtes, and corrupt dooings. Then we shall be bridled that we burne not with vnmeasurable desire of growing rich, nor ambitiously gape for honors. For with what face may a man trust to be holpen of God, to obtaine those things that he desireth against his word? For God forbid that God should giue the helpe of his blessing to that which he curseth with his owne mouth. Last of all, if it succede not according to our wish & hope, yet we shall be restrained fro impatience, and fro cursing our estate whatsoever it be: because we know that that is to murmure against God, at whose will richesse and pouertie, basenesse and honors are disposed. Briefly, he that resteth himselfe in such sort as is aforesaid vpon the blessing of God, neither will by euill suttleties hunt for those things that men are wont outrageously to couet, by which craftie meanes he thinketh that he shall nothing preuaile: nor if any thing happen prosperously will impute it to himselfe, and to his owne diligence, endeuour or to fortune, but will assigne it to God the Author. But if while other mens estates doe flourish, he goe but slenderlie forward, yea or slide backward, yet he will beare his ill fortune with greater quietnesse and moderation of minde, than a prophane man will beare a meanely good successe, which is not altogether so good as he desired: because he hath a comfort wherein he may more quietly rest, than vpon the highest top of wealth and authoritie: because he accounteth that his things are ordered by God as is available for his saluation. So we see that *Dauid* was minded, and yeeldeth himselfe to be ruled by God, he declareth himselfe to be like to a weined child, and that he walketh not in lugh things or marvellous aboue himselfe.

Psal. 137.

10 And the godly mindes ought to haue that quietnesse and sufferance not onely consisting in this behalfe: but also it must extend to all chaunces whereunto our present life is subiect. Therefore no man hath rightly forsaken himselfe, but he hath foreigned himselfe vp wholly to the Lord, that he suffereth all the partes of his life to be governed by his will. He that is so framed in minde, whatsoever happen, will neither thinke himselfe miserable, nor will with enuiousnesse against God complaine of his fortune. How necessarie this affection is, shall hereby appeare, if you consider to how many chaunces we be subiect. Diuerse kindes of diseases doe trouble vs, sometime the pestilence cruelly reigneth, sometime we are sharply vexed with calamities of warre, sometime frost or haille deuouring the hope of the yeare, bringeth barrennesse, that driueth vs to dearth: sometime our wife, parents, children or kinsfolkes are taken away by death, our house is consumed with fire: these be the things at chauncing whereof men curse their life, detest the day of their birth, haue Heauen and Light in execration, murmure against God, and (as they be eloquent in blasphemies) accuse him of vniustice and crueltye: But a faithfull man must euen in these chanches behold the mercifull kindnesse and fatherly tendernesse of God. Therefore whether he see his house destroyed, his kinsfolke slaine, yet he will not therefore cease to praise 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 if when his corne is blasted or bitten, or consumed with frostes, or beaten down with haille, he see famine at hand, yet he will not despaire, nor speake hatefully of God, but will remaine in this confidence, We are yet in the Lords protection, and thee brought vp in his pastures: hee therefore will finde vs foode euen in extreme barrennesse. Or if he be troubled with sicknesse, euen then he will not bee discouraged with bitternesse of sorrowe to burst out into impatience and quarrell thus with God: but considering the righteousnesse and lenitie in Gods correction, he will call himselfe backe to

The quiet contentment of minde which groweth vnto men in the manifold casuall miseries of this life, if they be once assured nor that fortune doth blindlie toss, but God providently disposeth their whole estate

Psal. 79. 13.

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patience. Finally whatfoeuer shall happen, because he knoweth it ordained by the hand of God, he will take it with a well pleased and thankfull minde, least he should stubbornly resist his authoritie, into whose power he hath yielded himselfe and all his. Therefore let that foolish and most miserable comfort of the heathen be far from a Christian mans heart, which to strengthen their mindes against aduersities, did impute the same to fortune, with whom they counted it foolish to be angrie, because she was blinde and vnadvised, that blindly wounded both the deseruing and vnderdeseruing. For contrariwise this is the rule of godlines, that the only hand of God is the iudge and gouernesse of both fortunes, and that it runneth not forward with vnadvised sudden rage, but with most orderly iustice dealeth among vs both good things and euill.

The viij. Chapter.

Of the bearing of the crosse, which is a part of the forsaking of our selues.

He which forsaketh himselfe must arme himselfe to indure a trauelsome estate of life, wherein there is no wishstanding this comfort, we go no other way than Christ himselfe hath troden before us.
Mar. 16.24.
Matt. 3.17.
& 17.5.

Rom. 8.2.

AQ. 14.22.
Philip. 3.10.

Affliction necessarie for vs not onely as for Christ to testifie our obedience vnto God, but further also to bring vs to a sensible feeling of our owne vncleane and weakenesse.

BVt a godly minde must yet climbe vp higher, euen to that whereunto Christ calleth his disciples, that euery one take vp his crosse. For all whom the Lord hath chosen & vouchsafed to receiue into his company, must prepare themselues to a hard, trauelsome and vnquiet life, and full of many and diuers kinds of incommodities. So it is the wil of the heavenly father, to exercise them in such sort, that he may haue a true proofe of them that be his. Beginning at Christ, his first begotten sonne, he proceedeth with this order toward all his children. For whereas Christ was the best beloued sonne about the rest, and in whom the fathers minde was fully pleased, yet we see how he was not tenderly and daintily handled: so that it may be truly said, that he was not onely exercised with a perpetuall crosse so long as he dwelled in earth, but that all his life was nothing else but a kind of continuall crosse. The Apostle sheweth the cause thereof to be, that it behooued that he should learne obedience by those things that he suffred. Why then should we priuledge our selues from that estate, whereunto it behooued Christ our head to be subiect, specially sith he became subiect therunto for our cause, to shew vs an example of patience in himselfe? Therefore the Apostle saith that this is the appointed ende of all the children of God, to be fashioned like vnto him. Whereupon also in hard and sharp chaunces, which are reckoned aduersities and euils, ariseth a great comfort vnto vs, that we communicate with the sufferings of Christ: that as he entered out of a maze of all troubles into the heavenly glory, so we may by diuers tribulations be brought into the same glory. For so saith Paul himselfe, that when we learne the communicating of his afflictions, we do also conceine the power of his resurrection: and when we are fashioned like vnto death, we are so prepared to the fellowship of his glorious rising againe. How much may this auail to assuage all the painefulnes of the crosse, that the more we are afflicted with aduersities, so much the more sure is our fellowship with Christ confirmed? by communicating whereof, our sufferings are not onely made blessed vnto vs, but also do much helpe vs to the furtherance of our saluation.

2 Beside that, our Lord had no neede to take vpon him to beare the crosse, but to testifie and prouue his obedience to his father: but wee for diuers causes haue need to lead our life vnder a continuall crosse. First (as we be naturally bent to attribute all things to our flesh) vnlesse our weakenes be shewed vs as it were before our eyes, we do easily esteeme our owne strength about due measure, and doubt not that whatsoeuer happen, it will continue vnbroken and vnouercome against all hard assaults. Whereby we are carried into a foolish and vaine confidence of flesh, and then trusting therupon we stubbornly waxe proud against God himselfe, as though our owne powers without his grace did suffice vs. This anogancy he can no way better beate

beate downe, than when he proueth vnto vs by experience, not onely how feeble, but also how traile we be. Therefore he afflicteth vs either with shame, or pouertie, or losse of children, or sickenes, 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, which onely maketh vs to stand vpriht vnder the heauie burden of afflictions. Yea the most holy, how well fouer they know that they stand by the grace of God and not by their owne force, yet are too much assured of their owne strength and constancie, vnlesse by the trial of the crosse, he bring them into a more inward knowledge of themselues. The slothfulnes crept into *Dauid*: *I Psal. 30. 8.* said in my rest, I shall neuer be mooued, Lord, thou hadst stablished in thy good pleasure a strength to my hill, thou hiddest away thy face, I was stricken. For he confesse that with sluggishnes in prosperitie his senses were dulled, that not regarding the grace of God, vpon which 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 fearefull, that we may be heedfull? Therefore whereas in prosperitie they flatter themselues with opinion of a greater constancie and patience, when they are once humbled with aduersitie, they learne that their former opinion was but hypocrisie. The faithfull (*I say*) being admonished by such examples of their diseases, doe thereby profit to humilitie, that being vn clothed of the wrongfull confidence of the flesh, they may resort to the grace of God. And where they are once come to his grace, they feele the presence of Gods strength, wherein is abundantly sufficient succour for them.

3 And this is it that *Paul* teacheth, that by troubles is engendred patience, by patience prooffe. For whereas God hath promised the faithfull that he will be present with them in troubles, they feele the same to be true, when they stand patiently being vpholden by his hand, which by their owne strength they were not able to do. Patience therefore bringeth a prooffe by experience to the holy ones, that God when need requireth, will indeede performe the helpe that he hath promised. And thereby also their hope is confirmed: forasmuch as it were too much vnthankfulnesse not to looke for in time to come, the same truth of God that they had already by experience prooued to be constant and sure. We see now how many good things doe come vnto vs in one knot by the crosse. For ouerthrowing the opinion that we falsly presume of our owne strength, and disclosing our hypocrisie that delighteth vs, it shaketh away the hurtfull confidence of the flesh, and teacheth vs being so humbled, to rest vpon God onely, by which it commeth to passe, that we neither be oppressed nor fall downe. And after victorie followeth hope, insomuch as the Lord in performing that which he hath promised, stablisheth the credite of his truth for time to come. Truly, although there were no moe reasons but these, it appeareth 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 maist well know thine own weakenes. To feele thine owne weakenes, that thou maist learne to distrust thy selfe: to distrust thy selfe, that thou maist remoue thy confidence from thy selfe vnto God, to rest with confidence of hart vpon God, that being vpholden by his helpe, thou maist continue vnouercome to the last end: to stand fast by his grace, that thou maist vnderstand that he is true in his promises: to know by prooffe the truth of his promises, that thy hope may be strengthened thereby.

4 The Lord hath also an other end of afflicting 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 giueth them: but so it pleaseth him by open examples to make approoued by witness, and to set forth the graces that he hath bestowed vpon his holy ones, that they should not lie idly hid within them. And therefore in bringing forth into open shew the strength of sufferance and constancie, wherewith he hath

Affliction by teaching vs how feeble we are of our selues, causeth vs to rest onely vpon God. This breedeth patience, whereby experience groweth of Gods vpholding them that relie vpo him, which triall of his goodnes in things past, stablisheth the credite of his truth for things to come, and encreaseth hope.

Rom. 5. 3.

By affliction God bringeth forth the vertues of his Saints, which before lay hid, into open shew, and also traineth them in true obedience,

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Gen. 12. 1

furnished his seruants, it is saide that he trieth their patience. And from hence came these sayings: that God tempted *Abraham*, and had prooue of his godlinesse, by this that he refused not to offer vp in sacrifice his owne and onely sonne. Therefore *Peter* teacheth, that our faith is so proued in troubles, as gold is tried in a forniace. And who can say that it is not expedient, that the most noble gift of patience, which a faithfull man hath receiued of his God, should be brought forth into vse, that it may be made certainly knowen and manifest? For otherwise men will not esteeme it as it is worthie. Now if God himselfe doth rightfully when he ministret h matter to stir vp the vertues that he hath giuen to his faithfull, that they should not lie hidden, yea lie vnprofitable and perishe: then is there good reason of the afflictions of the holy ones, without which their patience should be nothing. I say 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 things should flow vnto them after their owne mind, they would not know what it were to follow God. And *Seneca* rehearseth that this was an old Prouerbe, when they exhorted any man to suffer aduersities, Follow God. By which they declared, that then only man truly entred vnder the yoke of God, when he yeilded his hand and backe to Gods correction. Now if it be most righteous, that we should shew our selues in all things obedient to the heavenly father, then we ought not to refuse, that he should by all means accustom vs to yeeld obedience vnto him.

De vita beata
cap. 15.

*The flesh stubborn,
rebellious & wanton
without sa-
uing.*

5 But yet we perceiue not how necessarie this obedience is for vs, vnlesse we do also consider, how wanton our flesh is to shake off the yoke of God, so soone as it hath bene but a little while daintily and tenderly handled. The same happeneth vnto it, that chaunceth to stubborne horses, which if they be a fewe daies pampered idly, they cannot afterward for fearcenesse bee tamed, neither doe know the rider, to whose gouernement they somewhat before obeyed. And this is continuall in vs that God complaineth to haue been in the people of *Israell*, that being well fed and couered with fatnesse, we kicke against him that fed and nourished vs. The liberality of God should indeed haue allured vs to consider and loue his goodnes, but for as much as our euill nature is such, that we are alway corrupted with his tender vsage, it is more than necessarie for vs, to be restrained by some discipline, that we run not outrageously into such a stubborne wantonnesse. So that we should not growe fierce with vnnieasurabundance of riches, that we should not waxe proud being lifted vp with honors, that we should not become insolent, being puffed vp with other good gifts, either of the soule, bodie, or fortune, the Lord himselfe, as he forseeeth it to be expedient, preuenteth it, and with the remedie of the crosse suddueth and bridleth the fiercenes of our flesh, and that diuers waies, so much as is healthfull for euerie man. For all are not alike sicke of all one diseases, or do alike need of hard healing. And thereupon is to be scene how some are exercised with one kinde of crosse, and some with another. But whereas the heavenly Phisition handleth some more gently, and purgeth some with sharper remedies, when he meaneth to prouide for the health of all: yet he leaueh none free or vntouched, because he knoweth all without exception to be diseased.

Deut. 33. 15.

*Affliction needfull
for vs in respect of
our offences past.*

6 Moreouer, the most mercifull father needeth not onely to preuent our weaknesses, 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 enter into our mind: so without doubt we shall finde that we haue done somewhat worthy of chastisement. Yet we ought not chiefly to ground our exhortation to patience vpon the acknowledging of sinne. For the Scripture ministret vs a farre better consideration, when it saith, that the Lord correcteth vs with aduersities, that wee should not bee damned with this world. Therefore we ought euen in the verie sharpnes of tribulations to acknowledge the kindnes & goodnes of our father toward vs, for as much as eue then he

1. Cor. 11. 8.

ceaseth

ceaseth not to further our saluation. For he doth afflict, not to destroy or kill vs, but rather to deliuer vs from the damnation of the worlde. That thought shall lead vs to that, which the Scripture teacheth in another place: My sonne, refuse not the Lordes correction, nor be weary when thou shalt be rebuked of him. For whom the Lord loveth, he correcteth, and embraceth him as a father doth his childe. When we know his rod to be the rod of a father, is it not our dutie rather to shew our selues obedient children and willing to learne, than with obstinacie to doe like desperate men, that are hardened with euill dooings? The Lord leaseth vs, vnlesse he call vs backe by correction when we are fallen away from him: so that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues rightly saith that we are bastards, and not children if we be out of correction. Therefore we are most froward, if we cannot suffer him when he declareth his good wil and the care that he hath for our saluation. This the Scripture teacheth to be the difference betweene the vnbeleeuers and the faithfull, that the vnbeleeuers as the bondslaues of a rooted and hardened wickednes, are made the worse and more obstinate with whipping: the faithfull, like children hauing an honest freedome of nature, do thereby profite to repentance. Nowe must thou choose of whether number thou wilt be. But because I haue spoken of this matter in another place, I am content to touch it briefly, and so will make an end.

Pro. 3. 11.

Hcb. 12. 8.

7 Moreouer it is a singular comfort, when we suffer persecution for righteousnes. For then we ought to thinke, how great an honor God vouchsafeth to grant vs, that he so garnisheth vs with the peculiar marke of his souldiers. I meane that they suffer persecution for righteousnes, not onely that suffer for defense of the Gospell, but also that are troubled for any defense of righteousnes. Whether therefore in maintaining the truth of God against the lies of Sathan, or in taking in hande the defense of good men and innocents against the wrongs of the wicked, we be driuen to runne into the displeasure and hatred of the worlde, whereby our life or goods, or estimation may come in danger: let it not be greuous or loathsome vnto vs to employ our selues for God, or let vs not thinke our selues miserable in these things in which hee hath with his owne mouth pronounced vs blessed. Pouertie indeed, if it be considered in it selfe, is miserable: likewise banishment, contemptuous estate, prisonment, shame: Finally, death is the vttermost of all calamities. But when the fauor of our God breatheth vpon vs, there is none of all these things, but it turneth to our felicitie. Therefore let vs rather be content with the testimonie of Christ, than with the false estimation of the flesh. So shall it come to passe, that we shall reioyce as the Apostles did, when God shall account vs woorthie to suffer reproch for his name. For why? If we being innocent, and knowing our selues cleere in our consciences, are by the naughty dealing of wicked men spoyled of our goods: we are indeede brought to pouertie thereby among men, but so riches truly grow do vnto vs in heauen before God. If we be thrust out of our houses, we are the more inwardly receiued into the houshold 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 more honorable place in the kingdom of God. If we be slaine, so is the entrie made open for vs vnto blessed life. Let vs be ashamed to esteem lesse these things, vpon which the Lord hath set so great a price, than shadowish and sickle enticing pleasures of present life.

When the cause of our suffering in righteousnes it is not a crosse but a gaine to suffer.

Matt. 5. 19.

8 Sith therefore the Scripture doth with these and like admonitions giue sufficient comfort for the shames or calamities, that we suffer for defense of righteousnesse, we are too much vnthankfull if we do not gladly and cheerefully receiue them at the Lords hand, specially sith this is the kinde of crosse, most properly belonging to the faithfull, whereby Christ will be glorified in vs. As also Peter teacheth. But it is more greuous to gentle natures to suffer shame than a hundred deathes: therefore Paul expressly admonisheth that we shall not onely suffer persecutions, but also reproches because wee trust in the living God. As in another place hee teacheth vs after his

Patience doth not extinguish the feeling of that bitterness, which is in trouble but vanquish the troublesome vexation which is felt.
1. Pet. 4. 12.
1. Tim. 4. 10.
2. Cor. 6. 8.

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example to walke through sleaundler and good report. Yet there is not required of vs such a cheerefulnesse as may take away all feeling of bitternes and sorrow, or else the patience of the holie ones in the crosse were no patience, vnlesse they should be both tormented with sorrow and vexed with griefe. If there were no hardnes in poeerty, no paine in sicknes, no grieue in shame, no horour in death, what valiantnes or temperance were it to beare them indifferently? But when euery one of these doth with the naturall bitternes thereof bite the hearts of vs all, herein doth the valiantnes of a faithfull man shew it selfe, if being assiaied with the feeling of such bitternes, how grievously soeuer he be troubled with it, yet with valiantly resisting he ouercommeth it, his patience vttereth it selfe herein, if being sharply prouoked, he is yet so bridled with the feare of God, that he bursteth not out into any distemper. His cheerefulnes appeareth herein, if being wounded with sadnes and sorrow, he resteth vpon the spirituall comfort of God.

The patience which God requirerh in affliction is not a senselesse emptinesse of grieue.
2. Cor. 4. 8.

9 This conflict, which the faithfull do sustaine against the naturall feeling of sorrow, while they study for patience and temperance, *Paul* hath verie well described in these words. We are put to distresse in all things, but we are not made forowfull: we labour, but we are not left destitute: we suffer persecution, but we are not forsaken in it: we are thrown downe, but we perish not. You see how to beare the crosse patiently, is not to be altogether astonished, and without all feeling of sorrow: as the Stoikes in old time did foolishly describe a valiant harted man, to be such a one, as putting off all nature of man, was alike moued in prosperitie and in aduersitie, in sorowfull and ioyfull state, yea such a one as like a stone was moued with nothing: and what haue they profited with this high wisdom? Forsooth they haue painted out such an image of wisdom as neuer was found, and neuer can hereafter be among men: But rather while they coueted to haue too exact and precise a patience, they haue taken away all the vse of patience out of mans life. And at this day also among Christians there are new Stoiks, that reckon it a fault not only to grone and weepe, but also to be sad and carefull. But these strange conclusions do commonly proceed from idle men, which busying themselues rather in speculation than doing, can do nothing but breede vs such new found doctrines. But we haue nothing to do with that stony Philosophie, which our maister and Lord hath condemned not only by his word but also by his example. For he mourned and wept both at his owne and other mens aduersities. The world (saith he) shall reioyce, but you shall mourne and weepe. And because no man should finde fault therewith, by his open proclamation, he hath pronounced them blessed that mourne. And no maruell. For if all weeping be blamed, what shall we iudge of the Lord himselfe, out of whose body dropped bloody teares? If enery feare be noted of infidelity, what shall we iudge of that quaking feare, wherewith we read that he was not slenderly stricken? If all sadnes be mistaked, how shall we like this, that he confesseth his soule to be sad euen to the death?

Iohn. 17. 20.

Math. 5. 4.

Luke. 22. 44.

The contrarie affections which are in godly afflicted mindes.

10 This I thought good to speake to this end, to call godly minds from despair, that they should not therefore altogether forsake the study of patience, because they can not put off the naturall affection of sorrow: which must needs happen to them, that make of patience a senselesse dulnes, and of a valiant and constant man, a stock. For the Scripture giueth to the holie ones the praise of patience, when they are so troubled with hardnes of aduersities, that yet they be not overcome nor thrown downe with it: when they be so pricked with bitternes, that they be also delighted with spirituall ioy: when they be so distressed with griefe, that yet they receiue courage againe being cheared with the comfort of God. Yet in the meane time that repugnancie abideth stil in their hearts, that naturall sense escheueth and dreadeth those things that it knoweth to be against it: but the affliction of godlinesse trauaileth euen through all those difficultes to the obeying of Gods will. This repugnancie the Lord expressed when he said thus to *Peter*: When thou wast yong thou didst gird thy selfe

Iohn. 21. 10.

selfe and didst walke whither thou wouldest: But when thou art old, another shall gird thee and leade thee whither thou shalt not be willing. Neither is it likely that Peter, when the time came that he must glorifie God by his death, was drawen unwillingly and resisting vnto it. Else his martyrdome should haue but small praise. But howsoeuer he did with great cheerefulness of heart obey the ordinance of God, yet because he had not put off the nature of man, he was doubly strained with two sorts of wils. For when he did by himselfe consider the bloody death that he should suffer, being striken with horror 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 commandement of God, then conquering and treading downe feare, he gladly, yea and cheerefully tooke it vpon him. This therefore we must indeuour if we will be the Disciples of Christ, that our minds be inwardly filled with so great a reuerence and obedience to God, as may tame and subdue to his ordinaunce all contrarie affections. So shall it come to passe, that with whatsoeuer kind of crosse we be vexed, euen in the greatest anguishes of minde, we shall constantly keepe patience. For aduersities shal haue their sharpnes, wherewith we shalbe bitten: so when we are afflicted with sicknes, we shall both grone and be disquieted and desire health: so being pressed with pouerty, we shalbe pricked with the stings of carefullnesse and sorrow: so shall we be striken with griefe of shame, contempt and iniury: so shall we yeeld due teares to nature at the buriall of our friends: but this alway shalbe the conclusion: But the Lord willed so. Therefore let vs follow his will. Yea euen in the midst of the prickings of sorrow, in the midst of mourning and teares this thought must needes come betweene, to encline our heart to take cheerefully the very same things, by reason whereof it is so moued.

11 But forasmuch as we haue taken the chiefe cause of bearing the crosse, out of the consideration of the will of God, we must in few words define what difference is betweene Philosophicall and Christian patience. Truly very few of the Philosophers climbed to so high a reason, to vnderstand that the hand of God doth exercise vs by afflictions, and to thinke that God is in this behalfe to be obeyed. But they bring no other reason, but because we must do of necessity. What is this else, but to say that thou must yeeld vnto God, because thou shalt trauaile in vaine to wrastle against him? For if we obey God, only because we so must of necessity: then if we might escape, we would cease to obey. But the Scripture biddeth vs to consider a farre other thing in the will of God, that is to say, first iustice and equity, then the care of our saluation. These therefore be the Christian exhortations to patience, whether pouerty, or banishment, or prisonment, or shame, or sicknesse, or losse of parents, or childre, or any other like thing do grieue vs, we must thinke that none of these things doeth happen, but by the will and prouidence of God, and that he doth nothing but by most iust order: For why? do not our innumerable and daily offences deserue to be chastised more sharplie: and with more grieuous correction, than such as the mercifull kindnesse of God laieth vpon vs? Is it not most great equite, that our flesh be tamed, and as it were made acquainted with the yoke, that she do not wantonly growe wilde according to her nature? Is not the righteousnesse and truth of God worthy, that we should take paine for it? But if there appeare an vndoubted righteousnes in our afflictions, we cannot without vnrightheousnes either murmur or wrastle against it. We heare not now that cold song: We must giue place, because we so must of necessitie, but we heare a liuely lesson and full of effectualnes, We must obey, because it is vnlawfull to resist: we must suffer patiently, because impatience is a stubbornnes against the righteousnes of God. But now, because that thing onely is worthy to be loued of vs, which we know to be to our safety & benefite; the good father doth this way also comfort vs, when he affirmeth that euen in this that he afflicteth vs with the crosse, he prouideth for our safety. But if it be certain that troubles

*The difference
betweene Chri-
stian and Philo-
sophicall patience.*

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are healthful for vs, why should we not receiue them with a thankfull and wel pleased munde? Therefore in patiently suffering them, we do not forcibly yeeld to necessitie, but quietly agree to our owne benefite. These thoughts (I say) doe make that how much our minds are greued in the crosse with natural feeling of bitternesse, so much they be cheered with spirituall gladnesse. Whereupon also followeth thanksgiuing, which cannot be without ioy. But if the praise of the Lord and thanksgiuing proceedeth of nothing but of a cheerefull and ioyful hart, and there is nothing that ought to interrupt the same praising of God and thanksgiuing in vs: hereby appeereth how necessarie it is that the bitternesse of the crosse be tempered with spirituall ioy.

The ix. Chapter.

Of the meditation of the life to come.

*The miseries of
this life must teach
us not to seeke our
felicities here.*

But with whatsoeuer kinde of trouble we be distressed, wee must alway looke to this ende, to vse our selues to the contempt of this present life, and thereby be stirred to the meditation of the life to come. For, because God knoweth well how much we be by nature inclined to the beastly loue of this world, he vseth a most fit meane to draw vs backe, and to shake off our sluggishnesse, that we should not sticke too fast in that loue. There is none of vs that desireth not to seeme to aspire and endeuour all their life long to heauenly immortalitie. For we are ashamed to excell brute beastes in nothing: whose state should be nothing inferiour to ours, vnlesse there remaine to vs a hope of eternitie after death. But if you examine the deuises, studies and doings of euery man, you shall finde nothing therein but earth. Hereupon groweth that senselesnesse, that our minde being daseled with vaine glistering of riches, power and honours, is so dulle that it cannot see farre. Our hart also being possessed with couetousnesse, ambition and lust, is so weighed downe, that it cannot rise vp higher. Finally all our soule entangled with entisements of the flesh seeketh her felicitie in earth. The Lorde to remedie this euill, doth with continuall examples of miseries teach this of the vanitie of this present life. Therefore that they should not promise themselues in this life a sounde and quiet peace, he suffereth them to be many times disquieted and troubled either with warres, or vprores, or robberies, or other iniuries. That they should not with too much greedinesse, gape for fraile and transitorie riches, or rest in the riches that they already possess, sometime with banishment, sometime with barrennesse of the earth, sometime with fire, sometime by other meanes he bringeth them to pouertie, or at least holdeth them in measure. That they should not with too much ease take pleasure in the benefites of Marriage, he either maketh them to be vexed with the frowardnesse of their wiuies, or plucketh them downe with ill children, or punisheth them with want of issue. But if in all these things he tenderly beareth with them, yet least they should either swell with foolish glorie, or immeasurably reioice with vaine confidence, he doth by diseases and dangers set before their eies, how vnstable, and vanishing be all the goodes that are subiect to mortalitie. Then onely therefore we rightly profit in the discipline of the crosse when we learne that this life, when it is considered in it selfe, is vnquiet, troublesome and innumerable waies miserable, and in no point fully blessed: and that all those that are reckoned the good things thereof are vncertaine, fickle, vaine, and corrupted with many euils mixed with them. And hereupon we doe determine, that here is nothing to be sought or hoped for but strife: and that when we thinke of our crowne, then we must lift vp our eies to heauen. For thus we must beleene. That our minde is neuer truly raised to the desire and meditation of the life to come, vnlesse it haue first conueied a contempt of this present life.

2 For betwene these two there is no meane, the earth must either become
vile

vile in our sight, or hold vs bound with intemperate loue of it. Therefore if we haue any care of eternitie, we must diligently indetour to loose our selues from these fetters. Now because this present life hath many flattering pleasures wherewith to allure vs, a great shew of pleasauntnesse, grace and sweetnesse, wherewith to delight vs: it is much behouoeful for vs to be now and then called away, that we be not bewitched with such allurements. For what, I pray you, would be done, if we did here enioy a continuall concourse of good things and felicitie, sith we cannot with continuall spurres of euils be sufficiently awaked to consider the miserie thereof? Not only the learned do know, but also the common people haue no Prouerbe more common than this, that mans life is like a smoke or shadow: and because they sawe it to be a thing verie profitable to be knowne, they haue set it out with many notable sentences. But there is nothing that we do either more negligently consider, or lesse remember. For we goe about all things, as though we would frame to our selues an immortalitye in earth. If there be a corpes caried to buriall, or if we walke among graues, then, because there is an image of death before our eyes, I graunt we do maruellously well discourse like Philosphers vpon the vanitie of this life. Albeit we do not that continually, for many times all these things do nothing moue vs. But when it happeneth our Philosphie lasteth but a while, which so soone as we turne our backs, vanisheth away, and leaueth no step at all of remembrance behind it: finally, it passeth away as clapping of hands vpon a stage at any pleasant sight. And we forgetting not only death, but also that we be subiect to death, as though we had neuer heard any report thereof, fall to a carelesse assurednes of earthly immortalitye. If anie man in the meane time tell vs of the Prouerbe, that man is a creature of a daies continuance, we graunt it indeede: but so heedlesly, that still the thought of euerlasting continuance resteth in our mind. Who therefore can denie, that it is a great profite to vs all, not onely to be admonished in words, but by all the examples of experience that may be, to be conuinced of the miserable estate of earthly life? forasmuch as euen when we are conuinced, we scarcely cease to stand amazed with peruerse and foolish admiration of it, as though it contained the vttermost end of good things. But if it be necessary that God instruct vs, it is our dutie likewise on our behalfe to harken to him when he calleth and awaketh our dulnesse, that despising the world we may with all our hearts endeouour to the meditation of the life to come.

3 But let the faithfull accustome themselues to such a despising of present life, as may neither engender a hatred thereof, nor any vnthankfulnes toward God. For this life, howsoeuer it is full of infinite miseries, is yet worthily reckoned among the not slender blessings of God. Therefore if we acknowledge no benefite of God in it, we are guiltie of no small vnthankfulnes toward God himselfe. But specially it ought to be to the faithfull a testimonie of Gods good will, forasmuch as it is wholly directed to the furtherance of their saluation. For before that he openly deliuer vnto vs the inheritance of eternall glory, his will is to shew himselfe a Father vnto vs by smaller examples: and these be the benefites that are daily bestowed vpon vs. Sith therefore this life serueth vs to vnderstand the goodnes of God, shall we disdain it as though it had not a crum of goodnes in it? We must therefore put on this feeling and affection, to reckon it among the gifts of goodnes that are not to be refused. For though there wanted testimonies of scripture, of which there are both many most euident, very nature it selfe doth exhort vs to giue thanks to the Lord, for that he hath brought vs into the light of it, that he granteth vs the vse of it, that he giueth vs all necessarie succours for the preseruacion of it. And this is a much greater reason, if we consider that we are in it after a certaine manner prepared to the glorie of the heauenly kingdome. For so the Lord hath ordained that they which in time to come shall be crowned in heauen, must fight certaine battels in earth, that they should not triumph, till they had overcome the hard aduentures of the battell, and obtained

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fully diminished.*

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the victorie. Then an other reason is, that we doe by diuerse benefites begin therein to taste the sweetnes of Gods liberalitie, that our hope and desire should be whetted too long for the reuiling thereof. When this is determined, that it is a gift of Gods clemencie, that we liue this earthly life, for which as we be bound vnto him, so we ought to be mindefull and thankfull: then we shall in fit order come to consider the most miserable estate thereof, to this ende that we may be deliuered from too much greedinesse of it, whereunto as I haue before saide, wee are of our selues naturally enclined.

This life is not simple to be lothed but in comparison of the life to come.

4 Now whatsoeuer is taken from the wrongfull desire of this life, ought to be added to the desire of a better life. I graunt indeede that they thought truly, that thought it best not to be borne, and the next, to die quickly. For what could they being destitute of the light of God and true religion, see therein but unhappie and miserable? And they did not without reason, that mourned and wept at the birthes of their friendes, and solemnly reioyced at their burials, but they did it without profite, because being without the right doctrine of Faith, they did not see how that may turne to good to the godly, which is of it selfe neither blessed nor to be desired: and so they ended their iudgement with desperation. Let this therefore be the marke of the faithfull in iudging of mortall life, that when they vnderstand it to be of it selfe nothing but miserie, they may resort wholly the more freshly and readilie to the eternall life to come. When we come to this comparison, then this present life may not onely be safely neglected, but also vtterly despised and lothed in comparison of the other. For if Heauen be our Countrie, what is the earth else but a place of banishment? If the departing out of the world be an entring into life, what is the world but a graue? to abide in it, what is it else but to be drowned in death? If to be deliuered from the body is to be set in perfect libertie, what is the body else but a prison? If to enjoy the presence of God is the highest summe of felicitie, is it not miserable to lacke it? But till we be escaped out of the world, we wander abroad from the Lord. Therefore if the earthly life be compared with the heauenly life, doubles it ought to be despised and troden vnder foote. But it is neuer to be hated, but in respect that it holdeth vs in subiection to sin, and yet that hatred is not properly to be laid vpon our life. But howsoeuer it be, yet we must be so moued either with wearines or hatred of it, that desiring the end of it, we may be also ready at the will of the Lord to abide in it, so that our wearines may be far from all grudging and impatience. For it is like a place in battell array, wherein the Lord hath placed vs, which we ought to keepe till he call vs away. *Paul* indeed lamenteth his state that he is holden bound in the bonds of the bodie longer than he wished, and sighed with feruent desire of his redemption: neuertheless to obey the Commandement of the Lord, he professed himselfe readie to both, because he acknowledgede himselfe to owe this vnto God, to glorifie his name, either by death or life: and that it is in God to determine what is most expedient for his glory. Therefore if we must liue and die to the Lord, let vs leaue to his will the time of our life and death, but so that we be still feruent in desire of death, and be continually occupied in meditation thereof, and despise this life in comparison of the immortalitie to come, and wish to forsake it when it shall please the Lord because of the bondage of sinne.

2. Cor. 5. 6.

Rom. 7. 29.

Phil. 1. 23.

The consideration that should conquer the feare of death in Christian mindes.

5 But this is monstrous, that in steede of that desire of death, many that boast themselves to be Christians, are so afraid of it, that they tremble at euery mention of it, as of a thing betokening unluckily and unhappie. Truly it is no maruell, if naturall sense in vs doe quake for feare when we heare of the dissoluing of vs. But this is in no wise tollerable, that there be not in a Christian mans brest the light of godlinesse, that should with greater comfort overcome and suppress that feare, how great soeuer it bee. For if we consider that this vntedfast, faultie, conuptible, fraile, withering, and rotten tabernacle of our body, is therefore dissolued, that it may
afterward

afterwarde be restored againe into a stedfast, perfect, vncorruptible and heavenly glorie: shall not faith compell vs feruently to desire that which nature feareth? If we consider that by death we are called home out of banishment, to inhabit our countrie, as a heavenly countrie, shall we obtaine no comfort thereby? but there is nothing that desireth not to abide continually. I graunt, and therefore I affirme, that we ought to looke vnto the immortallitie to come, where we may attaine a stedfast state that no where appeereth in earth. For *Paul* doth very well teach, that the faithfull ought to goe cheerefully to death: not because they woulde bee vnclodhed, but because they desire to be newly clothed. Shall brute beastes, yea and lielesse creatmres, euen stockes and stones, knowing their present vanitie, be earnestly bent to looking 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 wit, and aboue wit enlightened with the spirite of God, when it standeth vpon our being, not lift vp our mindes beyonde this rottenesse of earth? But it pertaineth not to my present purpose, nor to this place, to speake against this peruersenesse. And in the beginning I haue already professed, that I woulde not here take vpon me the large handling of common places. I woulde counsell such fearefull mindes to reade *Cyprians* booke of mortalitie, vnlesse they were meete to be sent to the Philosophers, that they may begin to be ashamed when they see the contempt of death that those doe shewe. But this let vs holde for certainly determined, that no man hath well profited in Christ his schoole, but he that doth ioyfully looke for the day both of death and of the last resurrection. For both *Paul* describeth all the faithfull by this marke, and also it is common in the Scripture, to call vs thither as oft as it will set foorth a ground of perfect gladnesse. Reioice (saith the Lord) and lift vp your heads, for your redemption commeth neere at hand. Is it reasonable I pray you, that the thing which he willed to be of so great force to raise vp ioy and cheerefulness in vs, should breede nothing but sorrow and discouragement? If it be so, why doe wee still boast of him as of our schoolemaster? Let vs therefore get a sounder minde, and howsoeuer the blinde and senselesse desire of the flesh do striue against it, let vs not doubt to wish for the coming of the Lord, not onely with wishing, but also with groning & sighing, as a thing most happie of all other. For he shall come a redeemer to vs, to drawe vs out of the infinite gulfe of euils and miseries, and to lead vs into that blessed inheritance of his life and glorie.

2. Cor. 5. 1.
Rom. 8. 19.

Tit. 2. 12.
Luk. 22. 18.

6 This is certainly true: all the nations of the faithfull, so long as they dwell in earth, must be as sheepe appointed to slaughter, that they may be fashioned like Christ their head. Therefore they were in most lamentable case, vnlesse they had their mind raised vp into heauen, and surmounted all that is in the worlde, and passed ouer the present face of things. Contrariwise when they haue once lifted their heads aboue all earthly things, although they see the wealth and honors of the wicked flourishing, if they see them enjoying quiet peace, if they see them proud in gorgiousnes and sumptuousnes of all things, if they see them to flow in plentiful store of all delights, beside that if they be spoiled by their wickednes, if they sustaine reprochfull dealings at their pride, if they be robbed by their couerousnesse, if they be vexed by any other outrage of theirs: they will easilie vpholde themselves in such aduersities. For that day shall before their eyes, when the Lord shall receiue his faithfull into the quiet of his kingdome, when he shall wipe all teares from their eyes, when he shall cloth them with the robe of glorie and gladnes, when he shall feed them with the vnspeakable sweetenes of his deinties, when he shall aduance them to the fellowship of his high estate: finally when he shall vouchsafe to interparten his felicitie with them. But these wicked ones that haue flourished in the earth, hee shall throwe into extreme shame, he shall change their delights into torments, their laughing and myrth into weeping and gnashing of teeth, he shall disquiet their peace with terrible torments of conscience,

Wee cannot but be troubled in minde till wee turne our eyes from beholding the present face of things that are, vnto the consideration of that which is to come, Rom. 8. 36.
1. Cor. 15. 19.

Esa. 25. 18.
Reuel. 7. 17.

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1. Theſ. 16.

conſcience, he ſhall puniſh their deintines with vnquenchable fire, and ſhall put their heads in ſubiectiō to thoſe godly men, whoſe patience they haue abuſed. For this is righteousnes (as *Paul* teſtifieth) to giue releaſe to the miſerable and to them that are vniuſtly afflicted, and to render affliction to the wicked that doe afflict the godly, when the Lord Ieſus ſhal be reuealed from heauen. This truly is our onely comfort, which if it be taken away, we muſt of neceſſitie either deſpaire, or flatteringly delight our ſelues with the vaine comforts of the world to our own deſtruction. For euen the Prophet confeſſeth that his feet ſtaggered, when he taried too long vpon conſidering the preſent proſperitie of the wicked: and that he could not otherwiſe ſtand ſtedfaſt, but when he entred into the ſanctuarie of God, and bended his eyes to the laſt end of the godly and the wicked. To conclude in one word then onely the croſſe of Chriſt triumpheth in the hart of the faithfull vpon the Diuell, fleſh, ſinne, and the wicked, when our eyes are turned to the power of the reſurrection.

Pla. 73.

The x. Chapter.

How we ought to vſe this preſent life, and the helpes thereof.

The vſe of things which ſerue for this preſent life is neither ſo ſtriēt as ſome, nor ſo looſe as others haue imagined.

BY ſuch introductions the Scripture doth alſo well informe vs what is the right vſe of earthly benefits: which is a thing not to be neglected in framing an order of life. For if we muſt liue we muſt alſo vſe the neceſſarie helpes of life: neither can we eſchew euen thoſe things that ſeeme rather to ſerue for delight then for neceſſitie. Therefore we muſt keep a meature that we may vſe them with a pure cōſcience, either for neceſſitie or for delight. That meature the Lord appointeth by his worde, when he teacheth that this life is to them that be his, a certaine iourney through a ſtrange country, by which they trauell toward the kingdome of heauen. If we muſt but paſſe through the earth, doubtleſſe we ought ſo farre to vſe the good things of the earth, as they may rather further then hinder our iourncy. Therefore *Paul* doth not vnprofitable counſell vs ſo to vſe this world, as though we vſed it not: and to buy poſſeſſions with ſuch a minde as they vſe to be ſolde. But becauſe this place is ſlipperie, and ſo flope on both ſides, that it quickly maketh vs to fall, let vs labour to faſten our foote there, where we may ſtand ſafely. For there haue bene ſome, that otherwiſe were good & holy men, which when they ſaw intemperance & ryot continually to range with vnbrideled luſt, vnleſſe it be ſharply reſtrained, and were deſirous to correct ſo great a miſchiefe, they could finde none other way, but ſuffered man to vſe the benefits of the earth, ſo farre as neceſſitie required. This was indeed a godly counſell, but they were too ſeuere. For (which is a verie perillous thing) they did put ſtreter bonds vpon conſciences, than thoſe wherewith they were bounde by the worde of God. And they expound neceſſitie, to abſtaine from all things that a man may be without. And ſo by their opinion, a man might ſcarcely take any more foode than breade and water. And ſome be yet more ſeuere: as it is read of *Crates the Thebane*, that did throw his goods into the ſea, becauſe if they were not deſtroied, he thought that he ſhould be deſtroied by them. Many at this day, while they ſeek a pretence whereby the intemperance of the fleſh in vſe of outward things may be excuſed, and while they go about to prepare a way for the fleſh raging in wantonnes, do take that as a thing confeſſed, which I do not grant them, that this libertie is not to be reſtrained with any limitation of meature, but that it is to bee left to euerie mans conſcience to vſe as much as he ſeeth to be lawfull for him. Truly I confeſſe that conſciences neither ought nor can in this point be bounde by certaine and precise formes of lawes. But for ſomuch as the Scripture teacheth generall rules of lawfull vſe, we muſt ſurely meature the vſe according to theſe rules.

God hauing made things not onely for neceſſitie

2 Let this bee a principle: that the vſe of Gods gifts ſhyarcth not out of the way, when it is referred to that ende, whereunto the author himſelfe hath created and

and appointed them for vs, for as much as he hath created them for our good and not for our hurt. Therefore no man can keepe a righter way than he that shall diligently looke vnto this end. Now if we consider to what end he hath created meates, we shall finde that he meant to make prouision not onely for necessitie, but also for delight and pleasure. So in apparell, beside necessitie hee appointed another ende, which is comelincesse and honestie. In herbes, trees, and fruites, beside diuers profitable vses, there is also a pleasantnesse of sight, and sweetenesse of smell. For if this were not true, the Prophet would not reckon among the benefites of God that wine maketh glad the hart of man, and that oile maketh his face to shine, the Scripture would not eachwhere, to set foorth his liberalitie, rehearse that hee hath giuen all such things to men. And the very naturall qualitie of things doe sufficiently shewe, to what ende and how farre we may vse them. Shall the Lord haue set in flowers so great a beautie, as presenteth it selfe to our eies: shall he haue giuen so great a sweetnesse of saouour as naturally floweth into our smelling: and shall it be vnlawfull either for our eies to take the vie of that beautie, or for our smelling to feele that sweetnesse of saouour? What? Hath he not so made difference of colours, that he hath made some more acceptable than other? What? Hath hee not giuen to golde and siluer, to iuorie and marble, a speciall grace whereby they might be made more precious than other mettals or stones? Finally, hath he not made many things commendable vnto vs without necessaritie vse?

but also for delight, there is no cause why men for whom they are made, may not vse them as well to the one as the other.

Psal. 104. 15.

3 Therefore away with that vnaturall Philosophie, which in granting vs of the creatures no vse but of necessitie, not onely doth niggardly bereaue vs of the lawfull vse of Gods liberalitie, but also cannot take place, vnlesse it first haue spoiled man of all his senses and made him a blocke. But on the other side we must with no lesse diligence prouide a stay for the lust of the flesh, which if it be not brought into order, overfloweth without measure: and it hath (as I haue said) defenders of it, which vnder pretence of allowed libertie doe graunt vnto it all things. First there is one bridle put in the mouth of it, if this be determin'd, that all things are created for vs to this end, that we should knowe the author of them, and giue him thanks for his tender kindeesse toward vs. Where is thy thanks giuing, if thou so gluttonously fill thy selfe with daintie meates or with wine, that thou either be made senselesse, or vnit to doe the duties of godhnesse and of thy calling? Where is the reknowledging of God, if thy flesh by too great abundance boyling in filthy lust, doth with her vncleannesse infect thy minde, that thou canst not see any thing that is right or honest? In apparell, where is thankfulness to God, if with costly gorgeousandnesse thereof we both fail in admiration of our selues and disdaine other? If with the trimnesse and cleanness of it, we prepare our selues to vnchastitie? Where is the reknowledging of God, if our minde be fixed vpon the gaynesse of our apparell? For many so giue all their senses to bodily delights, that the minde lieth ouerwhelmed. Many are so delighted with marble, gold and paintings, that they become as it were men made of marble, that they be as it were turned into mettals, and be like vnto painted images. The smell of the kitchen, or sweetnesse of saouour so dulseth some, that they can smell nothing that is spirituall. And the same is also to be seene in the rest. Therefore it is certaine that hereby the heentiousnesse of abusing is somewhat restrained, and that rule of Paul confirmed, that we be not too carefull of the flesh, for the lustes thereof, to which if we graunt too much, they boile out about measure and temper.

*Rom 13. 14.
The light esteem-
tion of this present
life, & the earnest
meditation of im-
mortalitie curseth
off the other great
care which men
haue of outward
things.*

4 But there is no surer nor readier way than that which is made vs by the contempt of this present life, and the meditation of heauenly immortalitie. For thereupon follow two rules: the one, that they which vse this world, should be so minded as though they vsed it not, they that marry wines, as though they did not marry: they that buy, as though they did not buy, as Paul teacheth. The other, that they should learne, as well to beare ponerie, quietly and patiently, as abundance moderately.

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1. Cor. 7. 3.

He that biddeth thee to vse this world as though thou didst not vse it, doth cut away not onely the intemperance of gluttonie in meate and drinke, and too much deintinesse, sumptuousnesse, pride, hautesse, and nicenesse, in fare, building, and apparell, but also al care and affection that may either withdraw thee or hunder thee from thinking of the heavenly life, or from studie to garnish thy soule. But this was long ago truly said of *Cato*: that there is great carefulnesse of trimming our bodie, and great carelesnesse of vertue. And it is an olde prouerbe, that they which are much busied in care of their body are commonly carelesse of their soule. Therefore, although the libertie of the faithfull in outward things is not to be restrained to a certaine forme, yet truly it must be subiect to this lawe, to beare very little with their owne affections, but contrariwise still call vpon themselues with continually bent minde, to cut off all shew of superfluous plentie, much more to restraints riotous excesse, and to take diligent heed, that they doe not of helpes make to themselues hinderances.

A mind consented to want, and persuaded that it standeth accountable to God for things received, will easily moderate it selfe in the vse of earthlike things.

5 The other rule shall be, that they that haue but small and slender riches, may learne to lacke patiently, that they be not carefully moued with immeasurable desire of them: which patience they that keepe, haue not a little profited in the Lordes schoole: as he that hath not at least somewhat profited in this behalfe, can scarcely haue any thing whereby to prooue himselfe the scholler of Christ. For beside this that the most part of other vices doe accompanie the desire of the earthly things, he that beareth pouertie impatiently, doth for the most part bewray the contrarie disease in abundance. I meane hereby that he which will be ashamed of a poore coate, will be proud of a costly coate: he that will not be content with a hungrie supper, will be disquieted with desire of a daintier, and would also intemperately abuse those dainties if he had them: he that hardly and vnquietly beareth a priuate and base estate, will not abstaine from pride if he climbe to honours. Therefore let all them that haue an vnfaigned zeale of godlinesse, endeouor to learne by the Apostles example, to be full and hungrie, to haue store, and suffer want. The Scripture hath also a third rule, whereby it tempereth the vse of earthly things, of which we haue spoken somewhat when we entreated of the precepts of charitie. For the Scripture decreeth that all earthly things are so giuen vs by the bountifullnesse of God, and appointed for our commoditie, that they may be as things deliuered vs to keepe, whereof we must one day yeeld an account. We must therefore so dispose them, that this saying may continually found in our eares, yeeld an account of thy bailiwiki. Therewithall let this also come in our minde. Who it is that asketh such an account, euen he that hath so much commended abstinence, sobriety, honest sparing, and modestie, and abhorreth riotous sumptuousnesse, pride, ostentation, and vanitie, which alloweth no other disposing of goodes, but such as is ioyned with charitie: which hath already with his owne mouth condemned all those delightfull things that doe withdraw a mans mind from chastitie and cleannesse, or doe dull his wit with darknesse.

Philipp. 4. 12.

6 Last of all, this is to be noted, that the Lord biddeth euery one of vs in all the doings of his life, to haue an eie to his calling. For he knoweth with how great vnquietnesse mans wit boileth, with how skipping lightnesse it is carried hither and thither, how greedie his ambition is to holde diuers things at once. Therefore that all things should not be confounded with our follie and rashnesse, he hath appointed to euery man his dutie in severall kindes of life. And that no man rashly run beyonde his bounds, he hath named all such kindes of life, vocations. Therefore euery mans severall kinde of life is vnto him as it were his standing appointed him by God, that they should not all their life vncertainly wander about. And this diuision is so necessarie, that all our doings are measured thereby in his sight, and oftentimes contrarie to the iudgement of mans reason and Philosophie. There is no deede accounted more noble, euen among the Philosophers, than for a man to deliuer his country from tyrannie: but by the voice of Gods iudgement the priuate man is openly condemned that

The consideration of that wherunto God hath called vs, is the last rule, and the best direction for the guidance of al actions which are incident into his life.

that layeth hand vpon a tyrant. But I will not tarrie vpon rehearsing of examples. It is sufficient if we know that the calling of the Lorde is in euery thing the beginning & foundation of well doing; to which hee that doth not direct himselfe, shall neuer keepe a right way in his doings. He may peradventure sometime do somewhat seeming worthe of praise: but whatsoever that be in the sight of men, before the throne of God it shall be reiected: moreouer there shall bee no conuenient agreement in the parts of his life. Therefore our life shall then be best framed, when it shall be 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 bounds. He that shall be a man of base estate, shall contentedly liue a priuate life, lest he should forsake the degree wherein God hath placed him. Againe this shall be no small reliefe to cares, labours, griefes and other burdens, when a man shall knowe that in all these things, God is his guide. The more willingly the magistrate will execute his office: the housholder will binde himselfe to his duetic: euery man in his kind of life will beare and passe through the discomforts, cares, tediousnes, and anguishes thereof: when they are perswaded that euery mans burden is laide vpon him by God. Hereupon also shal grow singular comfort, forasmuch as there shall be no worke so filthy and vile, (if it be such a one as thou obey thy calling in it) but it shineth and is most precious in the sight of God.

The xj. Chapter.

Of the iustification of Faith, and first of the definition of the name and of the thing.

I Thinke I haue already sufficiently declared before, how there remaineth for men The matter of iustification the chiefest staie whereby religion is upheld. being accursed by the lawe one onely helpe to recouer saluation: againe, what Faith is, and what benefits of God it bestoweth vpon man, and what fruits it bringeth forth in him. The summe of all was this, that Christ is giuen vs by the goodnes of God, and conceiued and possessed of vs by faith, by partaking of whom wee receiue principally two graces: the first, that being reconciled to God by his innocencie, we may now in steed of a iudge haue a mercifull father in heauen: the second, that being sanctified by his spirite, we may giue our selues to innocencie, and purenes of life. As for regeneration, which is the second grace, we haue already spoken of it as much as seemed to be sufficient. The maner of iustification was therefore lesse touched, because it serued well for our purpose, first to vnderstande both howe the Faith by which alone we receiue freely giuen righteousnesse by the mercie of God, is not idle from good workes: and also what be the good workes of the holy ones, whereupon part of this question entreateth. Therefore they are first to be thoroughly discussed, & so discussed that we must remember that this is the chiefe staie of vpholding religion, that we may be the more carefull and heedfull 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 grounde to stablish thy saluation, so hast thou also none to raise thy reuerent feare towards God. But the necessitie of this knowledge shall better appeere by knowledge it selfe.

2 But that we stumble not at the first entrie, (which we should do if we shoulde enter disputation of a thing vnknown) let vs first declare what is ment by these speeches, Man to be iustified before God, To be iustified by faith or by workes. He is said to be iustified before God, that is pronounced by the iudgement of God both iust & accepted for his owne righteousnes sake. For as wickednesse is abhominable before God, so a sinner cannot finde fauour in his eyes, in respect that he is a sinner, or so long as he is accounted such a one. Therefore wherefoeuer sinne is, there also appeereth the wrath and vengeance of God. He is iustified that is not accounted in

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place of a sinner but of a iust man, and by reason thereof he standeth fast before the iudgement seat of God when all sinners fall. As if an innocent be brought to be arraigned before the seate of a righteous iudge, when iudgement is giuen according to his innocencie, he is saide to be iustified before the iudge: so he is iustified before God that being exempt out of the number of sinners hath God a witness and affirmer of his righteousness. Therefore after the same manner a man shall be said to be iustified by workes, in whose life there is found such cleannes and holines, as may deserue the testimonie of righteousness before the throne of God: or he that with the vprightnes of his workes is able to answer and satisfie Gods iudgement. Contrariwise he shall be said to be iustified by faith that being excluded from the righteousness of workes, doth by faith take hold of the righteousness of Christ: wherewith when he is clothed, he appeereth in the sight of God, not as a sinner, but as righteous. So we simply expound iustification to be an acceptation, whereby God receiuing vs into fauour taketh vs for righteous. And we say that the same consisteth in forgiveness of sins, and imputation of the righteousness of Christ.

*Prooue that iustification is taken for Gods acqui-
ting men from sin,
and his imputing
vnto them the
righteousnes which
is in Christ.
Luk. 7 21.
Luk. 7 37.*

Luk. 17. 15.

1. Reg. 11. 21.

Gal. 3. 8.
Rom. 3. 26.

Rom 8. 33.

3 For confirmation hereof there are many and euident testimonies of Scripture. First it cannot be denied, that this is the proper and most vsed signification of the worde. But because it is too long to gather all the places and compare them together, it shall be enough to put the readers in minde of them, for they may of themselves easily marke them. But I will bring forth some, where this iustification that wee speake of is expressly enreated of by name. First, where *Luke* saith 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, that they doe giue righteousness, which alway remaineth perfect with God, although all the world go about to take it away from him: nor in this place also to make the doctrine of saluation righteous, which hath euer that of it selfe. But both these speeches are as much in effect, as to giue to God and his doctrine the praise that they deserue. Againe when Christ reprocheth the Pharisees, that they iustifie themselves, hee doth not meane that they obtaine righteousness by well dooing, but do vaingloriously seeke for the fame of righteousness, wherof indeed they be void. They that are skilful of the Hebrue toong do better vnderstand the sense of this phrase: in which toong they are not only called wicked doers, that are guiltie in their conscience of any wicked doing, but also they that come in danger of iudgement of condemnation. For when *Berisabe* saith that she and *Salomon* shall be wicked doers, shee doth not therein acknowledge any offence, but complaineth that she and her sonne shall be put to shame, to be numbered among the reprobate and condemned. But by the proesse of the text it easily appeereth, that the same worde in Latine also, cannot otherwise be taken but by way of relation, & not to signifie any qualitie. But as concerning the matter that we are now in hand with: where *Paul* saith, that the Scripture did foresee, that God iustifieth the Gentiles by faith, what may a man vnderstand thereby, but that God doth impute righteousness by faith? Againe, when he saith that God iustifieth the wicked man that is of the faith of Christ, what meaning can be thereof, but by the benefit of faith to deliuer them from the damnation which their wickednes deserued? And yet he speaketh more plainly in the conclusion, when hee cried out thus, Who shall accuse Gods elect? It is God that iustifieth, who shall condemne? It is Christ that died, yea that rose againe, and now maketh intercession for vs. It is as much in effect as if he should say, Who shall accuse them whom God acquiteth? Who shall condemne them whose patrone Christ is and defendeth them? To iustifie therefore is nothing else, than to acquite him that was accused, from guiltinesse as allowing his innocencie. Sith therefore God doth iustifie vs by the intercession of Christ, he doth acquite vs, not by allowance of our own innocencie, but by imputation of righteousness, that we may be counted for righteous in Christ, which are

not righteous in our felues. So in the 13. Chapter of the Actes, in *Pauls* sermon: by him is forgiveness of finnes preached vnto you, and every one that beleueth in him is iustified from all those things, from which you could not be iustified in the Law of *Moses*. You see that after forgiveness of finnes, iustification is added in place of an exposition. You see plainly that it is taken for absolution, you see that it is taken away from the workes of the Lawe, you see that it is the meere beneficiall gift of Christ, you see that it is receiued by Faith. Finally, you see that there is a satisfaction spoken of where he saith that we are iustified from finnes by Christ. So when it is said that the Publicane came iustified out of the Temple, we cannot say that he obtained righteousness by any deservings of workes. This therefore is said, that after pardon of his finnes obtained, he was counted for righteous before God. He was therefore righteous, not by approouing of workes, but by Gods free absolution. Wherefore *Ambrrose* sayeth verie well, that calleth the confession of finnes a lawfull iustification.

4 But to leaue striming about the word: If we looke vpon the thing it selfe, as it is described vnto vs, there shall remaine no more doubt. For truly *Paul* doth expresse iustification by the name of acceptation, when he saith (Ephes. 1. 5.) we are appointed vnto adoption by Christ, according to the good pleasure of God, vnto the praise of his glorious fauour, whereby he hath accounted vs acceptable or in fauour. For the same is meant by it that is saide in another place, that God doeth freely iustifie. In the 4. Chapter to the Romanes, he first calleth it an imputation of righteousness, and sticketh not to say that it consisteth in forgiveness of finnes. That man (said he) is called of *Dauid* a blessed man, to whom God accounteth or imputeth righteousness without workes, as it is written: Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, &c. Truly he there doth intreat 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 whom is giuen free forgiveness of finnes. Whereby appeareth that this righteousness whereof he speaketh, is in comparison simply set as contrarie to guiltinesse. But for this purpose, that is the best place where he teacheth that this is the summe of the message of the Gospell, that we should be reconciled to God: because it is his will to receiue vs into fauour through Christ, in not imputing finnes vnto vs. Let the Readers diligently wey all the whole processe of the text. For by and by after, where he addeth by way of exposition, that Christ which was without sinne was made sinne for vs, to expresse the manner of reconciliation, doubtlesse he meaneth nothing else by the worde reconciling but iustifying. And that which he saith in an other place, that we are made righteous by the obedience of Christ, could not stand together, vnlesse we be accounted righteous before God, in him, and without our felues.

5 But where as *Oslander* hath brought in, I wore not what monster of essentiall righteousness, whereby, although his will was not to destroy free righteousness, yet he hath wrapped it within such a mist, as darkeneth godly mindes, and bereaueth them of the earnest feeling of the grace of Christ: therefore ere I passe further to other things, it is woorth the labor to confute this dotting error. First this speculation is but of meere and hungry curiositie. He doth in deede heape together many testimonies of Scripture, to proue that Christ is one with vs, and we one with him, which needeth no prooffe: but because he keepeth not this bond of vnitie, he snareth himselfe. But we which hold that we are made all one with Christ by the power of his spirite, may easily vndoe all his knots. He had conceived a certaine thing very neare to the opinion of *Manichees*, to desire to conuey the substance of God into men. Hereupon riseth an other inuention of his that *Adam* was fashioned after the Image of God, because euen before the fall Christ was ordained the paterne of the nature of man. But because I would be short, I will tarry vpō the matter that I haue presently in hand. Hee saith that we are one with Christ. We graunt. But we deny that the substance

Act. 13. 38.

Luc. 18. 14.

In Psal. 118.
Homil. 10.

Iustification expressed in Scripture by acceptation into fauour, defined by pardon, of those who guiltines, contained in the name of reconciliation.
Rom. 3. 24.
Rom. 4. 6.

2. Cor. 5. 18.

Rom. 5. 19.

Oslanders opinion concerning iustification.

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of Christ is mingled with ours. Moreouer we say that this principle, that Christ is righteousnesse to vs, because he is an eternall God, the fountaine of righteousnesse and the verie selfe righteousnesse of God, is wrongfully drawen to defende his deceites. The readers shall pardon me, if I do now but touch these things that the order of teaching requireth to be deferred vnto another place. But although he excuse himselfe from meaning nothing else by the name of essentiall righteousnesse, but to resist this opinion that we are accounted righteous for Christes sake: yet he plainly expresseth that he is not contented with that righteousnesse that is purchased for vs by the obedience and sacrifice of Christ, but saith that we are substantially righteous in God, as well by substance as by qualitie powred into vs. For this is the reason why he so earnestly affirmeth, that not onely Christ, but also the Father and the holy Ghost doe dwell in vs. Which although I graunt to be true, yet I say that hee wrongfully wresteth it. For he should haue considered the manner of dwelling, that is, that the father and the holy Ghost are in Christ, and as the fulnesse of the Godhead dwelleth in him, so do we possess whole God in him. Therefore all that he saith feerally of the father and the holy Ghost, tendeth to no other end but to draw the simple from Christ. And then he thrusteth in a mixture of substances, whereby God powring himselfe into vs, doth make vs as it were a part of himselfe. For he reckoneth it almost a matter of nothing, that it is wrought by the power of the holy Ghost, that we growe into one with Christ, and that he is our head and wee his members, vnles his very substance be mingled with vs. But in the father and the holy Ghost (as I haue said) he doth more openly bewray what he thinketh, euen this, that we be iustified not by the onely grace of the Mediator, and that righteousnesse is not simply or perfectly offered vs in his person, but that we are made partakers of the righteousnesse of God, when God is essentially made one with vs.

Oflanders first error, that iustifying righteousnesse is not a free imputation of holmes, but an holmes which the substance of God remaining in vs doth worke.

6 If he did say no more, but that Christ in iustifying vs, is by essentiall conioyning made ours: and that not onely he is our head, in that he is man, but also that the substance of the diuine nature is powred into vs: He should with lesse hurt feede himselfe daintily, and peradventure so great a contention should not haue beene raised for this dotting error. But sith this beginning is like a cuttle that with casting out of blacke and thicke blood hideth her many tailes, we must needes earnestly resist vnlesse we will wittingly and willingly suffer that righteousnesse to be taken from vs, which onely bringeth vs confidence to glorie of saluation. For in all this discourse, the name of righteousnesse, and this word iustifying, extend to two parts: that to be iustified is not only to be reconciled to God with free pardon, but also to be made righteous, that righteousnesse is not a free imputation but a holynesse and vprightnesse, which the substance of God remaining in vs doth breath into vs. Then hee stoutly denyeth, that Christ is our righteousnesse in respect that being a priest he did with satisfactorily purging sinnes appease his father toward vs, but in respect that he is eternall God and life. To prooue that first point, that God doth iustifie not onely by forgiuing but also by regenerating, hee asketh whether God doeth leaue them whom he doth iustifie such as they were by nature, chaunging nothing of their vices. The answer hee eof is verie easie: that as Christ cannot be torne in partes, so these two things which we together and ioyntly receiue in him, that is to say righteousnesse and sanctification, are inseparable. Therefore, whomsoever God receiueth into fauour, he doth also therewithall giue them the spirit of adoption, by the power whereof he newly fashioeneth them after his image. But if the brightnesse of the sunne cannot bee seuered from the heate thereof, shall we therefore say that the earth is warmed with the light, and enlightened with the heate? There is nothing more fit for this purpose, than this similitude, The sunne with his heate giueth life and fruitfulnessse to the earth, with his beames he giueth light and brightnesse. Heere is a mutuall and vnspeparable conioyning: yet reason forbiddeth to conuey to the one

that which is peculiar to the other. Like absurditie is in this confusion of two sortes of graces, that *Osiander* trusteth in. For because God doth in dede renew them to the obseruing of righteousnesse whom he freely accounteth for righteous, therefore *Osiander* confoundeth that gift of regeneration with this free acception, and affirmeth that they be all one and the selfe same thing. But the Scripture ioyning them both together, yet doth distinctly reckon them, that the manifolde grace of God may the better appeare vnto vs. For that saying of *Paul* is not superfluous, that Christ was giuen vs vnto righteousnesse and sanctification. And whensoever he reasoneth to prooue by the saluation purchased for vs by the fatherly loue of God, and by the grace of Christ, that we are called to holinesse and cleanness, hee plainelic declareth, that it is one thing to be iustified, and another to be made newe creatures. But when *Osiander* commeth to the Scripture, he corrupteth as many places as he alleageth. Where *Paul* saith that Faith is accounted for righteousnesse to him that worketh not, but beleueth in him that iustificieth the wicked man, he expoundeth it to make righteous. With like rashnesse, he deprauech all the fourth Chapter to the Romanes, and sticketh not with like false colour to corrupt that place which I euen now alledged, Who shall accuse the electes of God? it is God that iustificieth: where it is plaine that he speaketh simply of guiltines and acquiting, and the meaning of the Apostle hangeth vpon a comparing of contraries. Therefore *Osiander* is found too fond a babbler, as wel in that reason as in alledging the testimonies of Scripture. And no more rightly doth he speake of the name of righteousnesse, in saying that Faith was accounted to *Abraham* for righteousnesse, after that embracing Christ (which is the righteousnesse of God and God himselfe) he excelled in singular vertues, whereby appeareth that of two whole places he hath wrongfully made one corrupt place. For the righteousnesse that is there mentioned, pertaineth not to the whole course of his calling: but rather the holy Ghost testifieth, that although the vertues of *Abraham* were singularly excellent, and that with long continuance he at length had encreased them: yet he did no other way please God, but by this, that he receiued by Faith the grace offered in the promise. Whereupon followeth, that in iustification there is no place for workes, as *Paul* very well affirmeth.

1. Cor. 1. 30.

Rom. 4. 5.

7 As for this that *Osiander* obiecteth, that the power of iustifying is not in Faith of it selfe, but in respect that it receiuech Christ, I willingly graunt it. For if Faith did iustifie of it selfe, or by inward force, as they call it, and as it is alway feeble and vnperfect it could not worke iustification but in part, so should the iustification be maymed, that should giue vs but a peece of saluation. As for vs, we imagine no such thing, but in proper speaking doe say that God onely iustificieth: and then we giue the same to Christ, because he was giuen vs vnto righteousnesse: and Faith we compare as it were to a vessell. For except we came empiric with open mouth of our Soule to craue the grace of Christ, we cannot be able to receiue Christ. Whereupon we gather that we doe not take from Christ the power of iustifying, when we teach that he is first receiued by Faith, before that his righteousnesse be receiued. But yet I doe not admit the crooked figures of this Sophister, when he sayeth that Faith is Christ: as if an earthen pot were a treasure, because gold is hidden in it. For the reason is not vnlike, but that Faith although it be by it selfe of no worthinesse or price, may iustifie vs in bringing Christ, as a pot full of money maketh a man rich. Therefore I say that Faith, which is onely the instrument to receiue righteousnesse, is vnfitly mingled with Christ which is the material cause and both Author and Minister of so great a benefit. Now is this doubt also dissolved. How this word Faith ought to be vnderstanded when we entreat of iustification.

Iustification granted by Osiander to be through beleuuing, so that beleefe be taken for Christ which is beleued.

8 In the receiuing of Christ he goeth further: for he sayeth, that the inward word is receiued by the ministracion of the outward word, thereby to drawe vs from the priesthood of Christ and the person of the Mediator to his outward Godhead.

Christ our righteousnesse in respect onely of his Godhead according to Osianders doctrine.

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As for vs, we diuide not Christ, but we say that he is the same eternall word of God, which reconciling vs to God in his flesh, gaue vs righteoufnes: and we confesse that otherwise he could not haue fulfilled the office of Mediator, and purchased vs righteoufnes, vnlesse he had bene eternall God. But this is *Oslanders* doctrine, where as Christ is both God and man, that he was made righteoufnes to vs, in respect of his nature of Godhead, and not of manhood. But if this properly belong to the Godhead, then it shal not be peculiar to Christ, but common with the father and the holy ghost, for as much as there is not one righteoufnes of the one, and another of the other. Moreouer, that which was naturally from eternitie, could not be conueniently said to be made to vs. But although we grant this, that God was made righteoufnes for vs: how shall it agree that that which is set betweene, is made of God? Truly that properly belongeth to the person of the Mediator: which though he containe in himselfe the nature of Godhead, yet here he is specially signified by his proper title, by which he is seuerally discerned from the father and the holy Ghost. But he foolishly triumpheth in that one word of *Hieremie*, where he promisseth that the Lord Iehoua shall be our righteoufnes, but out of that hee shall gather nothing, but that Christ which is righteoufnes, is God openly shewed in the flesh. In another place we haue rehearsed out of *Pauls* sermon, that God purchased to himselfe the Church with his blood, if any man gather thereupon, that the blood wherewith sins were purged was diuine, and of the nature of Godhead, who can abide so scule an error? But *Oslander* thinketh that with this so childish a caullation he hath gotten all things, he swelleth, he leapeth for ioy, and stuffeth many leaues full with his bigge words: when yet there is a plaine and readie solution for it in saying that the word Iehoua indeed when he is made the issue of *Dauid* shall be the righteoufnes of the godly: But *Esay* teacheth in what sence, saying: My iust seruant shall with knowledge of himselfe iustifie many. Let vs note that the father speaketh: that he giueth to the son the office of iustifying: he addeth a cause, for that he is iust, and setteth the maner or meane as they call it in the doctrine whereby Christ is knowne. For it is a more commodious exposition to take this word *Dabh* knowledge passiuely. Hereupon I gather first that Christ was made righteoufnes when he did put on the forme of a seruant: secondly, that he did iustifie vs in respect that he shewed himselfe obedient to his father: and that therefore hee doth not this for vs according to his nature of Godhead, but according to the office of dispensation committed vnto him. For although God alone is the fountaine of righteoufnes, and we be made righteous by no other meanes but by the partaking of him: yet because we are by vnhappy disagreement estranged from his righteoufnes we must needs come downe to this lower remedy, that Christ may iustifie vs with the force of his death and resurrection.

9 If he object that this is a worke of such excellencie, that it is about the nature of man, and therefore cannot be ascribed but to the nature of God, the first I grant: but in the second I say that he is vnwisely deceived. For although Christ could neither cleanse our soules with his blood, nor appease his father with his sacrifice, nor acquite vs from guiltinesse, nor do the office of a priest, vnlesse he had bene true God, because the strength of the flesh had bene too weake for so great a burden: yet it is certaine that he performed all these things according to his nature of man-hood. For if it be demanded how we be iustified, *Paul* answereth, by the obedience of Christ. But did he any otherwise obey than by taking vpon him the shape of a seruant? whereupon we gather that righteoufnes was given vs in his flesh. Likewise in the other words (which I maruell that *Oslander* is not ashamed to allege so often) hee appointeth the fountaine of righteoufnesse no where else but in the flesh of Christ. Him that knewe no sinne hee made sinne for vs, that we might bee the righteoufnesse of God in him. *Oslander* with full mouth aduanceth the righteoufnesse of God, and triumpheth as though he had prooued that it is his imaginatiue

ghost

Ierc. 15.

Ad 20. 18.

Esay. 53. 11.

Here Christ doth
iustifie as man, &
how as God.

Rom. 5. 19.

ghost of essentiall righteousness: when the words sounde farre otherwise, that we be righteous by the cleansing made by Christ. Verie young beginners should not haue beene ignorant that the righteousness of God is taken for the righteousness that God alloweth, as in *Iohn*, where the glorie of God is compared with the glorie of men. I know that sometime it is called the righteousness of God, whereof God is the author and which God giueth vs: but though I say nothing, the Readers that haue their sound wit, doe perceiue that nothing else is meant in this place, but that we stande vpriht before the iudgement seate of God, being vpholden by the cleansing sacrifice of Christs death. And there is not so great importance in the word, so that *Osiander* do agree with vs. In this point that wee are iustified in Christ, in this respect that he was made a propitiatorie sacrifice for vs, which cannot agree with his nature of Godhead. After which sort, when Christ meaneth to seale the righteousness and saluation that he hath brought vs, he setteth before vs an assured pledge thereof in his flesh. He doth in deede call himselfe the liuely bread, but expressing the manner heere, he addeth that his flesh is verily meate, and his blood is verily drinke. Which manner of teaching is seene in the sacraments, which although they direct our faith to whole Christ, and not to halfe Christ, yet they doe therewithall teach that the matter of righteousness and saluation remaineth in his flesh: Not in that that he is onely man, he either iustificieth or quickeneth of himselfe, but because it pleased God to shewe openly in the mediatur that which was hidden and incomprehensible in himselfe. Whereupon I am wont to say, that Christ is as it were a fountaine set open for vs, out of which we may draw that which otherwise shoulde without fruite lie hidden in that close and deepe spring that riseth vp vnto vs in the person of the mediatur. In this maner & meaning, I do not deny that Christ as he is God & 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 righteousness whereof Christ maketh vs partakers, is the eternall righteousness of the eternall God, so that he yeelde to the sure and plaine reasons that I haue alleaged.

10 Now that he should not with his cauillations deceiue the vnskillfull, I graunt that we want this incomparable benefite, till Christ be made ours. Therefore wee set that conioyning of the head and the members, the dwelling of Christ in our hartes, and that mysticall vnion, in the highest degree: that Christ being made ours, may make vs partakers of the gifts wherewith he is endued. Therefore we do not behold him afarre off out of our selues, that righteousness may be imputed vnto vs, but because we haue put on him, and are grafted into his body: finally because hee hath vouchsafed to make vs one with him, therefore we glorie that we haue a fellowship of righteousness with him. So is *Osianders* slanderous cauillation confuted, where hee saith that we cannot faith righteousness, as though we spoiled Christ of his right, when we say that we come by faith emptie to him, to giue rounge to his grace, that he onely may fill vs. But *Osiander* refusing this spirituall conioyning, enforceeth a grosse mingling with the faithfull, and therefore he odiously calleth all them *Zwinglians* that subscribe not to his fantastickall error, concerning essentiall righteousness: because they do not thinke that Christ is substantially eaten in the Lords supper. As for me, I count it a great glory to be so reproched of a proud man and given to his owne errors. Albeit he touched not me onely, but also other writers wel knowne to the world, whom he ought to haue modestly reuerenced. It mooueth me nothing, which meddle not with mine owne priuate cause: and so much the more sincerely I handle this cause, being free from all corrupt affection. Whereas therefore he so importunately requirerh essentiall righteousness, and the essentiall dwelling of Christ in vs, it tendeth to this ende: first that God should with a grosse mixture poure himselfe into vs, as hee faineth a fleshy eating of Christ in the supper: secondly that God should breath his righteousness into vs, wherby we may be really righteous with him: for by his opinion,

Although wee be not iustified vnlesse Christ doe dwell in our hartes, yett is not the essentiall possessing of Christ as God which doth iustifie.

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this righteousnesse is as well God himselfe, as the goodnesse or holinesse, or purenesse of God. I will not spend much labour in wiping away the testimonies that he bringeth, which he wrongfully wresteth from the heavenly life to this present state. Through Christ (saith *Peter*) are giuen vs the precious and most great promises, that we should be made partakers of the nature of God: As though we were now such as the Gospell promised that we shall be at the last coming of Christ: yea *Iohn* telleth vs, that we shall then see God as he is, because we shall be like vnto him. Onely I thought good to giue a small tast to the readers, that I do of purpose passe ouer these trifles: not for that it is hard to confute them, but because I will not be tedious in a superfluous worke.

1. Pet. 1. 4.

1. Iohn. 3. 1.

The earnest assurance of saluation ensebled by Oslander taking the iustificatio which is by righteousnesse impured.

II But in the second point lurketh more poison, where he teacheth that we are righteous together with God. I thinke I haue already sufficiently proued, that although this doctrine were not so pestilent, yet because it is colde and fruitlesse, and of it selfe so vaine that it melteeth away, it ought worthily to be vnfaourie to sound and godly Readers. But this is an vntolerable wickednesse, vnder pretense of double righteousnesse, to enseble the earnest assurance of saluation, and to carie vs about the cloudes, that we should not embrace by faith the grace of propitiation, and call vpon God with quiet mindes. *Oslander* scorneth them, that teach that this word Iustifying is a lawe terme: because, we must be righteous indeede. And he abhorreth nothing more than 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 Christ reconciling the world to himselfe, not imputing to men their sinnes? For, him that had done no sinne, he made sinne for vs, that we might be the righteousnesse of God in him. First I winne thus much, that they be iudged righteous that be reconciled to God. The maner how is declared, for that God iustifieth by forgiuing, as in another place iustification is set as contrarie to accusation, which comparing of them as contraries, doeth clearly shew that it is a phrase borrowed from the vie of the lawe. And there is no man being but meanely practised in the Hebrew tongue, if he haue a sober braine, that is ignorant that this phrase came from thence, and whereunto it tendeth, and what it meaneth. Now where *Paul* saith that *Dauid* described the righteousnesse without workes, in these words, Blessed are those whose sinnes are forgiuen: Let *Oslander* answer me whether this be a full definition or but halfe a one. Truly *Paul* bringeth not in the Prophet for a witnesse, as though he taught that forgiuenesse of sinnes is but a part of righteousnesse, or a thing that ioyneth with other to the iustifying of man: But he includeth whole righteousnesse in free forgiuenesse, pronouncing the man blessed, whose sinnes are couered, to whom God hath forgiuen iniquities, and to whom he imputeth no transgressions. He doth measure and iudge such a mans felicitie thereby, because he is not this way righteous indeede, but by imputation. *Oslander* taketh exception and saith, that this should be flanderous to God, and contrarie to his nature, if he should iustifie them that in deede remaine still wicked. But we must remember, as I haue already saide, that the grace of iustifying is not seuered from regeneration although they be seuerall things. But because it is more than sufficiently known by experience, that there abide alwaies in the righteous some remnants of sinne, it must needes be that they be farre otherwise iustified than they be reformed into newnesse of life. For this latter point of reformation, God so beginneth in his elect, and throughout the whole course of their life, by litle and litle, and sometime slowly proceedeth in it, that they be alway before his seate in danger of the iudgement of death. But he iustifieth them not by partmeale, but so that they may freely, as clothed with the purenesse of Christ, appeare in heauen. For no portion of righteousnesse could appease our consciences, till they be satisfied that God is fully pleased with vs, because we be righteous in his sight without exception. Whereupon followeth, that the doctrine of iustification is

Rom. 4. 7.
Psal. 32. 1.

misturned, yea, ouerturned from the very foundation, whē doubting is cast into mens mindes, when the affiance of saluation is shaken, when the free and dreadlesse inuocation is hindered, yea when quiet and tranquillitie with spirituall ioy is not stablished. 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 voide, which if it haue respect to workes, is ouerthrowen, because none of the most holy shall therein finde whereupon to trust. This difference of iustifying and regenerating (which two things *Osiander* confounding together, calleth two sorts of righteousnesse) is verie well expressed by *Paul*: for speaking of his reall righteousnes in deede, or of the vprightnesse wherewith he was endued (which *Osiander* nameth essentiall righteousnesse) he lamentably cryeth out: Wretch that I am: who shall deliuer me from the body of this death? But flying to the righteousnes which is grounded vpon the onely mercie of God, he gloriously triumpheth over both life, death, reproches, hunger, sword, and all aduersities. Who shall accuse the elects of God whome he iustifieth? For I am surely perswaded, that nothing shall seuer vs from his loue in Christ. He plainly publisheth, that he hath the righteousnes which alone fully sufficeth to saluation before God, so that the wretched bondage which he knowing to be in himselfe, did a litle before bewaile his estate, may not minish nor any way hinder his boldnes to glorie. This diuersitie is sufficiently knowen, and so familiar to all the holy ones, that groned vnder the burden of iniquities, and yett with victorious confidence, do mount vp about all feares. As for this that *Osiander* obiecteth, that it disagreeeth with the nature of God, it falleth vpon himselfe. For although he clotheh the holy ones with a double righteousnes as it were with a furred garment, yet he is compelled to confesse that without forgiveness of sinnes they neuer pleased God. If that be true, then at least let him graunt, that they which are not righteous in deed, are accounted righteous according to the appointed proportion of imputation, as they call it. But how farre shall a sinner extend this free acceptance that is put in place of righteousnes? shall he measure it by the pound or by the ounce? Truly he shall hang doubtfull and wauering to this side and that side, because he may not take vnto him so much righteousnes as shalbe necessarie to stablish confidence. It is happy that he that would binde God to a lawe, is not iudge of this cause. But this shall stand stedfast, that thou maicst be iustified in thy sayings and overcome when thou art iudged. But how great presumption is it to condemne the chiefe iudge when he freely acquiteth, that this answere may not be inforce, I will haue mercie vpon whome I will haue mercy. And yett the intercession of *Moses* which God did put to silence with this saying, tended not to this end that he should spare none, but that he should acquite altogether, taking away their condemnation although they were guiltie of offence. And we do say that they which were lost haue their sinnes buried and so are iustified before God: because, as God hateth sinne, so he can loue none but them whome he iustifieth. But this is a maruellous manner of iustifying, that they being covered with the righteousings of Christ stand not in feare of the iudgement which they haue deserued, and when they worthily condemne themselves are accounted righteous without themselves.

12 But the readers are to be warned, that they take good heede to the mysteric which he braggeth that he will not hide from them. For after that he hath long and largely traucted to proue that we do not obtaine fauour with God by the onely imputation of the righteousnesse of Christ, because this should be impossible for him to count them for righteous that are not righteous, (I vse his owne words) at length he concludeth that Christ was giuen vs vnto righteousnesse, not in respect of his nature of manhood but of his nature of Godhead: and that although this righteousnesse cannot be found but in the person of the Mediatour, yett it is the righteousnesse not of man but of God, he doeth now binde vp his rope made of two righteousneses, but

Gal. 3.18.

Rom. 7.24.

Rom. 8.33.

Psal. 51.6.

Exod. 21.19.

The fond obiections which Osiander gathereth against them that hold a man iustified not by the righteousnesse which Christ worketh in vs as he is God, but which we haue in his death and resurrection as he is man.

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he plainly taketh away the office of iustifying from Christes nature of manhood. But it is good to see how he disagreeeth. It is saide in the same place, that Christ was made vnto vs wisdom, which belongeth to none but to the eternall worde. Therefore Christ in that he is man is not wisdom. I answer that the onely begotten sonne of God was in deede his eternall wisdom, but in *Pauls* writings that name is giuen him in diuers wise, because all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are laid vp in him. That therefore which he had with his father, he disclosed vnto vs: and so that which *Paul* saith is not referred vnto the essence of the sonne of God, but to our vse, and is rightly applied to Christes nature of manhood: because although he shined a light in darknesse, before that he did put on flesh, yet it was a hidden light till the same Christ came foorth in the nature of man, the shining sunne of righteousness, which therefore calleth himselfe the light of the world. Also it is foolishly objected of him, that the power of iustifying is farre about both Angels and men: for as much as this hangeth not vpon the woorthinesse of any creature, but vpon the ordinance of God. If Angels wil take vpō them to satisfie God, they can nothing preuaile, because they are not appointed thereunto. But this singularly belonged to Christ being man, which was made subiect to the law, to redeeme vs from the curse of the law. Also he doth slanderously caull, that they which denie that Christ is our righteousness according to his nature of Godhead, do leaue but one part of Christ, and (which is worse) doe make two Gods, because although they confesse, that God dwelleth in vs, yet they say againe that we are not righteous by the righteousness of God. For although we call Christ the author of life, in respect that he suffered death to destroy him that had the power of death, we doe not by and by take away that honor from whole Christ as he was openly shewed God in the flesh, but we only make a distinction how the righteousness of God is conueied vnto vs, that we may enioy it. In which point *Oslander* hath too fowly erred. Neither doe we denie that that which is openly giuen vs in Christ, proceedeth from the secret grace and power of God: and we strue not against this, that the righteousness which Christ giueth vs is the righteousness of God that proceedeth from God: but we hold this stedfastly, that we haue righteousness and life in the death and resurrection of Christ. I ouer passe that heaping together of places whereof he may wel be ashamed, wherewith he hath tediously combred the readers without choise and without common reason, to prooue that where soeuer is made mention of righteousness, there ought to be vnderstanded this essential righteousness. As where *Dauid* calleth vpon the righteousness of God to helpe him: whereas he doth in summe about an hundred times, *Oslander* sticketh not to corrupt so many sentences. And nothing stronger is the other obiection, that that is properly & rightly called righteousness, whereby we be moued to doe rightly, but that God onely worketh in vs both to will and to performe. For we doe also not denie, but that God reformeth vs with his spirite vnto holinesse of life and righteousness: but wee must first see whether he doe this by himselfe and immediately, or by the hand of his sonne, with whom he hath left all the fulnesse of his holy spirit, that with his abundant store he should supply the neede of his members. Moreouer, although righteousness come vnto vs out of the secret fountain of the Godhead, yet it followeth not that Christ which sanctified himselfe in the flesh for our sakes, was righteousness vnto vs according to his nature of Godhead. No lesse fond is that which he saith, that Christ himselfe was righteous by the righteousness of God. Because vnlesse the will of his father had moued him, he could not himselfe haue satisfied the office committed vnto him. For though we haue in another place said, that all the deseruings of Christ himselfe do proceed from the meer good wil of God, yet that maketh nothing to that fantastical thing, wherewith *Oslander* bewitcheth both his owne and simple mens eies. For who would suffer a man to gather this conclusion, that because God is the fountain and beginning of our righteousness, therefore we be essentially righteous, & the

essence

essence of Gods righteousness dwelleth in vs? In redeeming the church (saith *Esay*) Esay. 59. 17. God did put on his righteousness as a harness: but did he so to spoyle Christ of his armor which he had given him, to make him to be no perfect redeemer? But the Prophet meant nothing else but that God borrowed nothing out of himselfe, nor was holpen by any aide to redeeme vs. Which thing *Paul* briefly expressed in other words, saying, that he gaue vs saluation to the shewing of his righteousness. But this doeth not ouerthrow that which he teacheth in another place, that we are righteous by the obedience of one man. Finally whosoever wappeth vp a double righteousness, that poore soules may not rest in the meere onely mercie of God, he doeth in a mockerie crowne Christ with thornes. Rom. 3. 23. Rom. 5. 19.

13 But forasmuch as a great part of men, imagineth righteousness to be made of faith and works, let vs first shew this also, that the righteousness of faith and works do so differ, that when the one is established, the other must needs be ouerthrown. The Apostle saith that he esteemed all things as doing, that he might winne Christ, and finde in him the righteousness that is of God by faith, counting not his righteousness that which is by the lawe, but that which is by the faith of Iesus Christ. You see that here is also a comparison of contraries, and that here is declared that he which will obtaine the righteousness of Christ, must forsake his owne righteousness. Therefore in another place he saith, that this was the cause of fall to the Iewes, that going about to establish their owne righteousness, they were not subiect to the righteousness of God. If in stablishing our owne righteousness we shake away the righteousness of God, therefore to obtaine Gods righteousness our owne must be utterly abolished. And he sheweth the same thing, when he saith, that our glorying is not excluded by the law, but by faith. Whereupon followeth that so long as there remaineth any righteousness of works, how little soever it be, there still remaineth to vs some matter to glorie vpon. Now if faith exclude all glorying, then the righteousness of works can no wise be coupled with the righteousness of faith. To this effect he speaketh so plainly in the fourth Chapter to the Romanes, that he leaueth no room for caillations or shifts: If (saith he) *Abraham* was iustified by works, he hath glorie. And immediatly he addeth: but he hath no glorie in the sight of God. It followeth therefore that he was not iustified by works. Then he bringeth an other argument by contraries, when reward is rendered to works, that is done of debt and not of grace. Therefore it is not of the desertings of works. Wherefore farewell their dreame, that imagine a righteousness made of faith and works mingled together. Rom. 10. 3. Rom. 3. 27. Rom. 4. 2.

14 The Sophisters thinke that they haue a little shift, that make to themselves sport and pastime with wresting of Scripture and with vaine caillations. For they expound worke in that place to be those which men not yet regenerate do only literally and by the endeour of free will without the grace of Christ: and do say that it belongeth not to spirituall workes. So by their opinion a man is iustified both by faith and by workes. So that the workes be not his owne, but the gifts of Christ and fruites of regeneration. For they say that *Paul* spake so for none other cause, but to conuince the Iewes, trusting vpon their owne works, that they did foolishly presume to claime righteousness to themselves, sith the onely spirit of Christ doeth giue it vs, and not any endeour by our owne motion of nature. But they do not marke that in the comparison of the righteousness of the law and the righteousness of the Gospell, which *Paul* bringeth in in another place, all workes are excluded with what title soever they be adomed. For he teacheth that this is the righteousness of the law, that he should obtaine saluation that hath performed that which the law commandeth: and that this is the righteousness of faith, if we beleue that Christ died and is risen againe. Moreouer wee shall hereafter shewe in place fit for it, that sanctification and righteousness are severall benefices of Christ. Whereupon followeth that the verie spirituall workes come not into the account when the power of iustifying is ascribed Not only the workes of men regenerate but also faithfull mens' deeds are excluded in the matter of iustification. Gal. 3. 11.

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to Faith. And where *Paul* denieth (as I euen now alledged) that *Abraham* had any thing wherupon to glory before God, because he was not made righteous by works: this ought not to be restrained to the literall and outward kinde of vertues, or to the endeouour of free will. Yet although the life of the Patriarch *Abraham* were spirituall and in maner ngelike, but he had not sufficient deseruings of workes to purchase him righteousness before God.

The Schoolemens error about the spirite and grace whereby man is iustified.

15 The Schoolemen teach a little more grossly that mingle their preparations: but these doe lesse infect the simple and vnskilfull with corrupt doctrine, vnder presence of Spirite and grace hiding the mercie of GOD which onely is able to appeare trembling confessions. But we confesse with *Paul* that the doers of the Law are iustified before God: but because we are all farre from the keeping of the Lawe, hereupon we gather, that the workes which should most of all haue auailed to righteousness, doe nothing helpe vs because we laeke them. As for the common Papistes or Schoolemen, they are in this point doubly deceiued: both because they call Faith an assurednes of conscience in looking for reward at the hand of God for deseruings, and also because they expound the grace of God not to be a free imputation of righteousness, but the holy Ghost helping to the endeouour of holines. They read in the Apostle that he which commeth to God, must first beleue that there is a God, and then that he is a tenderer of reward to them that seeke him. But they marke not, what is the maner of seeking: And that they are deceiued in the name of grace, is plainly prooued by their owne writings. For *Lombard* expoundeth, that iustification by Christ is giuen vs two waies, First (saith he) the death of Christ doth iustifie vs, when by it charitie is stirred vp in our hartes, by which we are made righteous. Secondly, that by the same death sinne is destroyed, whereby Satan held vs captiue, so that now he hath not wherby 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 workes by the grace of the holy Ghost. He would forsooth haue followed the opinion of *Augustine*: but he followeth him a far off, and goeth far out of the way from rightly following him: because if *Augustine* haue spoken any thing plainly he darkeneth it: if there be any thing in *Augustine* not very vnpure, he corrupteth it. The Schoolemen haue still strayed from woofe to woofe, till with headlong fall at length they be rolled downe into a Pelagian error. And the very sentence of *Augustine*, or at least his maner of speaking is not altogether to be receiued, For though he singularly wel taketh frō man al praise of righteousness, and assigneth it wholly to the grace of God, yet he referreth grace to sanctification, whereby we are renewed into newnesse of life by the holy Ghost.

Heb. 11. 6.

Sent. li. 3. dist. 16. ca. 2.

The righteousnesse of Faith spoken of in Scripture turneth mens eyes frō their owne workes to the free goodnes of God, which pardoneth sinne, and causeth sinners to feele the mercie whereby they are pardoned and in Christ made righteous.

16 But the Scripture, when it speaketh of the righteousnesse of Faith, leadeth vs to a far other end, that is to say, that turning away from the looking vpon our owne workes, we should onely looke vnto the mercie of God and perfection of Christ. For it teacheth this order of iustification, that first God vouchsaucth to embrace man being a sinner with his meere and free goodnes, considering nothing in him but miserie whereby he may be moued to mercy, forasmuch as he seeth him altogether naked and void of good workes, fetching from himselfe the cause to do him good: then, that he moueth the sinner himselfe with feeling of his goodnes, which despairing vpon his owne workes casteth all the summe of his saluation vpon Gods mercy. This is the feeling of Faith, by which feeling the sinner commeth into possession of his saluation, when he acknowledgeth by the doctrine of the Gospell that he is reconciled to God: that obtaining forgiveness of sinnes by meanes of the righteousness of Christ, he is iustified: and although he be regenerate by the spirite of God, he thinketh vpon continuall righteousnesse laid vp for him not in the good workes to which he applyeth himselfe, but in the onely righteousnesse of Christ. When these things shall be euery one particularly weyed, they shall giue a perfect declaration of our sentence. Albeit they might be better disposed in another order than they are set forth. But it maketh

little matter, so that they hang together in such sort that we may haue the whole matter truly declared and surely prooued.

17 Here it is good to remember the relation that we haue before saide to be betweene faith and the Gospell: because it is saide for this cause that faith iustificeth, for that it receiueth and imbraceth the righteousnesse offered in the Gospell. And whereas it is saide to be offered by the Gospell, thereby all consideration of workes is excluded. Which thing *Paul* declareth many times elsewhere, but most plainly in two places. For, to the Romanes, comparing the lawe and the Gospell together he saith: the righteousnesse that is by the law is thus, The man that doth these things shall liue in them. But the righteousnesse that is of faith offereth saluation, if thou beleue in thy hart and confesse with thy mouth the Lord Iesus, and that the father hath raised him vp from the dead. See you not how he maketh this the difference of the law and the Gospell, that the law giueth righteousnesse to workes, and the Gospell giueth free righteousnesse without helpe of workes? it is a notable place, and that may deliuer vs out of many hard doubts, if we vnderstande that the same righteousnesse that is giuen vs by the Gospell is free from all conditions of the law. This is the reason, why he doth more than once with great seeming of contrarietie set the promise by way of opposition against the law, as if the inheritance be of the lawe, then is it not of the promise: and all the rest in the same chapter to the same effect. Truly the law it selfe hath also her promises. Therefore there must needs be in the promises of the Gospell, something different and diuers from the promises of the lawe; vnlesse we will confesse that the comparison is very fond. But what diuersitie shall this be, vnlesse it be that they are freely giuen, and vpholden by the onely mercie of God, whereas the promises of the lawe hang vpon the condition of workes? Neither let any man here carpe against me, and say, that in this place the righteousnesse is reiected which men of their owne force and free will would compell God to receiue? for as much as *Paul* without exception teacheth that the lawe in commanding profiteth nothing: because there is none not onely of the common multitude, but also of the perfecte, that fulfilleth it. Loue vndoubtedly is the chiefe point of the lawe: when the spirit of God frameth vs vnto it, why is it not to vs a cause of righteousness, but for that euen in the holie ones it is vnperfect, and therefore of it selfe deserueth no reward.

18 The second place is this. It is manifest that no man is iustified by the law before God: Because the righteous man shall liue by faith. But the law is not of faith: but the man that doth these things shall liue in them. Howe could this argument otherwise stand together, vnlesse we agree vpon this point, that workes come not into the account of faith, but are vnto it to be serued from it? The law (saith he) differeth from faith. Why so? because workes are required to the righteousness thereof. Therefore it followeth that workes are not required to the righteousness of faith. By this relation it appeereth that they which are iustified by faith are iustified beside the deseruing of workes, yea without the deseruing of workes, because faith receiueth that righteousness which the Gospell giueth. And the Gospell differeth from the lawe in this point, that it bindeth not righteousness to workes, but setteth it in the onely mercie of God. Like hereunto is that which hee affirmeth to the Romanes, that *Abraham* had nothing to glorie vpon, because faith was imputed to him vnto righteousness, and he addeth a confirmation, because then there is place for the righteousness of faith, when there are no workes to which a reward is due. Where be workes (saith he) due reward is rendred vnto them: that which is giuen to faith is freely giuen. For the very meaning of the words that he vseth in that place serue to prooue the same. Whereas he adioyneth within a little after, that therefore we obtaine the inheritance by faith as according to grace, heere vpon hee gathereth that the inheritance is of free gift, because it is receiued by faith: and how commeth that, but because faith without any helpe of workes leaneth wholly vpon the mercie of God? And in the same meaning

The difference which S. Paul setteth betweene the righteousnesse of the law, and of the Gospell, is that the law, excludeth workes from that iustification which is through faith.
Rom. 10. 5.

Gal. 3. 18.

Rom. 8. 2.

The same difference is taught in the Epistle to the Galatians.
Gal. 3. 12.

Rom. 4. 2.

Rom. 3. 21.

without

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without doubt he teacheth in another place that the righteousnes of God was openly shewed without the law, although it hath wignes borne of it by the law and the Prophets: because excluding the law, he saith that it is not holpen by works, and that we obtaine it not by working, but come emptie that we may receiue it.

The doctrine carped at without cause which teacheth iustification by faith onely excluding thereby workes not onely ceremoniall but morall also.
Rom. 4. 2.
Rom. 1. 17.

Rom. 3. 21. & 24.

Gal. 3. 10.

Rom. 3. 20. & 4. 15.

Gal. 3. 21.

Neither can workes iustifie though they bee highly esteemed because the value of them dependeth onely upon Gods allowance, neither doth loue giue vnto faith the force whereby it is able to iustifie.
Gal. 3. 7.

19 By this time the Reader perceiueth with what equitie the Sophisters doe at this day caull at our doctrine, when we saie, that man is iustified by faith onely. They dare not denie that man is iustified by faith because it is so often found in Scripture: but because this word, Onely, is neuer expressed, they cannot abide to haue such an addition made. Is it so? But what will they answer to these wordes of *Paul*, where he affirmeth that righteousnes is not of faith except it be freely giuen? How can free gift agree with workes? And with what caullations wil they mock out, that which he saith in another place, that the righteousnes of God is manifestly shewed in the Gospel? If righteousnesse be manifestly shewed in the Gospell, surely therein is contained not a torne or halfe righteousnesse, but full and perfect. Therefore the lawe hath no place therein. And they stande vpon not onely a false but also a foolish shift about this exclusive word, Onely. Doth not he perfectly enough giue all things to onely faith, that taketh all things from workes? What, I pray you meane these sayings, that righteousnesse was manifestly shewed without the law: that man is iustified freebie and without the workes of the law? Heere they haue a wittie shift to escape withall, which although they deuise it not themselves, but borrowed it of *Origen* and certaine of the olde writers, yet is verie foolish. They prate that the ceremoniall workes of law, not the morall, are excluded. They profite so with continuall brawling, that they know not the verie first rules of Logike. Doe they thinke that the Apostle docted when he alleaged these places to prooue his saying? The man that shall doe these things shall liue in them: and, Cursed is euery one that fulfilleth not all things that are written in the volume of the law. Vnlesse they be madde, they will not say that life was promised to the keepers of Ceremonies, or curse threatned onely to the breakers of them. If these places bee to bee vnderstanded of the morall lawe, it is no doubt that the morall workes also are excluded from the power of iustifying. To the same purpose serue these arguments that he vseth: because the knowledge of sinne was by the law, therefore righteousnesse is not by the law. Because the lawe worketh wrath, therefore it worketh not righteousnesse. Because the lawe cannot make conscience assured, therefore also it cannot giue righteousnesse. Because faith is imputed vnto righteousnesse, therefore righteousnesse is not a rewarde of worke, but is giuen being not due. Because we are iustified by faith, therefore glorying is cut off. If there had bin a law giuen that might giue life, then righteousnesse were truly by the law: but God hath shut vp all vnder sinne that the promise might be giuen to the beleeuers. Let them now fondly say if they dare, that these things are spoken of ceremonies and not of maners: but very children woulde hiss out so great shamelesnesse. Therefore let vs hold this for certaine, that the whole lawe is spoken of, when the power of iustifying is taken away from the law.

20 But if any man maruaile why the Apostle vseth such an addition, not being content with onely naming workes: the reason is readie to be shewed for it. For, although workes be so highly esteemed, yet they haue that value by the allowance of God, rather than by their owne worthinesse. For who can boast vnto God of anie righteousnes of workes, but that which he hath allowed? Who dare claime anie rewarde as due vnto them, but such as he hath promised? They haue therefore this of the bountifulnes of God, that they are counted worthie both of the name & rewarde of righteousnes: and they be of value onely for this cause, when the purpose of him that doth them is by them to shew his obedience to God. Wherefore the Apostle in another place, to prooue that *Abraham* could not be iustified by workes, alleageth that the law was giuen, almost fowre hundred and thirtie yeres after the couenant made.

Vnlearned

Unlearned men would laugh at such an argument, because there might be righteous works before the publishing of the law. But because he knew that there was no such value in works but by the testimonie and vouchsafing of God, therefore he taketh it as a thing confessed, that before the law they had no power to iustifie. We vnderstand why he namely expresseth the worke of the law, when he meaneth to take away iustification from any workes because controuersie may be moued of those and none other. Albeit sometime he excepteth all works without any addition, as when he saith that by the testimonie of *Dauid* blessednes is assigned to that man, to whom the Lord imputeth righteousness without works. Therefore they can with no cauations bring to passe, but that we shal get this generall exclusiue only. And they doe in vaine seeke that trifling subtletie, that we are iustified by that only faith which worketh by loue, so that righteousness must stand vpon loue. We graunt in deed with *Paul*, that no other faith iustificeth, 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 bringeth vs into the communicating of the righteousness of Christ. Or else, all that which the Apostle so earnestly presseth, should fall to nought. To him that worketh (saith he) the reward is not reckoned according to grace, but according to det. But to him that worketh not, but beleeneth in him that iustificeth the vnrightheous, his faith is imputed vnto righteousness. Could he speake more evidently than in so saying? that there is no righteousness of faith but where there are no works to which any reward is due: and that onely then faith is imputed vnto righteousness, when righteousness is giuen by grace that is not due.

21 Now let vs examine how true that is, which is said in the definition, that the righteousness of faith is the reconciliation with God, which consisteth vpon the onely forgiveness of finnes. We must alway returne to this principle, that the wrath of God resteth vpon all men, so long as they continue to be sinners. That hath *Esay* excellently well set out in these words: The hand of the Lord is not shortned, that he is not able to faile: nor his eare dulled that he cannot heare: but your iniquities haue made disagreement betwene you and your God, and your finnes haue hidden his face from you that he heareth you not. We heare that sinne is the diuision betwene man and God, and the turning away of Gods face from the sinner. Neither can it otherwise be. For it is disagreeing from his righteousness to haue any fellowship with sinne. Wherefore the Apostle teacheth that man is enemie to God till he be restored into fauour by Christ. Whome therefore the Lord receiuet into ioyning with him, him he is said to iustifie: because he can neither receiue him into fauour nor ioyne him with himselfe, but he must of a sinner make him righteous. And we further say, that this is done by the forgiveness of finnes. For if they whom the Lord hath reconciled to himselfe be iudged by their works, they shall be found still sinners in deede, who yet must be free and cleane from sinne. It is certaine therefore that they whom God embraceth, are no otherwise made righteous, but because they are cleayed by hauing the spots of their finnes wiped away by forgiveness, that such a righteousness may in one word be called the forgiveness of finnes.

22 Both these are most cleerly to be scene by these words of *Paul*, which I haue already alleaged: God was in Christ reconciling the worlde to himselfe, not imputing their finnes to man, and he hath left with vs the worde of reconciliation. And then he addeth the summe of his message, that him which knew no sinne he made sin for vs, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. Here he nameth righteousness and reconciliation without difference, that wee may perceiue that the one is mutually contained vnder the other. And he teacheth the manner to attaine this righteousness to be when our finnes are not imputed vnto vs. Wherefore doubt thou not hereafter how God doth iustifie vs, when thou hearest that he doth reconcile vs to himselfe by not imputing finnes. So to the *Romans* he prooueth by the

Rom. 4. 6.

Gal. 5. 6.

Rom. 4. 4.

Sinne putteth enmitie betwene man and God: so that except it be pardoned vs, we cannot be ioyned vnto him.
Esaï. 59. 7.

Rom. 5. 8.

Righteousnes and reconciliation vs to God doe mutually containe the one the other, and are attained vnto, when our finnes are not imputed.
2. Cor. 3. 19.
2. Cor. 3. 21.

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Rom. 4. 6.

testimonie of *David*, that righteousness is imputed to man without works, because *David* pronounceth the man blessed whose iniquities are forgiven, whose sinnes are couered, to whom the Lord hath not imputed his offences. Without doubt by blessednesse he there meaneth righteousness. As sith he affirmeth the same to stand in the forgiveness of sinnes, there is no cause why we should otherwise define it. There-

Luk. 1. 77.

fore *Zacharie* the father of *Iohn* the Baptist singeth that the knowledge of saluation consisteth in the forgiveness of sinnes. Which rule *Paul* following in his Sermon which he made to the *Antiochians* concerning the summe of saluation, as *Luke* reporteth it, concluded in this maner: By him forgiveness of sinnes is preached vnto you, and euerie one that beleueth in him is iustified from all these things, from which ye could not be iustified in the lawe of *Moses*. The Apostle so knitteth the forgiveness of sinnes with righteousness, that he sheweth that they be both all one. Where-

Act. 13. 38.

upon, he rightfully reasoneth that the righteousness is freely giuen vnto vs, which we obtaine by the louing kindnesse of God. Neither ought it to seeme a strange vnused speech, that the faithfull are righteous before God, not by works, but by free acceptation: sith both it is so oft found in the Scripture, and the old authors also doe sometime so speake. For *Augustine* saith thus in one place: The righteousness of the saints in this worlde standeth rather in forgiveness of sinnes, than in perfection of vertues. Wherewith agreeth the notable sentence of *Bernard*: Not to sinne is the righteousness of God: but the righteousness of man, is the mercifull kindnesse of God. He had before affirmed that Christ is to vs righteousness in abolition, and therefore that they onely are righteous that haue obtained pardon by mercie.

De ciuit. Dei
cap. 27.

Serm. 23. in
cant. Scr. 22.

The righteousness
of Christ imputed
vnto vs maketh
vs righteous.

23 Hereupon also followeth this, that by the onely meane of Christs righteousness, we obtaine to be iustified before God. Which is as much in effect as if it were said, that man is not righteous in himselfe, but because the righteousness of Christ is by imputation enterpartened with him, which thing is woorthie to bee heede fully marked. For that trifling error vanisheth away, to say that man is therefore iustified by faith, because faith taketh part of the Spirit of God by which he is made righteous, which is so contrarie to the doctrine aboue taught, that they can neuer be made to agree together. For it is no doubt that he is voide of his owne righteousness, that is taught to seeke righteousness without himselfe. This the Apostle affirmeth most plainly when he writeth that he which knew no sinne was made for vs a propitiatory sacrifice to cleanse away sinne, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. You see that our righteousness is not in vs but in Christ, and that it belongeth to vs onely by this title, because we be partakers of Christ, because we possesse all his riches with him. And it maketh nothing to the contrarie that in another place he teacheth, that sinne was condemned of sinne in the flesh of Christ, that the righteousness of the lawe might be fulfilled in vs: where he meaneth no other fulfilling, but that which we obtaine by imputation. For the Lord Christ doth in such sort communicate his righteousness with vs, that after a certaine maruelous manner, he powreth the force thereof into vs, so much as pertaineth to the iudgement of God. It appeereth that he did no otherwise meane, by the other sentence which he had spoken a litle before. As by the disobedience of one man we were made sinners, so by the obedience of one man we are iustified. What is it else to set our righteousness in the obedience of Christ, but to affirme that hereby onely we are accounted 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 righteousness in the blessing of *Iacob*. For *Iacob* hauing not of himselfe deserued the preeminence of the first begotten sonne, hid himselfe in the apparell of his brother, and being clothed with his brothers coate that saoured of a most sweete smel, he crept into the fauor of his father, and receiued the blessing to his owne commodity vnder the person of another: so we do lie hidden vnder the precious purenes

2. Cor. 5. 21.

Rom. 8. 3.

Rom. 6. 19.

Lib. 2. de Iac. &
vita beata.

of Christ our elder brother, that we may get a testimonie of righteousnes in the sight of God. The words of *Ambrose* are these. Whereas *Isaac* smelt the saour of the garments, peradventure this is ment thereby, that we are not iustified by workes but by faith: because fleshy weaknes hindreth workes, but the brightnes of faith which meritech forgiuenes of sins, ouersadoweth the errour of deeds. And truly so it is. For, that we may appeere before the face of God vnto saluation, it is necessary for vs to smell sweeterly with his odour, and to haue our faultes couered and barred with his perfection.

The xij. Chapter.

That to the end we may be fully persuaded of the free iustification, we must lift vp our mindes to the iudgement seat of God.

Although it appeereth by most euident testimonies, that all these things are true, yet we shall not cleerely perceiue how necessary they be, vntill we haue set before our eyes those things that ought to be the groundes of all this disputation. First therefore let vs remember this, that we purpose not to speake of the righteousnesse of a worldly iudiciall court, but of the heauenly iudgement seate: that we shoulde not measure by our owne small portion, by what vprightnes of workes Gods iudgements may be satisfied. But it is maruellous to see with what rashnes and boldnes it is commonly debated. Yea and it is to be seene how none doe more boldly or with fuller mouthes (as the saying is) prate of the righteousnes of workes, than they that are either monstrously sicke of open outward diseases, or be ready to burst with inwarde vices. That commeth to passe because they thinke not vpon the righteousnesse of God, whereof if they had neuer so little feeling, they would neuer make so great a mockery of it. And truly it is out of measure lightly regarded, when it is not acknowledged to be such and so perfect that nothing be imputed vnto it but euery way whole and absolute, and defiled with no vncleannes: such as neuer was and neuer shall be able to be founde in man. It is indeed easie and ready for euery man in Schooles to talke vainely vpon the worthines of workes to iustifie men: But when they come into the sight of God, such dalliance must auoide, because there is earnest dooing vsed, and no trifling strife about words. To this, to this I say, we must apply our mind, if we will profitablie enquire of true righteousnes, how may we answer the heauenly iudge whē he calleth vs to accout. Let vs thinke him to be a iudge, not such a one as our own vnderstandings do of themselves imagine: but such a one as he is painted out in the scripture, with whose brightnes the stars shall be darkaed, by whose strength the hills do melt away, by whose wrath the earth is shaken, by whose wise dome the wife are taken in their subtletie, by whose purenes all things are prooued vnpure, whose righteousnesse the Angels are not able to beare, which maketh the innocent not innocent, whose vengeance when it is once kindled pearcech to the bottome of hell. If hee (I saie) sit to examine mens doings, who shall appeere assured before his throne? who shall dwell with a deuouring fire? saith the Prophet. Who shall abide with continuall burnings? he that walketh in righteousnesse & speaketh truth, &c. But let such a one come fourth, whatsoeuer he be. But that answer maketh that none cometh fourth. For this terrible saying foundeth to the contrarie: Lorde if thou marke iniquities, Lord, who shall abide it? truly all must needs immediately perish, as it is written in another place: Shall man be iustified if he be compared with God, or shall he be purer then his maker? Beholde they that serue him are not faithfull, and he hath founde peruersenesse in his Angels. How much more shall they that dwell in houses of claie and that haue an earthly foundation, be consumed with mothes? they shall be cut downe from the morning to the euening. Behold among his Saints there is none faithfull, and the heauens are not cleane in his sight: howe much more

The cause of mens presuming so much vpon the righteousnesse of their own workes is their not considering howe exactlly it must be that shall answer the laue when it commeth to be strictly examined before the iudgement seate of God.

Esa. 33. 14.

*Psal. 1: 0. 3.
Iob. 4 17.*

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is man abhominable and vnprofitable, which drinketh iniquitie as water? I graunt indeed that in the booke of *Iob*, is mention made of a righteousnes that is higher than the keeping of the law. And it is good to vnderstand this distinction: because although a man did satisfie the law, yet he could not so stand to the triall of that righteousnes that passeth all senses. Therefore although *Iob* be cleare in his owne conscience, yet he is amazed, and not able to speake because he feeth that very angelike holines cannot appeale God, if he exactly weigh their works. But I therefore will at this time ouerpasse that righteousnes which I haue spoken of, because it is incomprehensible: but only this I say, that if our life be examined by the rule of the written law, we are more than senselesse if so many curses wherewith the Lord hath willed vs to be awaked do not torment vs with horrible feare, and among other this generall curse, Cursed is euery one that doth not abide in all the things that are written in the booke. Finally all this discourse shall be but vnfauorie and cold, vnlesse euerie man yeeld himselfe guiltie before the heauenly iudge, and willingly throw downe and abase himselfe, being carefull how he may be acquitted.

Deut. 27. 26.

*How righteous
soeuer we be in
comparison of
other men, thou in
the sight of God
is not able to make
us blamelesse.*

2 To this, to this I say, we should haue lifted vp our eyes, to learne rather to tremble for feare, than vainly to reioice. It is indeed easie, so long as the comparison extendeth no further than men, for euery man to thinke himselfe to haue somewhat which other ought not to despise. But when we rise vp to haue respect vnto God, then suddenly that confidence falleth to the ground and commeth to nought. And in the same case altogether is our soule in respect of God, as mans bodie is in respect of the heauen. For the sight of the cie, so long as it continueth in viewing things that lie neer vnto it, doth shew of what piercing force it is, but if it be once directed vp to the sunne, then being daseled and dulled with the too great brightnes thereof, it feelth no lesse feeblenes of it selfe in beholding of the sunne, than it perceiued strength in beholding inferior things. Therefore let vs not deceiue our selues with vaine confidence, although we count our selues either equall or superior to other men: but that is nothing to God, by whose will this knowledge is to be tried. But if our wildnes can not be tamed with these admonitions, he wil answer to vs as he said to the Pharisees: you be they that iustifie your selues before men: but that which is high to men is abhominable to God. Now go thy way & proudly boast of thy righteousnes among men, while God from heauen abhorreth it. But what say the seruants of God that are truly instructed with his Spirit? Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, because euerie liuing man shall not be iustified in thy sight. Another saith, although in somewhat diuers meaning: Man cannot be righteous with God: if he will contend with him, he shall not be able to answer one for a thousand. Here we now plainly heare what is the righteousnes of God, euen such as can be satisfised with no workes of men, to whom when it examineth vs of a thousand offences, we cannot purge our selues of one. Such a righteousnes had that same chosen instrument of God *Paul* conceiued, when he professed that he knew himselfe guiltie in nothing, but that he was not thereby iustified.

Euk. 16. 15.

Pfal. 43. 2.
Iob. 9. 8.

1. Cor. 4. 4.

*S. Augustine and
S. Bernard how
far from looking
to be iustified by
their owne workes.
Ad Romi li. 3 ca 5.
Super can. ser. 61.*

3 And not only such examples are in the holy Scriptures, but also all godly writers do shew that they were alway of this minde. So *Augustine* saith, All the godly that grone vnder this burden of corruptible flesh, and in this weakenes of life haue this onely hope that we haue one Mediator Iesus Christ the righteous, and he is the appeasement for our finnes. What saith he? If this be their onely hope, where is the confidence of workes? For when he calleth it only, he leaueh none other. And *Bernard* saith. And indeed where is safe and stedfast rest and assurednes for the weak, but in the woundes of our Saviour? and so much the surer I dwell therein as hee is mightier to sue. The world rageth, the bodie burdeneth, the diuell leth in waite: I fall not, because I am builded vpon the sure rocke: I haue sinned a grieuous sinne, my conscience is troubled, but it shall not be ouetroubled, because I shall remember the.

the woundes of the Lord. And hereupon afterward he concludeth, Therefore my merite is the Lords taking of mercy, I am not vtterly without merite, so long as he is not without mercies. But if the mercies of the Lord be many, then I also haue as many merites. Shall I sing mine owne righteousness? Lord I will remember onely thy righteousness. For that is also my righteousness, for he is made vnto me righteousness of God. Againe in another place, This is the whole merite of man, if he put his whole hope in him that saucth whole man. Likewise where retaining peace to himselfe he leaucth the glory to God, To thee (saith he) let glory remaine vnmixed: it shall be well with me, if I haue peace, I forswear glory altogether, least if I wrongfully take vpon me that which is not mine owne, I loose also that which is offered me. And more plainly in another place hee saith: Why should the Church be carefull of merites, which hath a surer and safer way 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 mine owne sake, saith the Lord. It sufficeth for merite, to know what merites suffice not. But as it sufficeth for merite not to presume of merites, so to be without merites sufficeth to iudgement. Whereas he freely vseth this word Merites for good workes, we must therein beare with the custome. But in the ende his purpose was to make hypocrites afraid, that wildly range with licentiousnesse of sinning against the grace of God. As afterward he expoundeth himselfe, saying: Happy is the Church that neither wanteth merites without presumption, nor presumption without merites. It hath whereupon to presume, but not merites. It hath merites, but to deserue, not to presume. Is not the very not presuming a deseruing? Therefore it presumeth so much the more boldly, because it presumeth not, hauing large matter to glory vpon, euen the many mercies of the Lord.

In Psal. qui habitat scilicet. 15.

In cant. scilicet. 13.

Ezc. 36. 22. & 32.

4 This is the truth. The exercised consciences perceiue this to be the onely sanctuarie of safetie, wherein they may safely rest themselues when they haue to doe with the iudgement of God. For if the Starres that seemed most bright in the night season, doe loose their brightnes, with sight of the Sunne, what thinke we shall be come euen of the rarest innocencie of man, when it shall be compared with the purenesse of God? For that shall be a most seuer examination, that shall peerce into the most hidden thoughtes of the hart, and (as Paul saith) shall reueale the secretes of darkenes, and disclose the hidden things of the hart, which shall compell the lurking and vnwilling conscience to vtter all things that now are fallen out of remembrance. The diuell our accuser will presse vs, which is priuie to all the wicked deeds that he hath moued vs to doe. There the outward pompos shewes of good workes which now onely are esteemed, shall nothing profite vs. Onely the purenesse of will shall be required. Wherefore the hypocrisie, not onely wherby euery man knowing himselfe guiltie before God desireth to boast himselfe before men, but also wherewith euery man deceiueth himselfe before God (as we be all inclined to stroke and flatter our selues) shall fall downe confounded, howsoeuer it now be proude, with more than drunken boldnes. They that bend not their wit to such a sight, may indeede for a short time sweetly and pleasantly frame a righteousness to themselues, but it is such a righteousness as shall be by and by shaken away from them at the iudgement of God: like as great riches heaped vp in a dreame doe vanishe away from men when they awake. But they that shall earnestly as it were in the sight of God, enquire of the true rule of righteousness, shall certainly finde that all the works of men, if they be iudged by their owne worthines, are nothing but defilings and filthines: that that which among the common people is accounted righteousness, is before God mere wickednes: that that which is iudged puritie, is vncleannes: that that which is reckoned glorie, is but shame.

Men iudged by their owne worthines: be they neuer so holy shall be found vnholy.

1. Cor. 4. 5.

5 From this beholding of the perfection of God, let it not grieue vs to descend

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That partiall and blinde affection which because beare vnto our felus when we are our owne iudges, maketh vs fondly to imagine that such we shall seme also when God iudgeth vs must be shewen off.
 Ro. 21. 2. & 16. 2.

Iob. 15. 16.
 Iob. 14. 4.
 Iob. 9. 20.

Esa. 53. 6.

1. Pet. 5. 5.

We can neither be righteous till we be humble, nor humble as long as we make any reckoning or account as all of our owne righteousness.

Psal. 18. 28.

Zeph. 3. 11.

to looke vpon our felues without flatterie or blinde affection of loue. For it is no maruell if we be all so blinde in this behalfe, forasmuch as none of vs doth beware of the pestilent tendernesse toward himselfe, which (as the Scripture crieth out) naturally sticketh fast in vs al. To euery man (saith *Salomon*) his owne way is right in his owne eyes. Againe. All the waies of man seeme cleane in his owne eyes. But what? Is he acquired by this blindnes? No, But (as he further saith in the same place) the Lord weigheth the hearts, that is to say, while man flattereth himselfe by reason of the outward visor or righteousnes that he beareth in resemblance, in the meane time the Lord with his ballance examineth the hidden vncleannes of the heart. Therefore sith we see nothing profit with such flatteries, let vs not wilfully mocke our felues to our owne destruction. But that we may trie our felues rightly, we must necessarily call backe our conscience to the iudgement seat of God. For we do altogether neede his light to disclose the secret foldings of our peticularities, which otherwise lie too deeply hidden. For then and neuer till then, we shall cleerely perceiue what is meant hereby: that man being rottennesse and a worme, abhominable and vaine, which drinketh wickednesse as water is far from being iustified before God. For who should make that cleane that is conceiued of vnclane feede? not one man. Then shall we also finde that by experience, which *Iob* saide of himselfe? If I will goe about to shew my selfe innocent, mine owne mouth shall condemne me: If I will shew my selfe righteous: it will prouue me wicked. For that is not meant of one age onely, but of all ages, which the Prophet in old time complained of *Israell*, that all went away like sheepe, that eury one turned aside to his owne way. For he there comprehendeth all them, to whom the grace of redemption should come. And the rigorousnes of this examination ought to proceed so far, till it subdue vs, so that we be fully throwen downe withall, and by that meane prepare vs to receiue the grace of Christ. For he is deceiued that thinketh himselfe able to receiue the enjoying of this grace, vntill he haue first throwen downe all hawtines of minde. This is a known saying: that God foundeth the proude, and giueth grace to the humble.

6 But what way is there to humble our felues, but that we being altogether needie and emptie, should giue place to the mercie of God? For I do not call it humblenes, if we thinke that we haue any thing remaining with vs. And hitherto they haue taught a verie hurtfull hypocrisie that haue ioyned these two things together, that we must thinke humble of our felues before God, and that we must make some account of our owne righteousness. For if wee confesse to God contrarie to our owne thinking, wee do wickedly lie vnto him: but we cannot thinke as we ought, but that by and by all that seemeth glorious in vs must be troden vnder foote. Therefore when thou hearest in the Prophet, that there is prepared saluation for the humble people, and abacement for the eyes of the wicked: First thinke, that there is no entrie open to saluation, vntill thou haue laide away all pride and taken to thee perfect humblenes: then, that the same humblenes is not a certaine modestie whereby thou giuest ouer to the Lord a haire beaith of thine owne right, as they are called humble before men that do neither presumptuously aduance themselves, nor reprochfully triumph ouer other, although they stand vpon some estimation of their owne excellencie: but an vnfaigned submission of a minde throwen downe with feeling of his owne miserie and needinesse. For it is so eachwhere described in the word of God. When the Lord saith thus in *Zephantias*: I will take away out of thee him that outrageously reioyceth, and I will leaue in the mids of thee the afflicted man and the poore man, and they shall trust in the Lord: doth he not there plainly shew who be humble? euen they that lie afflicted with knowledge of their owne pouertie. On the other side he calleth the proude, outrageous reioycers, because men ioying in prosperitie are wont to reioyce without measure. But to the humble whom he purposeth to saue, hee leaueth nothing but to trust in the Lord. And likewise it is saide

In *Esaie*: Whom shall I looke vnto, but to the poore and contrite in spirite, and him that feareth my words? Again: The high and excellent, that inhabiteth eternity, his name is holy, that dwelleth on high, and in the holy place, and with the contrite and humble spirite, to quicken the spirit of the humble and the hart of the contrite. When thou fofte hearest the name of contrition, vnderstand thereby the wound of the hart, that suffereth not a man thrown down on the ground to rise againe. With such contrition ought thy hart to be wounded, if thou wilt according to the saying of GOD be aduanced with the humble: If that be not done, thou shalt be brought low with the mightie hand of God to thy shame and disgracement.

Esaie 66.1
Esaie 57.5

7 And our best Schoolemaster thinking it not enough to shew 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 bringeth foorth a Publicane that standing a farre off, not daring to lift vp his eyes to Heauen, with much knocking his breast, prayeth in this wise: Lord be merciful to me a sinner. Let vs not thinke these to be tokens of fained modestie, that he dare not looke vp to Heauen, nor to come neerer, that with knocking his breast he cōfesseth himselfe a sinner: but let vs know that they be testimonies of inward affliction. On the other side he setteth the Pharisee which thanketh God that he is not of the common sort of men, either an oppresser, or an vnrighteous man, or an adulterer, because he fasted twise on the Sabbath, and gaue tithes of all that he possessed. Hee doth with open confession acknowledge that the righteousness which he hath is the gift of God: but because he standeth in confidence that he is righteous, he departeth from God vnfauoured and in hatred. The Publicane by acknowledging of his owne wickednes is justified. Hereby we may see, how great is the estimation of our humbling vs before God: so that the hart cannot be open to receiue his mercy, vnlesse it be first voided of all opinion of his owne worthines. When thus opinion hath possessed the place, it shutteth vp the way for Gods mercy to enter. And that no man should doubt hereof, Christ was sent of his Father into the earth with this commission, to bring glad tidings to the poore, to heale the contrite in hart, to preach liberty to the captiue, and deliuerance to them that were shut vp in prison, and to comfort them that mourne: to giue them glory for ashes, oyle for mourning, the robe of praise for the spirite of sorrow. According to this commission, he calleth none but them that labor and are laden to take part of his liberaltie. And in another place he saith: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.

The Publicane a
paterne of true
humilitie.
Luk. 18. 3.

Esaie 61. 1.

Math. 11. 28.

Mat. 9. 13.

8 Therefore if we will giue place to the calling of Christ, let all arrogancie and carelesnes depart far away from vs. Arrogancie groweth of a foolish persuasion of our owne righteousness, when a man thinketh himselfe to haue somewhat, by the deservng whereof he may be commended before God, carelesnes may be euen without any persuasion of workes. For many sinners, because being dronke with sweetnes of vices they think not vpon the iudgement of God, lie as it were senselessly amazed with a disease of drouines, that they aspire not to the mercy offered them. But we must no lesse shake off such dull sluggishnes, than we must cast away all vaine confidence of our selues, that we may without encombrance hasten to Christ, that we being emptie and hungry may be filled with his good things. For we shall neuer sufficiently haue trust in him, vnles we vterly distrust of our selues, we shall neuer sufficiently raise vp our courages in him, vnlesse they be first throwne downe in our selues. We shall neuer sufficiently haue consolation in him, vnlesse we be first desolate in our selues. Therefore we be then meeete to take hold of and obtaine the fauour of God, casting away all trust of our selues, but trusting vpon the onely assurednesse of his goodnesse, when (as *Augustine* saith) forgetting our owne deseruinges, we embrace the gites of Christ. Because if he sought deseruinges in vs, we should not come to his gites. Wherewith *Bernard* very well accordeth, comparing proud men to vnfaithfull seruantes, that arrogantly claime any thing be it neuer so little to their own

Both pride and
carelesnes must
be avoided.

De verbis Apoli.
cap 8.
Ser. 15. in Can.

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deseruings: because they do wrongfully keepe to themselves the praise of grace passing by them, as if a wall would say that it bringeth forth the sunbeame which it receiveth through a window. But, not to varie longer hereupon, let vs take a short but a generall and sure rule, that he is prepared to take part of the fruits of Gods mercy, that hath vterly emptied himselfe, I will not say of righteousness, which is none at all, but of the vaine and windie image of righteousness. Because every man so much hindereth his receiuing of the liberalitie of God as he resteth in himselfe.

The xiiij. Chapter.

That there are two things to be marked in free iustification.

We cannot without robbing God of his glory challenge any thing to our selues.
Rom. 3. 15.

AND here are alway two things to be principally looked vnto: that is to say, that there may remaine to the Lord his glory vnminished, and as it were wholly and perfectly maintained, and to our consciences an vtroubled quietnes and calme tranquillitie before his iudgement. We see how oft and how earnestly the Scripture exhortheth vs, to giue onely to God a confession of praise, when we entreat of righteousness. And the Apostle testifieth, that this was the Lords principall purpose of giuing vs righteousness in Christ, that he might shew his owne righteousness. And what a shewing that should be, he declareth immediately after: that is, if he alone be knowne to be righteous, and that iustified him that is of the faith of Iesus Christ. Thou seeest that the righteousness of God is not sufficiently set out, vnlesse he alone be accounted righteous, & do communicate the grace of righteousness to them that deserue it not. By this meane he will haue every mouth to be stopped, and the whole world to be made subiect to him. For while man hath any thing to speake in his owne defence, so long there is somewhat taken away from the glorie of God. So in *Ezechiel* he teacheth how much we glorifie his name by reknowledging of our owne wickednes. You shall remember (saith he) the waies and all the wicked doings wherewith ye haue beene defiled. And ye shall be displeas'd with your selues in your owne sight, in all the euils that ye haue committed. And ye shall know that I am the Lorde, when I shall doe good to you for mine owne names sake, and not according to your most wicked offences. If these things 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 whereas we be vnworthy thereof: why then do wee to our great hurt attempt to steale away from the Lord any parcel be it neuer so small of the praise of his free goodnes? Likewise *Jeremie* whē he crieth out, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, or the rich man in his riches, or the strong man in his strength, but let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord: doth he not there declare that somewhat is diminished from Gods glory, if man glory in himselfe? To this purpose truly doth *Paul* apply those words, when he teacheth that all the parts of our saluation are reposed in Christ, that wee should not glorie but in the Lord. For his meaning is that he riseth vp against God and darkeneth his glory, whosoever thinketh that he hath any thing be it neuer so little of his owne.

Ezec. 10. 42.

Ierc. 9. 3.

1. Cor. 1. 30.

What is it not to glory in our selues.
Rom. 2. 29.
Esay 45. 25.

2 This is the truth, we neuer truly glory in him, vnlesse we be vterly put from our owne glory. On the other side, this is to be holden for a catholike principle, that al they glory against God that glory in themselves. For *Paul* iudgeth that only by this meane the world is made subiect to God, when all matter to glory vpon is vterly taken from men. Therefore *Esay*, when he declareth that Israell shall haue their iustification in God, saith also that they shall there also haue their praise: as though he should say, that the Lord to this ende iustificeth the elect that they should glorie in him and in nothing else. But how we ought to be praised in the Lord, he had taught in the verse next before: that is, that wee should sweare that our righteousnesses and strength are in the Lord. Note that there is not required a bare confession, but confirmed

confirmed with an oath, that a man should not thinke that hee shall bee discharged with I wor not what fained humilitie. And let no man heere alleage for excuse that he doth nor glory when without arrogancie he reknowledgeth his own righteousnes: for there can be no such estimation but it engendreth confidence, nor confidence but it breedeth glorie. Therefore let vs remember that in all the disposition of righteousness we must haue regard to this end, that the praise thereof remaine with the Lorde whole and perfect. Forasmuch as for declaration of his righteousness (as the Apostle testifieth) he hath powred out his grace vpon vs, that he might be iust and iustifying him that is of the faith of Christ. Wherefore in another place, when hee had taught that the Lord gaue vs saluation, to set out the glorie of his name, afterward as it were repeating the same thing he addeth: ye are saued by grace, and by the gift of God, not by workes, that none should glory. And when Peter telleth that we are called vnto hope of saluation that we should declare the powers of him that hath called vs out of darknes into his maruellous light, without doubt his meaning is so to make the onely praises of God to sound in the eares of the faithfull, that they should with deepe silence oppresse all arrogancie of the flesh. In a sum, man cannot without robberte of God challenge to himselfe any one crum of righteousness: because euen so much is plucked and taken away from the glorie of Gods righteousness.

Rom. 3. 26.
Eph. 1. 2.
Eph. 1. 8.

3 Now if we aske by what meane the conscience may be quieted before God, we shall finde no other meane but if free righteousness be giuen vs by the gift of God: Let vs alway thinke vpon this saying of Salomon, Who shall say, I haue clenfed my hart, I am made cleane from my sinne? Truly there is no man that shall not be overwhelmed with infinite filthines. Therefore let euen the perfectest man descend into his owne conscience, and call his doings to account: what end shall he haue? Shall he sweetely rest as though all things were in good order betwene him and God? and shal he not rather be vexed with terrible torments, when he shal feele matter of damnation abiding in himselfe if he be iudged according to his workes? The conscience if it looke vpon God, must of necessitie either haue assured peace with his iudgment, or be besieged with the terrors of hel. Therefore we profite nothing in disputing of righteousness vnlesse we stablish such a righteousness, with the stedfastnesse whereof our soule may be staied in the iudgement of God. When our soule shall haue whereby it may both without feare appeere before the face of God, and receiue his iudgement, vnshaken, then and not till then let vs know that we haue founde an vnfaied righteousness. Therefore not without cause the Apostle standeth so much vpon this point, with whose words I had rather expresse it than with mine owne. If (saith he) the promise of inheritance be of the law, faith is made voide, the promise is made abolished. He first inferreth that faith is disanulled and made voide if the promise of righteousness haue respect to the desertings 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 man might assuredly determine with himselfe that hee had satisfied the law, as indeed neuer any man doth by workes fullie satisfie it. Whereof, that we shoulde not neede to seeke farre for testimonies to prooue it, euerie man may be a witnesse to himselfe that will with a right eie behold himselfe. And heereby appeereth, in howe deepe and darke corners hypocrisie buried the mindes of men, while they so carelesly beare with themselves, that they sticke not to set their owne flatteries against the iudgement of God, as though they would binde to a staie his iudiciall proceeding. But the faithfull that doe sincerely examine themselves, are greued and tormented with a farre other manner of carefullnesse. Therefore there should so enter into all mindes a doubting, and at length a very despaire where each man for himselfe shoulde make account, with how great a burden of debt he is still ouerpressed, & how far he is from the condition wherewith he is charged. Lo, how faith is by this mean already expressed & extinguished. For to wauer, to

*The opinion of
righteousnesse by
our owne workes
troub'eth the con-
science and beua-
ueth vs of al van-
quish' of minde.*
P. 10. 20. 9.

Rom 4. 14.

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varie, to be caried vp and downe, to stick fast in doubting, to be holden in suspense, to stagger, and at length to despaire, is not to trust: but to strengthen thy minde with constant certainty and perfect assurednes, and to haue whereupon to rest and fasten thy foote.

4 He adioyneth also an other thing, that is, that the promise shall thereby be made of no effect and void. For if the fulfilling thereof do hang vpon our deseruing, when shall we come thus far as to deserue the bountifullnes of God? Also this second point hangeth vpon the former: For the promise shall not be fulfilled but to them that beleue it. Therefore if faith be fallen, there shall remaine no force of the promise. Therefore the inheritance is of faith, that it may be according to grace, to stablish the promise. For it is abundantly well stablished when it resteth vpon the onlie mercie of God: because his mercie and truth are with a perpetuall knot ioyned together, that is to say, whatsoeuer God mercifully promiseth, he also faithfully performeth. So *Dauid* before that he required saluation by the word of God first determineth the cause thereof to be in his mercy. 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 owne meere mercie. Therefore we must herein stay, and deeply fasten all our hope and not to looke to our owne workes, to seeke any help of them. And that you should not thinke that I herein speake any new thing: *Augustine* doth also teach that we ought so to do. Christ (saith he) shall reigne for euer in his seruants, God hath promised it, God hath said it, and if that be not enough, God hath sworne it. Therefore forasmuch as the promise is stablished, not according to our deseruings, but according to his mercy, no man ought to speake fearefully of that of which he cannot doubt. *Bernard* also saith: The disciples of Christ say, Who can be saued? But he answered, this is impossible with men, but it is not impossible with God. This is all our confidence, this is our onlie comfort, this is the whole ground of our hope, but being assured of the possibilitie, what say we of his will? Who knoweth whether he be worthy of loue or hatred? Who hath knowen the Lords meaning? Or who hath bene his counsellor? Here now faith must of necessitie help vs, here must his trueth succour vs, that that which is hidden from vs in the heart of the father, may be receiued by the Spirit, and his Spirit testifying it may perswade our hearts that we are the sonnes of God. And it may perswade vs by calling and iustifying vs freely by faith, in which things there is as it were a certaine meane passage from the eternall predestination to the glorie that is to come. Briefely let vs thus conclude. The Scripture declareth that the promises of God are not stablished, vnlesse they be taken hold of with assured affiance of conscience: and wheresoeuer there is any doubting or vncertaintie, it pronounceth that they be void. Again it pronounceth that they do nothing but stagger and wauer, if they rest vpon our owne workes. Therefore we must needs either loose righteousnesse, or we must not consider our owne workes, but onely faith must take place, whose nature is this, to lift vp her eares and shut her eyes, that is to say, to be heedefully bent to the promise only, and to turne away her thought from all mans worthinesse or deseruing. So is that notable prophetic of *Zacharie* fulfilled, that when the wickednes of the land shall be done away, a man shall call his friend vnder his vine and vnder his figge tree, where the Prophet declareth that the faithful do no other wise enioy true peace but after obtaining of the forgiuenes of sinnes. For this caualation is to be remembered in the Prophets, that when they speake of the kingdome of Christ, they set out the outward blessings of God as figures of the spirituall things. Whereupon Christ is called both the king of peace and our peace, because he appeaseth all the troublesome motions of conscience. If we seeke by what meane he doth it, we must needs come to the sacrifice by which God is appeased. For he shall neuer cease to tremble for feare that shall not determine that God is appeased by

To rest vpon the
worthinesse of our
owne workes, is to
make the promises
of God vneffectu-
all.

Psal. 119. 76.

In Psal. 88.
tractatu priore.

In dedicat.
templi. ser. 5.

Ecl. 9. 1.
1. Cor. 2. 16.

nature of faith.

Zach. 3. 9.

Esa. 9. 6.
Ech. 2. 14.
Vpon these two
promises that we
ought to ascribe
all glorie vnto

the onely satisfactory cleansing wherein Christ hath sustained his wrath. Finally peace is no where els to be sought for but in the terrors of Christ our redeemer.

5 But why do I yse so darke a testimonie? *Paul* euery 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 whence that assurednesse commeth, namely when the loue of God is powred into our hearts by the holie Ghost: as if he had said, that our consciences cannot other wise be quieted, vnlesse we be certainly persuaded that we please God. Whereupon also in another place he setteth out in the person of all the godlie, Who shall seuer vs from the loue of God, which is in Christ: because we shall tremble euen at euerie little breath, till we be arriued into the ha- uen: but we shall be without care euen in the darkenesse of death, so long as the Lord shall shew himselfe a pastor to vs. Therefore whosoever prate that we are iustified by faith, because being regenerate we are iust by liuing spiritually: they neuer tasted the sweetnesse of grace, to consider that God will be mercifull vnto them. Where- upon also followeth, that they do no more know the manner of praying rightly, than Turks and whatsoeuer other prophane Nations. For (as *Paul* witnesseth) it is no true faith vnlesse it teach and put vs in mind of that most sweet name of Father, yea vnlesse it open our mouth freely to cry out *Abba* father. Which in another place he more plainly expresseth, where he saith that in Christ we haue boldnes and entrie in confi- dence by the faith of him. Truly this commeth not to passe by the gift of regenera- tion: which as it is alway vnperfect in the flesh, so it containeth in it selfe manifold matter of doubting. Wherefore we must of necessitie come to this remedie, that the faithful should determine that they may by no other right, hope for the inheritance of the heauenly kingdome, but because being grafted into the body of Christ, they are freely accounted righteous. For as touching iustification, faith is a thing meere- ly passiue, bringing nothing of our owne to the recouering of the fauour of God, but receiuing of Christ that which we want.

God, and seeks the assurance of our owne harts, which we cannot do as long as we seek righteousness in our owne works, it followeth that to be iustified by faith, is not as some imagine to be iust by liuing according to that spirit which the faithfull haue receiued.

Rom. 5. 1.

Rom. 5.

Psal. 23. 4.

Gala. 4. 6.

faith meere- ly

The xiiij. Chapter.

What is the beginning of iustification, and the continuall proceedings thereof.

THat the matter may be made more plaine, let vs search, what may be the righteousnes of man in the whole course of his life: and let vs make foure degrees thereof. For men either being endued with no knowledge of God, are drowned in idolatrie: or being entred into profession by sacraments, denying God with vnclane- nesse of life, whome they confesse with mouth, they are Chrites no futher than in name: or they be hypocrites, which couer the wickednesse of their hearts, with vaine deceitfull colours: or being regenerate by the spirit of God, they endeouor them- selues to true holinesse. Specially when they are to be iudged by their naturall gifts, from the crowne of their head to the sole of their foote; there shall not be found one spark of goodnes, vnlesse peraduenture we will accuse the Scripture of falshood, when it setteth out all the sons of *Adam* with these titles that they be offroward and stubborne heart, that all the imagination of their heart is euill from their infancie, that their thoughts be vaine, that they haue not the feare of God before their eies, that none of them vnderstandeth or seeketh God, briefly that they be flesh, by which word are vnderstanded all those workes which *Paul* reiearseth, fornication, vn- cleanenesse, vnchastitie, riotousnesse, worshipping of idoles, witchcrafts, enimities, contentions, emulations, angers, dissensions, sectes, enuies, manslaughters, & whatsoe- uer filthinesse and abomination may be deuised. This forsooth is the worthines, with confidence whereof they must be proud. But if any among them excell with such honestie of manners as may haue some shew of holinesse among men: yet because we

Fourte sorts of men whose workes are in this question to be considered: the first such as are not as all in- dued with any true knowledge of God.

Iere. 17. 9.

Gen. 8. 21.

Psal. 84. 11.

& 14. 2.

Gen. 6. 3.

Gala. 5. 19.

know

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knowe that God regardeth not the outward glistering, we must search the very fountaine of works if we will haue them to auaille any thing to righteousnesse. We must (I say) throughly looke into them, from what affection of hart these works proceede. But although here lieth open a most large felde to discourse in, yet because the matter may be declared in very few wordes, I will follow as much as I may a brieuenesse in teaching.

The vertues of vnbeleuers, God both worketh and rewardeth.

2 First I denie not that whatsoeuer excellent giftes appeere in the vnbeleuers, they are the giftes of God. Neither doe I so differ from common iudgement, that I would affirme that there is no difference betweene the iustice, temperance and equitie of *Titus* and *Traianus*, and the rage, intemperance, and crueltie of *Caligula*, or *Nero*, or *Domitian*: betweene the filthy lustes of *Tiberius*, and in this behalfe the continencie of *Vespasian*: and (that we may not tarric vpon some speciall vertues or vices) betweene the obseruing and the despising of right and lawes. For there is so great difference of right and wrong, that it appeereth euen in the dead image thereof. For what thing shall there remaine well ordered in the world, if we confound these together? Therefore such a difference betweene honest and vnhonest doings, the Lorde hath not onely engrauen in the mindes of all 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 that among men doe follow vertue. Not because that outward image of vertue deserueth so much as the least benefit of his: but so it please th him to declare by prooffe how much true righteousnesse please th him, when he suffereth euen outward and fained righteousnesse not to be without rewarde. Whereupon followeth that which we euen now confessed, that these vertues such as they be, or rather images of vertues are the giftes of God, for as much as there is nothing in any wise praise woorthie, which proceedeth not from him.

There is a punishable wickednes in the greatest righteousnesse of vnbeleuers.

Lib. 4. cont. Iulianum.

3 But neuertheless it is true which *Augustine* writeth, that all they that are strangers from the true religion of the one God, howsoeuer they be accounted woorthie of admiration for opinion of vertue, are not onely woorthie of no rewarde, but rather are woorthie of punishment, because they doe with desiling of their hart, bespot the pure good things of God. For though they be the instruments of God to preferue the fellowship of men with iustice, continencie, temperance of minde, valiantnesse, and wisdom: yet they doe very euilly execute these good works of God: because they are restrained from euill doing, not by syncre loue of goodnesse, but either by onely ambition, or by loue of themselues, or by some other crooked affection. Whereas therefore they are corrupt by the very vncleannesse of hart, as by their begining, they are no more to be reckoned among vertues, than those vices which are wont to deceiue by reason of neerenesse and likenesse of vertue. Finally when wee remember; that the end of that which is right, euer is that God be serued: whatsoeuer tendeth to any other end, forthwith woorthily looseth the name of right. Because therefore they haue not respect to the marke which the wisdom of God appointeth: although the thing that they doe, seeme good in doing, yet by a wrongfull end it is sinne. He concludeth therefore that all the *Fabricij*, *Scipioes*, and *Caesars*, in all those excellent actes of theirs: yet sinned in this behalfe, that whereas they lacked the light of faith, they did not apply them to the end to which they ought to haue applied them: and that for that cause true righteousnesse was not in them: for as much as duties are not weighed by the doings, but by the endes.

Whatsoeuer is done by men vnreconciled vnto God it is ill done. 1. Ioan. 5. 12. Lib. ad Boni. in cap. 5.

4 Morcouer 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 manner of men soeuer they be, whatsoeuer they doe or go about, yet they run forward with their whole course into destruction and the iudgement of eternall death. After this reason, is that said of *Augustine*. Our religion discerneth the righteous from the vnrighteous, not by lawe of works: but by the very lawe of faith, without which, those that seeme good works are turned

into

into finnes. Wherefore the same *Augustine* saith verie well in another place, when he compareth the endeouour of such men to running out of the way. For how much faster a man runneth out of the way, so much further he is from the marke, and therefore is made so much more miserable. Wherefore he affirmeth that it is better to halt in the way, than to runne out of the way. Finally, it is certaine that they are euil trees, forasmuch as without the communication of Christ there is no sanctification. They may therefore beare faire fruits and beautifull to the eye, yea and sweete in taste, but in no wise good fruites. Hereby we easily perceiue that whatsoeuer man thinketh, purposeth, or doth, before that he be reconciled to God by faith, is accursed, and not only of no value to righteousness, but of certaine deferring to damnation. And why dispute we hereof as of a doubtfull thing, sith it is alreadye proued by the witness of the Apostle, that it is impossible that any mā may please God without faith? Præf. in Psal.

5 But there shall yet appeare a plainer prooffe, if the grace of God be in comparison, directly set against the naturall state of man. For the Scripture crieth out every where, that God findeth nothing in man whereby he may be prouoked to do good to him, but with his owne free goodnes preuenteth him. For what can a dead man do to attaine life? But when he lighteth vs with the knowledge of himselfe, he is said to raise vs from death, and to make vs a new creature. For we see that oftentimes, specially of the Apostle, the goodnesse of God is set fourth vnto vs by this title, God (saith he) which is rich in mercy, for the great loue wherewith he loued vs, euen when we were dead by finnes, hath made vs aloue together in Christ, &c. In Heb. 11. 6.

another place, where vnder the figure of *Abraham* he entreateth of the generall calling of the faithfull, he saith: it is God that giueth life to the dead, and calleth those things that are not, as though they were. If we be nothing, what (I beseech you) can we do? There is in vs no more power to do good, till God vs mercie haue renewed vs, than there is in a dead bodie to exercise any action of life. Iohn. 5. 25. Eph. 2. 4.

Wherefore the Lord strongly beatech downe this arrogance, in the historie of *Iob*, in these words: who preuenteth me, and I shall render it him? for all things are mine. Which sentence *Paul* expounding applyeth it to this, that we should not think that we bring any thing to the Lord but meere shame of needinesse and emptinesse. Iob. 42.

Wherefore in the place aboue cited, to proue that we are come into the hope of saluation by his grace alone, not by works, he alleageth that we are his creatures because we are new begotten in Christ Iesus, to the good works which he hath prepared that we should walke in them. As if he had said: which of vs may boast that he hath with his righteousness prouoked God, sith our first power to do good proceedeth out of regeneration? For as we are made by nature, oyle shall sooner be wroong out of a stone, than a good worke out of vs. Truly it is wonderfull if man being condemned of so great a shame, dare yet say that there remaineth any thing with him. Rom. 11. 35. Iob. 41. 1. Rom. 10. 35.

Therefore let vs confesse with this noble instrument of God, that we are called of God with a holy calling, not according to our workes, but according to his purpose and grace: and that the kindnes & loue of God our saviour toward vs hath appeared, because he hath saued vs, not by the works of righteousness which we haue done, but according to his owne mercie: that being iustified by his grace, we might be made the heires of eternall life. Eph. 2. 10.

By this confession we dispoile man of all righteousness eue to the least little peece thereof, til he be by only mercie regenerate into hope of eternall life: forasmuch as if the righteousness of works do bring any thing toward the iustifying of vs, it is falsly said that we are iustified by grace. Truly the Apostle had not forgotten himselfe, when he affirmed iustification to be of free gift, which in another place reasoneth that grace is now not grace, if works do any thing auail. And what other thing doth the Lord meane, when he saith, that he came not to call righteous mā but sinners: If only sinners are receiued, why seeke we an entrie by fained righteousness? 1. Tim. 1. 9.

6 Still this same thought hath now and then recourse to my mind, that it is perill least I should do wrong to the mercies of God, which do so carefully trauaile in procuring of this thing as though it were doubtfull or darke. But because our enuiousnes is Tit. 3. 4.

such, Rom. 11. 6. Math. 9. 13.

God vnought vnto by vs seeketh as of meere loue, and doth not onke

such,

such,

such,

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propose a redemption which we by our owne workes may obtaine in Christ, but by of. s. 2. v. 1. calling us into Christ by whose blood being so ingrafted we are redeemed.
Esaï 56. 15.
Osec. 2. 19.

Rom. 5. 6.
Colof. 1. 2.

1. Iohn. 4. 10.

Osec. 14. 15.

1. Cor. 6. 11.

1. Pet. 1. 2.

The second and third sortes of men mentioned Sect. 1. hauing not Faith, can not haue righteousness such as doth sanctifie them and cede.

such; as vnlesse it be most straitly thrust out of place, it neuer yeeldeth to God that which is his, I am compelled to tarry somewhat the longer vpon it. Yet forasmuch as the Scripture is cleere enough in this matter, I will in fighting rather vse the wordes thereof than mine owne. *Esaï*, when he hath described the vniuersall destruction of mankind, doth immediately after very fitly adioine the order of restoring. The Lord hath seene, and it seemed euill in his eyes. And he saw that there is no man: and he marueiled that there is none that offereth himselfe: and he hath set saluation in his owne arme, and hath strengthened himselfe with his owne righteousness. Where are our righteousnesses if it be true which the Prophet saith: that there is no man that helpeth the Lord in recouering his saluation? So an other Prophet, where he bringeth in the Lord, discouering of the reconciling of sinners to himselfe, saith: I will espouse thee to me for euer, in righteousness, iudgement, grace and mercy. I will say to her that hath not obtained mercy, thou hast obtained mercie. If such covenant, which it is certaine to be the first conioyning that we haue with God, standeth vpon the mercy of God, there is left no foundation of our own righteousness. And I would faine learne of those men which faine that man meeteth God with some righteousness of workes, whether they thinke that there is any righteousness at all, but that which is acceptable to God. If it be madnes to thinke so, what acceptable thing to God can proceede from his enemies, whom he wholly abhorreth with all their doings? That all we, I say, are the deadly and professed enemies of our God, the truth it selfe testifieth, till being iustified, we are receiued into friendship. If iustification be the beginning of loue, what righteousness of workes shall goe before it? So *Iohn*, to turne away that pestilent arrogancie, doth diligently put in minde how we did not first loue him. And the selfe same thing the Lord had long before taught by his Prophet: I will loue them saith he, with a free loue, because mine anger is turned. Certainly his loue is not prouoked by workes if it hath of his owne accord inclined it selfe vnto vs. But the rude comon sort of men thinke it to be nothing else, but that no man hath deserued that Christ should performe our redemption: yet that to the entring into the possession of redemption, we be holpen by our own workes. Yea, but howsoeuer we be redeemed of Christ, yet till we be by the calling of the Father grafted into the communion of him, we are both heires of darkenes and death, and the enemies of God. For *Paul* teacheth that we are not cleansed and washed from our vncleannes by the blood of Christ, vntill the holy Ghost worketh that cleansing in vs. Which same thing *Peter* minding to teach, declareth that the sanctifying of the Spirit auaieth vnto obedience and the sprinkling of the blood of Christ. If we be by the Spirit sprinkled with the blood of Christ vnto cleansing, let vs not thinke that before such watering we be any other than a sinner is without Christ. Let this therefore remaine certaine, that the beginning of our saluation is as it were a certaine resurrection from death to life: Because when for Christes sake it is giuen to vs to beleue in him, then we first begin to passe from death into life.

7 Vnder this sort are comprehended they which haue in the diuision about set bene noted for the second and third sort of men. For the vncleannes of conscience proueth that both of them are not yet regenerate by the Spirit of God. And againe, whereas there is no regeneration in them, thus proueth the want of Faith. Whereby appeareth that they are not yet reconciled to God, nor yet iustified in his sight: forasmuch as these good things are not attained to, but by Faith. What can sinners being estranged from God bring soorth, but that which is accursed in his iudgement? With this foolish boldenes in deed, both all wicked men are puffed vp, and specially hypocrites, because howsoeuer they know that their whole hart swarmeth full of filthinesse, yet if they doe any workes that haue a shew of goodnes, they thinke them worthy that God should not despise them. Hereof groweth that pernicious error, that being proued guilty of a wicked & mischieuous mind, yet they cannot

be driuen to confesse themselves voide of righteousnes: but euen when they acknowledge themselves vnrighteous, because they cannot denie it, yet they arrogantly claime some righteousness vnto them. This vanitie the Lord excellently well confuteth by the Prophet, Aske (saith he) the priestes, saying: if a man carrie sanctified flesh in the hem of his garment, and putteth it to bread or other meate, shall it be sanctified? The priestes answered: No. And *Hagee* said, If a defiled man in soule touch any of such these things, shall it be defiled? The priestes answered: it shall be defiled. *Hagee* said: So is this people before my face, saith the Lord: and so all the works of their hands: and all things that they offer to me shall be defiled. I would to God that this saying might either get full credit with vs, or well be setled in our remembrance. For there is no man, though he be otherwise in his whole life neuer so hainous a wicked doer, that can abide to be perswaded, that which the Lord here plainly pronounceth. The naughtiest man, so soone as he hath performed one or two doubtful deedes of the law, doubteth not that it shall be accounted to him for righteousness. But the Lord crieth to the contrarie, that there is no sanctification gotten thereby, vnlesse the hart be first well clesed. And not contented therewith, he affirmeth that al the works whatsoever they be that proceed from sinners, are as defiled with vncleanness of the hart. Therefore let the name of righteousness depart from these works which are by the Lords owne mouth condemned of filthinesse. And with how fit a similitude doth he shew the same? For it might haue been obiected, that whatsoever the Lorde had commanded, was inuolably holy. But he on the contrarie side setteth against them, that it is no maruell, if those things that are hallowed by the law of the Lord, are defiled with the filthinesse of naughtie men: whereas an vncleane hand prophaneth a holy thing with touching it.

8 The same matter he excellently well handleth in *Esay*, Offer not (saith he) sacrifice in vaine: incense is abomination to me: my soule hateth your Calends & solemnities. They are become tedious to mee, and I haue bene wearie with bearing them: when you shall hold vp your hands I wil turne away mine eyes from you: when you shall inuoluntarily praie I wil not heare: for your hands are full of blood. Be washed, be cleane, take away the cuill of your thoughts. What meaneth this that the Lord so loatheth the obeying of his own law? Yea, but he here refuseth nothing that is of the natural obseruing of the law, the beginning whereof hee euery where teacheth to be the vnfained feare of his name. When that is taken away, whatsoever things are offered him are not onely trifles, but stinking and abhominable filthines. Now let the hypocrites go, and keeping peruerfnes wrapped vp in their hart, endeavour to deserue the fauour of God with works. But by this meane, they shall more and more prouoke him to wrath. For to him the sacrifices of the wicked are abominable, and the onlie prayer of vpright men pleaseth him. Therefore wee holde that out of doubt, which ought to be most commonly known to him, that is euen but meanly exercised in the Scriptures, that euen those works that glister most gloriously in men not yet truely sanctified, are so farre from righteousness in the sight of the Lord, that they be judged sins. And therefore they haue said most truly that haue taught that fauour with God is not procured to any person by works: but contrariwise that works do then please, & neuer till then, when the person hath first found grace in the sight of God. And this order is religiously to be kept, to which the scripture leadeth vs by the hande. *Moses* writeth that the Lord had respect to *Abel* & to his works. See you not how he declareth that God is fauourable to the men, before that hee hath respect to their workes? Wherefore the cleansing of the hart must go before, that the works which come from vs, may be lovingly receiued of God. because this saying of *Ieremie* is alway in force, that the workes of God haue respect vnto truth. And that it is onely faith by which the harts of men are clesed, the holy Ghost hath affirmed by the mouth of *Peter*: where by it is certaine, that the first foundation is in true and luely faith.

The hates of hypocrites being not purged, their workes in appearance faire, cannot in the sight of God lovingly be accepted.
Esa. 1. 13.

Prou. 15. 8.

Aug. lib. de peccis & Circ.

Gen. 4. 4.

Act. 15. 6. Iere. 5. 3.

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*From the fourth
sort of men, such as
be truly iustified
through Christ,
there procedeth
no one good worke
in all pomes hole
and perfect.*

9 Now let vs looke what righteousnesse they haue, whom wee haue set in the fourth degree. We grant that when God by the meane of the righteousnes of Christ, re concileth vs to himselfe, and giuing vs free forgiuenes of sinnes, accounteth vs for righteous, with such mercy is also cōioined that his beneficial doing, that by his holy spirite he dwelleth in vs, by the power whereof the lustes of our flesh are daile more and more mortified, but we are sanctified: that is to say, hallowed to the Lorde vnto true pures of life, when our harts are framed to the obedience of the law: that this may be our chiefe will, to serue his will, and by all means to aduance onely his glorie. But euen while by the guiding of the holy Ghost wee walke in the waies of the Lorde, least we yet forgetting our selues shoulde waxe proud, there are left certaine remnants of imperfection, which may minister vs matter of humilitie. There is none righteous, (saith the Scripture) that doth good and sinneth not. What maner of righteousnes therefore will they yet get by their workes? First, I say, that the best worke that can be brought forth of them, is yet alway sprinkled and corrupted with some vncleannes of the flesh, and hath as it were some dregs mingled with it. I say, let a holy seruant of God choose out of all his life the most excellent thing that hee shall thinke that he hath done in the whole course thereof, and let him well consider all the parts of it, without doubt hee shall finde somewhere somewhat fauouring of the rottennes of the flesh, forasmuch as to doing well our cheerefull quickenesse is neuer such as it ought to be, but in slackning our course our weakenes is much. Although we see that there are euident foule blots wherewith the workes of the holy are bespred, yet graunt that they be nothing but most little spots: shall they nothing offende the eyes of God, before whom euen the stars are not cleane? Thus haue we shewed that there commeth not so much as one good worke out of holy men, which if it be iudged in it selfe, deserueth not iust reward of shame.

1. Reg 8. 6.

*If wee could doe
anything perfectly
good, yet the euil
which wee doe,
would make it vn-
available vnto
righteousnes, God
iudging vs accor-
ding to the rigour
of the law which
doth not require
onely some thing
righteous, but for-
biddeth euerie vn-
righteous thing
vnder paine of
death and con-
demnation.
Ezcc. 18. 24.
Iac. 2. 10.*

10 Secondly I say, that if it were possible that we should haue some throughlie pure and perfect workes, yet one sinne is enough to blot out and quench all the remembrance of the former righteousnes, as the Prophet saith, With whom also James agreeth: He that offendeth (saith he) in one, is made guiltie of all. Now sith this mortall life is neuer pure or void from sin, whatsoeuer righteousnes we should purchase, being from time to time with sinnes following corrupted, oppressed and lost, it shoulde not come into the sight of God, nor be accounted to vs for righteousnes. Finally when the righteousnes of workes is entreated of, we must not haue respect to the workes of the law, but to the commandement. Therefore if we seeke righteousnes by the lawe, we shall in vaine bring forth one or two workes: but a perpetuall obedience of the law is there necessary. Wherefore the Lord doth not but once (as many foolishly thinke) impute to vs for righteousnes that same forgiuenes of sins whereof we haue spoken, that hauing once obtained pardon of our life past, we should afterward seeke righteousnes in the law, because he should so do nothing els but bring vs into a false hope, & mocke and laugh vs to scorne. For sith no perfection could come to vs so long as we are clothed with this flesh, and sith the lawe threateneth death and iudgement to all them that performe not full righteousnes in work: it shall alway haue whereof it may accuse and condemne vs, vnlesse the mercie of God on the other side did withstande it, to acquite vs from time to time with continuall forgiuenes of sins. Wherefore this standeth alway certaine which we said at the beginning, that if we be weighed by our owne woorthines, whatsoeuer we purpose or go about, yet we with all our trauailes and endeours are woorthie of death and destruction.

11 Vpon these two points we must strongly stand fast: that there was neuer any work of a godlic man, which if it were examined by the seuerer iudgment of God, was not damnable. Againe, if there be any such shewed, (which is not possible for man) yet being corrupted and defiled with the sins, wherewith it is certaine that the doer of it is loden, it loofeth the grace. And this is the chiefe point of our disputation.

For

For about the beginning of iustification there is no strife betweene vs and the soun-
 der sort of Schoolemen, but that a sinner being freely deliuered from damnation ob-
 tameth righteoufnesse, and that by the forgiuenesse of sinnes: sauing that they vnder
 the word of iustification comprehend the renewing wherewith we are newly formed Rom. 4. 13.
 by the spirite of God vnto the obedience of the lawe, and they thus describe the righ-
 teoufnesse of a man regenerate, that man being once reconciled to God by the faith
 of Christ, is by good works iudged righteous before God, and by their deseruing is
 accepted. But the Lord contrariwise pronounceth that he imputed to *Abraham* faith Heb. 2. 4.
 for righteoufnes, not at the time when he yet serued idols, but when he had alreadie
 many yeeres excelled in holinesse of life. Therefore *Abraham* had long worshipped
 God from a pure hart, and had performed the obedience of the lawe which may be
 performed of a mortall man, yet he hath righteoufnesse reposed in faith. Whereupon
 we gather, according to the argument of *Paul*, that it was not of workes. Likewise Rom. 4. 7.
 when it is saide in the Prophet: The righteous man shall liue by faith, it is not spo-
 ken of wicked and prophane men, whom the Lord iustificeth by conuerting them to
 the faith, but the speech is directed to the faithfull, and to them is promised life by
 faith. *Paul* also taketh away all doubt, when for confirming of that sentence, he ta-
 keth this verse of *Dauid*: Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiuen. But it is cer-
 taine, that *Dauid* speaketh not of the wicked, but of the faithfull, such as himselfe was:
 because he spake out of the feeling of his owne conscienc. Therefore this blessednes
 we must not haue once in our life, but hold it throughout al our life. Last of al he testi-
 fieth that the embassage concerning the free reconciliation with God is not published 2. Cor. 5. 18.
 for one or two daies, but is perpetuall in the Church. Therefore the faithfull haue
 euen to the end of their life no other righteoufnes than that which is there set foorth.
 For Christ euerlastingly remaineth the Mediatour to reconcile the father to vs, and
 the effectualnesse of his death is euerlasting: namely washing, satisfaction, expiation,
 finally perfect obedience, wherewithal our iniquities are couered. Neither doth *Paul*
 to the Ephesians say, that we haue the beginning of saluation out of grace, but that we
 are saued by grace, not of workes, that no man should glorie.

12 The starting holes which the Schoolemen doe here seeke to escape by, doe
 not deliuer them. They say that good workes are not by inward worthinesse in them-
 selues of so great value, that they be sufficient to purchase righteoufnes, but this, that
 they be of so great value, is of grace accepting them. Then, because they be diuinen
 to confesse that the righteoufnesse of workes is in this life alway vnperfect, they grant
 that we, so long as we liue, doe neede forgiuenesse of sinnes, whereby the want of
 workes may be supplied: but that the defaults which are committed, are recompensed
 with workes of supererogation. For I answer, that the accepting grace as they call it,
 is none other than is free goodnesse wherewith the father embraceth vs in Christ,
 when he clother vs with the innocencie of Christ, and accounteth the same ours,
 that by the beneficiall meane therof he may take vs for holy, pure, and innocent. For,
 the righteoufnesse of Christ (which as it onely is perfect, so onely can abide the sight
 of God) must be set in our steede, and be presented at the barre as a surtie. Herewith
 we being furnished, doe obtaine continuall forgiuenesse of sinnes in faith. With the
 purgess hereof our filthinesse and vncleannesse of imperfections being couered
 are not imputed: but are hidden, as if they were buried, that they may not come into
 the iudgement of God, vntill the hower come, when the olde man being flaine and
 vterly destroyed in vs, the goodnes of God shal receiue vs into blessed peace with the
 new *Adam*, where let vs looke for the day of the Lord in which in receiving vnor-
 rupt bodies. we shall be remooued into the glorie of the heauenly kingdome.

*The shiftes of
 schoolemen in
 maintaining the
 righteoufnesse of
 good workes.*

*The imperfection
 of our workes is not
 either by want of
 supererogation or
 satisfaction sup-
 plied.*

13 If these things be true, verily no workes of ours can of themselves make vs
 acceptable and pleasing to God: neither can the workes themselves please, but in
 respect that man being couered with the righteoufnesse of Christ, pleaseth God, and
 obtaineth

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obtaineth forgiveness of his finnes. For God hath not promised the reward of eternall life to some certaine workes, but onely pronounceth that he which doth these things shall liue: setting the notable curse against all them that continue not in all things. Whereby the deuiſe of righteousnesse in part is largely confuted, ſith no other righteousnesse is admitted into heauen, but a whole obseruing of the lawe. And no whit sounder is that which they are wont to babble of supplying of recompence by works of Supererogation. For why? Do they not still returne to the same place from whence they are already shut out: that he which keepeth the law in part, is by works so farre righteous? That which no man of sound iudgement will graunt them, they doe too shamelesly take for confessed. So oft the Lord testifieth that he acknowledgeth no righteousnesse of workes, but in the perfect obseruing of his lawe. What obstinacie is it, that we when we are destitute of that obseruing, least we should seeme spoyled of all glorie, that is, to haue altogether giuen place to God, doe boast our selues of I work not what small peeces of a few workes, and go about by satisfactions to redeeme that which wanteth. Satisfactions haue already before been sufficiently ouerthrowen, that we ought not now so much as to dreame of them. Onely this I say, that they which so play the fooles, doe not wey how detestable a thing sinne is before God: for truly they should vnderstand that the whole righteousnes of men being laid vpon a heape, is not sufficient to make recompence for one sinne. For we see that man was by one offence so cast away and abandoned of God, that hee therewithall lost all meane to recouer saluation. Therefore the power of satisfaction is taken away, wherewith they flatter themselves, but surely shall neuer satisfie God, to whom nothing is pleasant or acceptable that proceedeth from his enemies. And his enemies are all they to whom he purposeth to impute finnes. Therefore our finnes must be couered and forgiven, before that the Lord haue respect to any worke of ours. Whercupon followeth that the forgiveness of finnes is of free grace which they doe wickedly blasphemate that trust in any satisfactions. Let vs therefore, after the example of the Apostle, forgetting those things that are behinde vs, and hastning forward to those things that are before vs, run in our race, endeououring to the price of the high calling.

Leuit. 18. 5.

not a 2^d suggestion
Gen. 3. 17.

Phil. 3. 13.

Works of supererogation are works which we cannot worke.
Luk. 17. 10.

14 But how doth the boasting of the works of supererogation agree with that rule which is taught vs, that when we haue done all things that are commanded vs, we should say that we are vnprofitable seruants, & that we haue don no more than we ought? To say before God, is not to faine or to lie, but to determine with thy selfe, that which thou art assured of. The Lord therefore commanded vs vnfaignedly to thinke and consider with our selues, that we doe not any free beneficiall doings to him, but to render due seruice. And worthily. For we are seruants indetted in so many seruices, as we are not able to discharge, although all our thoughts and all our members, were turned into dutifull deedes of the law. And therefore that which he saith, When ye haue done all things that are commanded you, &c. is as much in effect, as if the righteousnesse of one man were more than all the righteousnesse of men. How therefore may wee (of whom there is none that is not most farre distant from this marke) be so bolde as to boast that we haue added a heape to the full measure? Neither is there any cause why any man may take exception and say, that nothing withstandeth but that his endeouour may proceede beyonde necessarie duties, which in some behalfe ceaseth those that be from necessarie. For this we must altogether hold, that we can imagine nothing that auaieth either to the worship or the loue of God, which is not comprehended vnder the lawe of God. If it be a part of the lawe, let vs not boast of voluntarie liberalitie, where we are bound to necessitie.

Into God we can doe no more than we owe: if we do that which he requieth not, it is such as we cannot looke that euer hee will reward.
1. Cor. 6. 1.

15 And for this purpose that glorying of Paul is out of season alleaged: That among the Corinthians he did of his owne wil yeeld of his right, which otherwise he might haue vsed if he had woulde, and that he hath employed vpon them not onely so much as he ought of dutie, but also hath giuen them his free trauell beyonde the bounds

bounds of duties. But they should have marked the reason there expressed, that he did this least he should be an offence to the weak. For false and deceitfull workmen did boast themselves with this alluring shew of liberalitie, whereby they might both procure fauour to their poisonous doctrines, and raise vp hatred to the Gospell, so that Paul was driuen of necessitie either to bring the doctrine of Christ into danger, or to meete with such craftes. Go to: if it be to a christian man an indifferent thing, to run into offence, when he may refraine it, than I grant that the Apostle did something of supererogation for the Lorde. But if this were by right required of a wise distributor of the Gospell, then I say that he did that which was his dutie to doe. Finally, although there appeere no such cause, yet this saying of *Chrysostome* is alwaie true, that all our things are in the same case wherein are the proper possessions of bondmen, which it is certaine by the law to be due to their Lorde. And Christ hath vttered the same in the parable. For he asked what thanke we will giue to a bondseruant when hauing been all the day trauailed with sundry labors he returneth home to vs in the euening. But it is possible, that hee hath laboured with greater diligence than we durst haue required. Be it so: yet he hath done nothing but that which by his state of bondage he ought, for he with his whole abilitie is ours. I speake not of what fort their Supererogations are which these men will boast of to God: for they be trifles, such as he neither hath at any time commanded, nor doth approue them, nor will allow them when account shall be made before him. In this signification onlie we will grant that they are works of Supererogation, namely of which it is spoken in the Prophet: who hath required these things at your hands? But let them remember what is in another place spoken of these things: Wherefore do yee weye your siluer and not in bread? Yee spend your labour and not in being satisfied. It is in deede not verie hard for these idle Rabbines to dispute vnder the shadowe in a soft chaire: but when the soueraigne iudge shall sit in his iudgement seat, such windie decrees shal of necessitie vanish away. This, this was to be sought what affiance of defence we may bring to his iudgement seat, not what we may talke of in schooles and corners.

16 In this behalfe there are chiefly two peccetles to be driuen out of our mindes: that we put no affiance in the righteounes of works. And that we ascribe no part of glorie to them. The Scriptures do euery where thrust vs from all maner of affiance, when they teach that our righteounesse do stinke in the sight of God, vnlesse they receiue a good fauour from the innocencie of Christ, and that they can do nothing but prouoke the vengeance of God, vnlesse they be sustained by the tendernesse of his mercy. Moreover they so leaue nothing to vs, but that wee shoulde craue the mercy of our iudge with that confession of *Dauid*, that none shall be iustified before him, if he require account of his seruants. But where *Job* saith: If I haue done wickedly, woe to me: but if I do righteously, yet I will not so lift vp my head: though he meane of that most high righteounes of God, wherunto the very Angels answer not: yet he therewithall sheweth that when they come to the iudgement of God, there remaineth nothing for all mortall men, but to holde their peace as dumbe. For it tendeth not onely to this purpose that he had rather willingly yeelde than dangerously strue with the rigorounes of God: but he meaneth that he felt no other righteounesse in himselfe, than such as at the first moment shoulde fall before the sight of God. When affiance is driuen awaie, all glorying must also necessarily depart. For who can giue the praise of righteounesse to these works, the affiance whereof trembleth before the sight of God? We must therefore come whither *Esai* calleth vs, that all the seede of *Israel* may be praised and glorie in God: because it is most true which he saith in another place, that we are the planting of the glorie of God. Our minde therefore shall then rightly be purged, when it shall neither in anie behalfe rest vpon the confidence of workes, nor reioice in the glory of them. But this error encouraged foolish men to the puffing vp of this false and lying affiance, that

Luk. 17. 7.

works of Supererogation

Psal. 1. 12.

Psal. 55. 2.

Wee must beware of trusting vnto, and of glorying in our works.

Psal. 143. 2.

Iob. 10. 15.

Esa. 46. 10.

Esa. 61. 3. 1

when I minde righteounesse

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they alway set the cause of their saluation in works.

*Workes no way
the cause of sal-
uation.*

John. 3. 16.

Rom. 3. 23.

17 But if we looke to the foure kinds of causes, which the Philosophers teach vs to consider in the effect of things, we shall finde that none of them doth accord with workes in the stablishing of our saluation. For the scripture doth euerie where report, that the cause of procuring the eternall life to vs, is the mercie of the heauenly Father and his free loue towarde vs: that materiall cause is Christ with his obedience, by which he purchased righteousnesse for vs. What also shall we say to be the formall or instrumentall cause but faith? And these three causes *John* comprehendeth together in one sentence, when he saith. God so loued the world, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne, that euerie one which beleueth in him may not perish, but may haue euerlasting life. Nowe the finall cause the Apostle testifieth to bee both the shewing of the righteousnesse of God and the praise of his goodnesse: where hee rehearseth also the other three in expresse wordes. For he saith thus to the Romans: all haue sinned and do neede the glorie of God: but they are iustified freely by his grace. Heere thou hast the head and first fountaine, namely that God embraced vs with his free mercy. Then followeth: by the redemption which is in Christ Iesu. Here thou hast as it were the matter whereof righteousnes is made for vs through faith in his blood. Heere is shewed the instrumentall cause, whereby the righteousnesse of Christ is applied to vs. Last of all he ioyneth the ende, when he saith, vnto the shewing of his righteousnesse that he may be righteous and the righteousmaker of him that is of the faith of Christ. And (to touch by the way that this righteousnesse standeth of reconciliation) he setteth expressly by name, that Christ was giuen to vs for reconciliation. So in the first chapter also to the Ephesians he teacheth that we are receiued of God into fauour by meere mercie: that the same is wrought, by the intercession of Christ: received by faith: all to this ende, that the glorie of the goodnesse of God may fully shine. When wee see that all the partes of our saluation are so without vs, what cause is there that we should now either haue affiance or glorie in workes? Neither can euen the most sworne enemies of the grace of God moue any controuersie with vs about the efficient or finall cause, vnlesse they will denie the whole Scripture. In the Materiall and formall cause they cast a false colour, as though our workes haue a halie place with faith & the righteousnes of Christ. But this also they teach, the Scripture crying out against them, which simply affirmeth both that Christ is to vs for righteousnes and life, and that this benefit of righteousnes is possessed by onely faith.

*Why holy men doe
consort them-
selues in the con-
science of their
owne vprightnes.*

18 But whereas the holy men do oftentimes strengthen and comfort themselues with remembrance of their owne innocencie and vprightnesse, and sometime also forbear not to report of it with praise, that is done two waies: either that in comparing their good cause with the euill cause of the wicked, they conceiue thereby assured trust of victorie, not so much for commending their owne righteousnesse, as for the iust and deserved condemning of their aduersaries: or that euen without comparison other, while they record themselues before God, the purenesse of their owne conscience bringeth to them both some comfort and affiance. Of the first of these two waies, we shall see hereafter: Now let vs briefly declare of the latter, how it agreeth with that which we haue abouesaid, that in the iudgement of God wee 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 & stablishing of their saluation, do without respect of workes bend their eyes to the onely goodnesse of God. And they do not onely bend themselues to it afore all things as to the beginning of blessednesse, but doe rest therein as in the fulfilling of it. A conscience so founded, raised and stablished, is also stablished with consideration of workes: namely so farre as they are the witnessings of God dwelling and raigning in vs. Sith therefore this affiance of workes hath no place, vnlesse thou haue first cast the whole

affiance

affiance of thy minde vpon the mercie of God : it ought not to seeme contrary to that whereupon it hangeth. Wherefore when we exclude the affiancing of workes, we meane onely this that a Christian minde may not bow to the merit of workes as to the succour of saluation, but should thoroughly rest in the free promise of righteousness. But we forbid it not to vnderprop & strengthen this faith with the signes of the good wil of God toward it selfe. For if all the good giftes which God hath bestowed vpon vs, when they be recorded in remembrance, are to vs after a certaine maner as it were beames of the face of God, by which we are enlightened to behold that soueraigne light of goodnes : much more is the grace of good workes, which sheweth that the Spirit of adoption is giuen vs.

*How y^e affiancing
good workes is con-*

11 When therefore the holy ones doe by innocencie of conscience confirme their Faith, and gather matter of reioicing, they doe nothing but call to minde by the fruite of their calling, that they are adopted of the Lord into the place of children. This therefore that is taught by *Salomon*, that in the feare of the Lord is steadfast assurednesse : and this that sometime the holy ones vse this protestation, to the intent that they may be heard of the Lord, that they haue walked before his face in vprightnesse and simplicitie : haue no place in laying the foundation of stablishing of conscience : but are then only of value, if they be taken of the ensuing effect : because both that feare is no where which may stablish a full assurednes, and the holy ones are priuie in their conscience of such an vprightnesse, wherewith are yet mingled many remnantes of the flesh. But forasmuch as of the frutes of regeneration they gather an argument of the holy Ghost dwelling in them, they doe thereby not slenderly strengthen themselves to looke for the helpe of God in all their necessities, when they by experience finde him their Father in so great a matter. And euen this also they cannot doe, vnlesse they haue first conceiued the goodnes of God, sealed with no other assurednesse, than of the promise. For if they begin to wey it by good workes, nothing shall be more vncertaine nor more weake : forasmuch as if workes be considered by themselves, they shal no lesse by their imperfection shew prooffe of the wrath of God, than they doe with howsoever imperfect purenes testifye his good wil. Finally they doe so fet out the benefites of God, that yet they turne not away from the free fauour of God, in which *Paul* testifieth that there is the length, breadth, depth, and height of them : as if he should say : Whither soeuer the senses of the godly doe turne themselves, how high soeuer they climbe, how farr and wide soeuer they extend them, yet they ought not to goe out of the loue of Christ, but hold themselves wholly in the meditation thereof, because it comprehendeth all kinde of measures in it. And therefore he saith that it excelleth and surmounteth about all knowledge : and that when we acknowledge how much Christ hath loued vs, we are fulfilled into all the fulnes of God. As in another place, wher he gloryeth that all the godly are vanquishers in battel, he by and by addeth a reason, because of him that loued vs.

*The course which
righteous men doe
conceive by the
conscience of their
integritie is ground-
ed vpo the know-
ledge of righteous-
nes without respect
of workes.
Pro. 14. 26.
Gen. 24. 20.
2. King. 20. 3.*

Eph. 3. 18.

Rom. 8. 37.

20 We see now that there is not in the holy ones that affiancing of workes, which either giueth any thing to the merite of them (forasmuch as they regard them none otherwise than as the giftes of God, whereby they reknowlege his goodnes none otherwise than as signes of their calling, whereby they may thinke vpon their election) or which withdraweth not anything from the free righteousness which we obtaine in Christ, forasmuch as it hangeth vpon it, and standeth not without it. The same thing doth *Augustine* in fewe words, but very well set out where he writeth, I do not say to the Lord, despise not the workes of my hands, or I haue sought the Lord with my handes and haue not bene deceiued. But I doe not commend the workes of my hands : for I feare, least when thou hast looked vpon them, thou shalt finde more sins than Merites. Onely this I say, this I aske, this I desire, despise not the workes of thy hands, behold 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

*If we doe good it is
Gods doing and
not ours, and with
the good which is
his, there is much
euill of ours ming-
led.*

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haue, they are of thee. He setteth two causes, why he dare not boast of his workes to God, because if he haue any good workes, he seeth therein nothing his own: secondly, because the same is also ouerwhelmed with multitude of sinnes. Whereupon cometh to passe that the conscience feeleth thereby more feare and dismayng than assurednes. Therefore he would haue God no otherwise to looke on his well doings, than that reknowledging in them the grace of his calling, he may make an end of the worke which he hath begun.

In what sense the good which we do, is earned a cause of that good which God doeth vnto vs.

21 But furthermore whereas the scripture sheweth that the good workes of the faithfull, are causes why the Lord doth good to them, that is so to be vnderstanded, that that which we haue before set may stand vnthaken, that the effect of our saluation consisteth in the loue of God the Father: the matter, in the obedience of the Son: the instrument, in the enlightening of the holy Ghost, that is to say, in faith: that the end is the glorie of the so great kindnes of God. These things withstand not, but that the Lord may embrace workes as inferiour causes. But whence cometh that? Namely whom the Lord of his mercy hath appointed to the inheritance of eternal life, them with his ordinary dispensation he doth by good workes bring into the possession thereof. That which goeth before in order of dispensation, he calleth the cause of that which followeth. After this maner he sometime deriueth eternal life from workes: not for that it is to be ascribed to them: but because whom he hath chosen, them he doth iustifie, that he may at length glorifie them, he maketh the grace that goeth before which is a step toward that which followeth, after a certain maner the cause of it. But so oft as he hath occasion to assigne the true cause, he biddeth vs not to flee to workes, but holdeth vs in the only thinking vpon the mercy of God. For what maner of thing is this which he teacheth by the Apostle: The reward of sin is death: the grace of the Lord, is life euerlasting? Why doth he not set righteousnes in comparison against sin, as he seeth life against death? Why doth he not make righteousnes the cause of life, as he maketh sin 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 comparison to expresse that which was truth, that death is due to the desertings of men: that life is reposed in the only mercy of God. Finally in these maners of speaking is rather expressed the order than the cause: because God in heaping graces vpon graces, taketh cause of the first to ad the second, that he may leaue nothing vndone to the enriching of his seruants: and he so continually extendeth his liberalitie, that yet he would haue vs alway to looke vnto the free election which is the fountaine and beginning of it. For although he loucheth the gifts which he daily giueth, in so much as they spring out of that fountaine: yet it is our part to hold fast that free acceptation, which alone is able to vphold our soules: as for such gifts of his Spirit as he afterward giueth vs, so to adioyne them to the first cause, that they minish nothing of it.

Rom 8.30.

Rom. 6.13.

The xv. Chapter.

That those things that are commonly boasted concerning the merits of workes, do overthrow as well the praise of God in giuing of righteousnesse, as also the assurednesse of saluation.

Whether workes though not iustifying may not withstand merit.

NOWE we haue declared that which is the chiefe point in this matter: that because if righteousnesse be vpholden with workes, it must needs by and by fall downe before the sight of God, it is contained in the onely mercie of God, the onely communicating of Christ, and therefore in onely faith. But, let vs diligently marke that this is the chiefe stay of the matter, least we be entangled with that generall error, not onely of the common people, but also of learned men. For so soone as question is moued of the iustification of faith and workes, they flee to those places which

which seeme to giue to workes some merite in the sight of God: as though the iustification of workes were fully wonne, if it be once prooued that they be of any value with God. But we haue aboue plainly shewed that the righteousnes of workes consisteth onely in the perfect keeping of the Law. Whereupon followeth that no man is iustified by workes, but he that hauing climbed vp to the highest top of perfection cannot be prooued guiltie of any offence be it neuer so little. Therefore it is another and a seuerall question: Howsoeuer workes suffice not to iustifie a man, whether yet doe they not deserue fauor with God?

A question

2 First of the name of Merite I must needs say this afore hand, that whoeuer first applied it to workes of men compared to the iudgement of God, he did very ill provide for the purenes of Faith. Truly I doe by my good will abstaine from strues about wordes, but I would wish that this sobriety had alway beene vsed among Christian writers, that they would not haue found in their harts to vse words strange from the Scriptures, which ingendred much offence and no fruite. For whereto, I beseech you, was it needfull to haue the name of Merite brought in, when the price of good workes might be sily expressed by another name without offence? But how much offence that word containeth in it, is euident with the great hurt of the world. Surely as it is most proude it can doe nothing but darken the grace of God, and fill men with froward pride. The old writers of the Church, I graunt, haue commonly vsed it, and I would to God they had not with the abusing of one little word giuen to posteritie matter of error. Howbeit they themselues also doe in many places testifie, how in no case they meant to giue any prejudice against the truth. For thus saith *Augustine* in one place. Let Merites of Men here hold their peace, which haue perished by *Adam*: and let the grace of God raigne, by Iesus Christ. Againe, the Saintes giue nothing to their owne Merites: they will giue all to none but to thy mercy, O God. In another place. When man seeth that whatsoeuer good he hath, he hath it not from himselfe, but from his God, he seeth that all that which is praised in him, is not of his owne Merites, but of the mercy of God. You see how taking from men the power of doing well, he also throweth downe the dignitie of Merite. And *Chrysostome* saith, Our workes, if there be any, which follow the free calling of God, are repayment and debt: but the giftes of God are grace and bountifulnes and the greatnes of liberall giuing. But leauing the name, let vs rather looke vpon the thing I haue verily before alleaged a sentence out of *Bernard*, As it sufficeth to merite, not to presume of Merites: so to want Merites, sufficeth to iudgement. But by adding fourth with an exposition, he sufficiently mitigateth the hardnes of the word, where he saith: Therefore care thou to haue Merites: when thou hast them, know that they are giuen hope for fruite, the mercie of God: and so thou hast escaped all danger, of pouertie, vnthankfulness, and presumption. Happy is the Church which neither wanteth merites without presumption, nor presumption without merites. And a little before he had largely shewed, how godly a meaning he vsed. For of Merites (saith he) why should the Church be carefull, which hath a stedfaster and surer cause to glorie of the purpose of God? God cannot deny himselfe, he will doe that which he hath promised. If there be no cause why thou shouldst aske, by what Merites may we hope for good things? specially sith thou hearest it said, Not for your sakes, but for my sake: it sufficeth to Merite, to know that Merites suffice not.

The name of Merite although vsed by the auncient fathers without prejudice to the truth might neuertheless haue better beens spared.

Augustine meritorie of some meriti

De praed. Sanct. In Psal. 139. In Psal. 88.

Hom. 33. in Gen

Eze. 36. 22.

Our workes shall haue reward, they deserue none. Luk. 17. 10.

3 What all our workes deserue, the Scripture sheweth when it saith that they cannot abide the sight of God, because they are full of vncleanness: then, what the perfect obseruing of the law (if any such could be found) shall deserue, when it teacheth that we should thinke our selues vnprofitable seruantes, when we haue done all things that are commaunded vs? because we shall haue giuen nothing freely to the Lord, but onely haue performed our due seruices, to which there is no thanke to be giuen. But those good workes which he himselfe hath giuen vs, the Lord both calleth

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ours and testified, that they are not onely acceptable to him, but also that they shall haue reward. It is our duetie againe for our part, to be encouraged with so great a promise, and to gather vp our hearts, that we be not wearied with well doing, and to yeelde true thankfulness to so great bountifullnesse of God. It is vndoubted that it is the grace of God whatsoeuer there is in workes that deserueth praise: that there is not one droppe, which we ought properly to ascribe to our selues. This if we doe truly and earnestly acknowledge, there vanisheth away not onely all affiance but also opinion of Merite. We (I say) doe not parte the praise of good workes (as the Sophisters doe) betweene God and man: but we referue it whole, perfect, and vnmixed to the Lorde. Onely this wee assigne to man, that euen the selfe same workes that were good hee by his vncleannesse corrupteth and defileth. For nothing commeth out of man, how perfect soeuer hee bee, that is not defiled with some spotte. Therefore, let the Lorde call into iudgement euen these things that are best in the workes of men: hee shall verily espie in them his owne rightousnesse, but mans dishonestie and shame. Good workes therefore doe please God and are not vnprofitable to the doers of them, but rather they receiue for reward the most large benefits of God: not because they so deserue, but because the goodnesse of God hath of it selfe appointed this price vnto them. But what spitefulnes is this, that men not contented with that liberalitie of God, which giueth vniuersall rewardes to workes that deserue no such thing, doe with ambition full of sacriledge endeuour further, that that which is wholly of the liberalitie of God, may seeme to bee rendered to the merites of men. Heere I appeale to the common iudgement of euery man. If any man that hath a taking of profit in a peece of grounde by another mans liberall graunt, do also claime to himselfe the title of proprietie: doth he not by such vnthankfullnesse deserue to loose the verie selfe possession which he had? Likewise, if a bond-slave being made free of his Lord, do hide the basenes of the estate of a Libertine, and boast himselfe to be a freeman borne: is he not worthie to be brought backe into his former bondage? For this is the right vse of enioying a benefit, if we neither claime to our selues more than is giuen, nor doe defraude the author of the benefit of his praise: but rather do so behaue our selues, that that which he hath giuen from himselfe to vs, may seeme after a certaine maner to remaine with him. If this moderation be to be kept toward men, let all men looke and consider what maner of moderation is due to God.

*the good workes
also good & vni-
uersally to man.*

*Libertine is he
that is free by
manumission,
not by birth.*

*Testimonies abu-
sed for prooffe of
merites: whereas
the doctrine of
scripture doth in-
deed teach the
cleare contrarie,
that our good
workes deserue
nothing at the
hands of God, ei-
ther in this life or
in the life to come.
Eccle. 16. 17.
Heb. 13. 6.*

4 I know that the Sophisters doe abuse certaine places, to prooue thereby that name of Merite toward God is founde in the Scriptures. They alleage a sentence out of Ecclesiasticus, Mercie shall make place to euery man, according to the Merite of his workes. And out of the Epistle to the Hebrues, Forget not doing good and communicating, for with such sacrifices men merite of God. As for my right in resisting the authoritie of Ecclesiasticus, I do now release it. Yet I denie that they faithfully alleage that which Ecclesiasticus, whatsoeuer writer yee were, hath written. For the Greeke copie is thus: *πίση ἐλεημοσύνη ποιήσαι πεπον, ἕκαστος γάρ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐνθήσει.* He shall make place to euery mercie, and euery man shall finde according to his workes. And that this is the true text, which is corrupted in the Latine translation, appeareth both by the framing of these wordes, and by a longer ioyning to zither of the sentence going before. In the Epistle to the Hebrues, there is no cause why they should snare vs in one little worde, when in the Greeke wordes of the Apostle is nothing else but that such sacrifices doe please and are acceptable to God. This alone ought largely to suffice to subdue and beate downe the outragiousnesse of our pride, that we faine not any worthines to workes beyond the rule of Scripture. Now the doctrine of the Scripture is, that all our good workes are continually besprinkled with many filthie spots, wherewith God may be worthily offended & be angry with vs: so far is it off, that they be able to win him to vs, or to prouoke

his liberalitie toward vs: Yet because he of his tender kindnesse doth not examine them by extremitie of lawe, he taketh them as if they were most pure, and therefore though without merite, he rewardeth them with infinite benefitis both of this present life and of the life to come. For I doe not allowe the distinction set by men otherwise learned and godly: that good workes deserue the graces that are giuen vs in this life, & that eternall life is the reward of faith alone. For the Lord doth commonly alwaie set in heauen the reward of labours and the crowne of battel. Againe, to giue it so to the merite of workes, that 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 saith that to him that hath, shall bee giuen, and that the faithfull and good seruant, which hath shewed himselfe faithfull in fewe things, shall bee set ouer many: yet he also sheweth in another place, that the encreases of the faithfull are the giftes of his free goodnes. All yee that thirst (saith he) come to the waters: and yee that haue not money, come and buy nulke and hony without money & without any exchange. Whatsoever therefore is nowe giuen to the faithfull for helpe of saluation, yea and blessednes it selfe, is the meere liberalitie of God: yet both in this and in those he testifieth that he hath consideration of workes: because to testifie the greatnesse of his loue toward vs, he vouchsafeth to graunt such honour not onely to vs, but also to the giftis which he hath giuen vs.

Matth. 25. 21. & 29

Esa. 55. 1.

5 If these things had in the ages past bene handled and disposed in such order as they ought to haue bene, there had neuer risen so many troubles and dissensions. Paul saith, that in the building of Christian doctrine, we must keepe still that foundation which he had laid among the Corinthians, beside which no other can be laide: and that the same foundation is Iesus Christ. What manner of foundation haue wee in Christ? is it that he is to vs the beginning of saluation: that the fulfilling thereof should follow of our selues? and hath he but onely opened the way, by which wee should go foreward of our owne strength? Not so: but, as he said a litle before, when we acknowledge him, he is to vs righteousness. No man therefore is well founded in Christ, but he that hath full righteousness in him: forasmuch as the Apostle saith not that he was sent to helpe vs to obtaine righteousness, but that he himselfe might be our righteousness. Namely, that wee are chosen in him from eternitie before the making of the worlde, by no deseruing of ours, but according to the purpose of the good pleasure of God: that by his death we are redeemed from the damnation of death, and deliuered from destruction: that in him we are adopted of the heauenlic father into children and heires: that by his blood we are reconciled to the Father: that being giuen to him to be kept we are deliuered from perill of perishing and of being lost: that being so engrafted in him, we are alreadie after a certaine manner partakers of eternall life, being entred into the kingdome of God by hope: and yet more: that hauing obtained such partaking of him, howsoever we be yet fooles in our selues, he is wisdomer for vs before God: howsoever we be sinners, he is righteousness for vs: howsoever wee be vnclaene, he is cleaunesse for vs: howsoever wee be weake, howsoever vnarmed & lying open in danger of Sathan, yet ours is the power which is giuen him in heauen and earth, whereby he may tread downe Sathan for vs, and breake the gates of hels: howsoever we still carie about with vs the body of death, yet he is life for vs: briefly that all his things are ours, and we in him haue all things, in our selues nothing. Vpon this foundation, I say, it behooueth that we be builded, if we will encrease into a holy temple to the Lord.

Christ is such a foundation that being builded vpon him wee cannot rest any thing vpon the worthe of our owne workes.

1. Cor. 3. 11.

1. Cor. 1. 30.

Eph. 1. 4
Col. 1. 14. & 20.

Ioan. 10. 28.

Matth. 28. 18.

6 But the world hath a long time bene otherwise taught. For there hath bene found out I wot not what morall good workes, by which men may be made acceptable to God before that they be grafted in Christ. As though the Scripture heth, when it saith, that they are all in death which haue not possessed the Sonne. If they be in death, how should they bring foorth matter of life? As though it were of no more

Being without Christ we can do no worke that pleaseth God: being in him wee are not indued

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*onlie with an
abillure of meriting
saluation for our
selues, but possess
with that righ-
teousnes and life
which Christ
hath merited for
vs.*

1. Iohn. 5. 12.
Rom. 14. 13.

1. Iohn. 5. 12.
Iohn. 5. 24.
Rom. 3. 24.
1. Iohn. 3. 23.
Ephc. 2. 6.
Col. 1. 13.

force, that whatsoever is done without faith, is sinne : as though there may be good fruites of an euil tree. But what haue these most pestilent Soplusters left to Christ wherein he may shew foorth his power? They say that he hath deserued for vs the first grace, namely the occasion of deseruing : that it is now our part not to faile the occasion offered. O desperate shamelesse of vngodlinesse. Who would haue thought that men professing the name of Christ, durst so strip him naked of his power, and in a maner tread him vnder foote? This testimonie is ech where spoken of him, that all they are iustified that belecue in him : these fellowes teach, that there commeth from him no other benefite, but this, that the way is opened to euery man to iustifie himselfe. But I would to God they tasted what these sayings meane : that all they haue life that haue the Sonne of God : that whosoener beleueth, is already passed from death into life, that we are iustified by Ius grace, that we might be made heires of eternall life : that the faithfull haue Christ abiding in them, by whom they cleane fast to God : that they which are partakers of his life, do sit with him in heauenly places : that they are transplanted into the kingdome of God, and haue obtained saluation and innumerable other such. For they do not declare, that there commeth by the faith of Christ nothing but the power to obtaine righteousnesse or saluation, but that they are both giuen to vs. Therefore so soone as thou art by faith engrafted into Christ, thou art already made the sonne of God, the heire of heauen, partaker of righteousnes, possessor of life, and (that their lies may be better confuted) thou hast not obtained the fit ability to deserue, but euen all the deseruings of Christ : for they are communicated to thee.

*The schoolemen
though for fashion
sake graunting
righteousnes by
faith in some
sort, neuertheless
to establish merits
do ascribe vnto
mans free will,
that whereby the
grace and glorie
of God is much
impaired, and
mans consciences
boreaued of all af-
fiance in the sa-
urable accep-
tance of God.
Lib. 2. dist. 28.*

7 So the Sorbonicall schooles, the mothers of all errours, haue taken from vs the iustification of faith which is the summe of all godlinesse. They grant verily in word, that man is iustified by formed faith : but this they afterward expound, because good workes haue of faith this that they auaille to righteousnesse : that they seeme in a manner to name faith in mockage, sith without great enuiousnesse it could not be passed ouer in silence, seeing it is so oft repeated of the Scripture. And not yet contented, they do in the praise of good works priuily steale from God somewhat to giue away to man. Because they see that good works little auaille to aduance man, and that they cannot be properly called Merits, if they be accounted the fruites of the grace of God : they picke them out of the strength of free will, oile forsooth out of a stone. And they denie not in deede that the principall cause of them is in grace : but they affirme that thereby is not excluded free will, by which is all merite. And this not onlie the latter Soplusters do teach, but also their *Pythagoras, Lombard* : whom if you compare with these men, you may say to be found witted and sober. It was truly a point of maruellous blindness, that when they had *Augustine* so oft in their mouth, they sawe not with how great carefulnesse that man provided that no peece of the glorie of good workes were it neuer so litle, should be conueyed to men. Here before where we entreated of free will, we recited certaine testimonies of his to this purpose, of which sort there are oftentimes founde manie like in his writings, as when he forbiddeth vs that we should no where boast of our merites, because euen they also are the giftes of God : And when he writeth that all our merite is only of grace, that it is not gotten by our sufficiencie, but is all made by grace, &c. It is no maruell that *Lombard* was blind at the light of the Scripture, in which it appeareth that he was not so well practised. Yet nothing could be desired more plain against him and his disciples, than this word of the Apostle. For when he forbiddeth Christians all glorying, he adioineth a reason why it is not lawfull to glorie : because we are that handworke of God, created to all good workes, that we should walke in them. Sith therefore there commeth out of vs no good thing, but in so much as we be regenerate : and our regeneration is wholie of God without exception : there is no right why we should claime to our selues one ounce in good workes. Finally
wher eas

In Psal. 144.
Epist. 105.

Ephc. 2. 10.

whereas they continually call vpon good workes, in the meane time they so instruct consciences, that they neuer dare haue affiance, that they haue God well pleased and fauourable to their workes. But contrariwise we, without making mention of any Merite, do yet by our doctrine raise vp the courages of the faithfull with singular comfort, when we teach them that in their workes they please God, and are vndoubtedly accepted vnto him. Yea and also here we require that no man attempt or go about any worke without faith, that is to saie, vnlesse he do first with assured confidence of mind determine that he shall please God.

8 Wherefore let vs not suffer our selues to be led so much as one haire bredtli away from this onely foundation: which being laid, wise builders do afterward well and orderly build vpon it. For if there be neede of doctrine and exhortation, they put men in mind, that the sonne of God hath appeared to this end, that he might destroy the workes of the diuell: that they should not sin 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 mercy chosen out vnto honour, which ought to be made cleane from all filthinesse. But all is spoken at once, when it is shewed that Christ will haue such disciples, which forsaking themselves, and taking vp their crosse, doe followe him. He that hath forsaken himselfe, hath cut off the roote of all euils, that he may no more seeke those things that are his owne. He that hath taken vp his crosse, hath framed himselfe to all patience and mildnesse. But the example of Christ containeth both these and all other duties of godlines and holinesse. He shewed himselfe obedient to his father, euen to the death: he was wholly occupied in doing the workes of God: he with his whole heart breathed out the glorie of his father: he gaue his soule for his brethren: he both did good and wished good to his enemies. If there be neede of comfort, these will bring maruelous comfort, that we be in affliction, but we are not made carefull: that we labour, but we are not forsaken: we are brought low, but we are not confounded: we are throwne downe, but we do not perish: alway bearing about with vs in our body the mortifying of Iesus Christ, that the 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 attaine to the likenesse of his resurrection: For as much as the Father hath predestinate these to be fashioned like the image of his sonne, whom, in him he hath chosen, that he may be the first begotten among all his brethren: and therefore that neither death, nor present things, nor things to come, shall seuer vs from the loue of God which is in Christ: but rather all things shall turne to vs to good and to saluation. Lo, we do not iustifie a man by workes before God: but we say, that all they that are of God, are regenerate and made a new creature, that they may passe out of the kingdome of sinne into the kingdome of righteousnes, and that by this testimonie they make their calling certaine, and are iudged as trees by the fruites.

The doctrine of free iustificacion without respect of workes a ground effectiuall to minister both courage in doing well, and comfort in suffering.
1. Iohn. 3. 8.
2. Pet. 4. 3.
2. Tim. 2. 20.
Luk. 9. 23.

2. Cor. 4. 8.

2. Tim. 2.
Phil. 3. 10.

Rom. 8. 29.

2. Pet. 1. 10.

The xvj. Chapter.

A confutation of the slanders, whereby the Tapssts go about to bring this doctrine in hatred.

With this one word may the shamelesnesse of certaine vngodlie men be confuted, which slander vs with saying that we destroy good workes, and doe draw men awaie from the following of them, when we say that they are not iustified by workes: nor doe deserue saluation: and againe, that we make too easie a way to righteousnesse, when we teach that it lieth in the free forgiveness of sinnes, and that we doe by this enticement allure men to sinne, which are of their owne will too much enclined thereto alreadie. These slanders (I say) are with that one word

The doctrine of iustification by Christ without workes falsely accused as a mean to make men slack and carelesse to do well.

sufficiently

sufficiently confuted: yet I will briefly answer to them both. They alleage that by the iustification of faith, good workes are destroyed. I leaue vnspoken, what manner of men be these zealous louers of good workes which doe so backbite vs. Let them haue licence as freely to raile as they doe licentiously infect the whole world with the filthinesse of their life. They saie that they be greued, that when faith is so gloriously aduanced, workes are driuen downe out of their place. What if they be more raised vp, and stablished? For neither doe we dreame of a faith void of good workes, nor a iustification that is without them. This onely is the difference, that when we confesse that faith and good workes doe necessarily hang together, yet we set iustification in faith not in workes. For what reason we doe so, we haue in readinesse easily to declare, if we doe but turne to Christ vnto whom our faith is directed, and from whom it receiueh her whole strength. Why therefore are we iustified by faith? because by faith we take holde of the righteousnesse 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 giuen to vs, for righteousnesse, wisdome, sanctification, and redemption. Therefore Christ iustificieth none whom he doth not also sanctifie. For these benefites are coupled together with a perpetuall and vnseparable knot, that whom he enlighteneth with his wisdom, them he redeemeth: whom he redeemeth, he iustificieth: whom he iustificieth, he sanctifieth. But for as much as our question is onely of righteousnesse and sanctifying, let vs stay vpon these. We may put difference betweene them, yet Christ containeth them both vnseparably in himselfe. Wilt thou therefore obtaine righteousnesse in Christ? Thou must first possesse Christ: and thou canst not possesse him, but that thou must be made partaker of his sanctification: because he cannot be torne in peeces. Sith therefore the Lord doth graunt vs these benefites to be enioyed none otherwise than in giuing himselfe, he giueth them both together, the one neuer without the other. So appeereth how true it is, that we are iustified not without workes, and yet not by workes: because in the partaking of Christ, whereby we are iustified, is no lesse contained sanctification than righteousnesse.

1. Cor. 1. 30.

Neither is the affection of welding hereby cooled in men when they are taught that the good which they doe, meritieth not the reward which they shall receiue for doing: the scripture hath other motions that shew when it prouoketh vnto good workes.

2 That also is most false, that the mindes of men are withdrawn from the affection of welding, when we take from them the opinion of meriting. Here by the way the readers must be warned, that they foolishly reason from rewarde to merite, as I shall afterwarde more plainly declare: namely, because they knowe not this principle, that God is no lesse liberal when he assigneth rewarde to workes, than when he giueth power to doe well. But this I had rather deferre to the place fit for it. Now it shall be enough to touch how weake their obiection is: which shall be done two waies. For first whereas they say that there shall be no care of well framing of life, but when hope of rewarde is set before them: they erre quite from the truth. For if this onely be intended when men serue God, that they looke to rewarde or let out to hire or sell their labours to him, they little preuaile: for God wil be freely worshipped, freely loued: he (I say) alloweth that worshipper, which when all hope of receiuing rewarde is cut off, yet ceaseth not to worship him. Moreouer, if men be to be pricked forward, no man can put sharper spures vnto them, than those that are taken of the end of our redemption and calling: such as the worde of God spurreth men withall, when it teacheth, that it is too wicked vnthankfulnesse, not mutually to loue him againe which first loued vs: that by the blood of Christ our consciences are cleansed from dead workes to serue the liuing God: that it is a hainous sacrilege, if being once cleansed, wee defile our selues with newe filthinesse, and prophane that holy blood: that we are deliuered from the handes of our enimies, that we may without feare serue him in holinesse and righteousnesse before him all the daies of our life: that we are made free from sinne, that we may with a free Sprite follow righteousnesse: that our olde man is crucified, that we may rise againe into newnesse of life:

againe,

Heb. 9. 14.
Luk. 1. 74.

Rom. 6. 18.

again, that if we be dead with Christ (as becommeth his members) we must seeke those things that are aboue, and must in the world be waifaring men from home, that we may long toward heauen where is our treasure: that the grace of God hath appeared to this end, that forsaking all vngodlinesse and worldlie desires, we may liue soberly, holily, and godly in this world, looking for the blessed hope and the appearing of the glorie of the great God and sauiour: therefore that we are not appointed that we should stirre vp wrath to our selues, but that we may obtaine saluation by Christ: that we are the temples of the holie Ghost, which it is not lawfull to be defiled: that we are not darknesse, but light in the Lord, which must walke as children of light: that we are not called to vncleannesse, but to holinesse: because this is the will of God, our sanctification, that we abstaine from vnlawfull desires: that our calling is holie, 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 pricked forward to charitie with anie more liuely argument then that of *Iohn*, that we should mutually loue one another as God hath loued vs? that herein his children do differ from the children of the Diuell, the children of light from the children of darknesse, because they abide in loue? Again, with that argument of *Paul*, that we if we cleaue to Christ, are the members of one bodie, which it is meete to be holpen one of another with mutuall duties? Can we be more strongly prouoked to holines than when we heare againe of *Iohn*, that all they that haue this hope, doe sanctifie themselues, because their God is holie? Againe of the mouth of *Paul*: that hauing the promise of adoption, we should cleanse our selues from all the defiling of the flesh and spirit? then when we heare Christ setting forth himselfe for an example vnto vs that we should follow his steps?

3 And these few things I haue set forth for a test: For if I should intend to goe through all, I should be driue to make a long volume. The Apostles are all full of encouragements, exhortations and rebukings, whereby they may instruct the man of God to euery good worke, and that without any mention of merite. But rather they fetch their chiefe exhortations from this, that our saluation standeth vpon the onlie mercie of God and vpon no merite of ours. As *Paul*, after that he hath in a whole Epistle discoursed that there is no hope of life for vs but in the righteousnes of Christ, when he commeth downe to morall exhortations, he beseecheth them by that mercie of God which he hath vouchsafed to extend to vs. And trulie this one cause ought to haue bin sufficient, that God may be glorified in vs. But if anie be not so vehemently moued with the glorie of God, yet the remembrance of his benefices ought to haue bin most sufficient to stirre vp such men to do well. But these men, which do peraduenture with thrusting in of merites beate out some seruile and constrained obediences of the law, doe falsly saie that we haue nothing whereby we may exhort men to good workes, because we go not the same way to worke. As though God were much delighted with such obediences which protesteth that he loueth a cheerefull giuer, and forbiddeth any thing to be giuen as it were of heauinesse or of necessitie. Neither do I speake this for that I doe either refuse or despise that kinde of exhortation, which the Scripture oftentimes vseth, that it may leaue no meane vnattempted euery way to stirre vp our mindes. For it reheareth the reward which God will render to euerie man according to his workes. But I denie that that is the onlie thing, yea or the chiefe among manie. And then I graunt not that we ought to take beginning thereat. Morcouer I affirme that it maketh nothing to the setting vp of such merites as these men boast of, as we shall hereafter see. Lest of all I saie that is to no profitable vse, vnlesse this doctrine haue first taken place, that wee are iustified by the onlie merit of Christ, which is conceiued by faith but by no merites of our workes, because none can be fit to the endeuour of holinesse, vnlesse they haue first digested this doctrine. Which thing also the Prophete

Col. 3. 1.
Tit. 2. 11.

1. Thef. 5. 9.
1. Cor. 3. 16.
Eph. 2. 21. & 5. 8.
2. Cor. 6.
1. Thef. 4. 7.
2. Tim. 1. 9.
Rom. 6. 18.
Iohn. 1. 10.
1. Iohn. 2. 11.
1. Cor. 6. 17.
& 12. 12.
1. Iohn. 3. 3.
2. Cor. 7. 1.

The Apostles in pricking men forward vnto Godlinesse, drave their exhortations principallie from the greatnes of Gods mercies, and although they mention the rewards promised vnto workes, yet are they far from establishing merites.
Rom. 12. 1.
Math. 5. 16.

Chrys. hom. in Gen. 2. Cor. 9. 7.

2me worke
not nize

very well signifieth, when he thus speaketh to God: With thee is mercie that thou maist be feared. For he sheweth that there is no worshipping of God, but when his mercie is acknowledged, vpon which alone it is both founded and stablished. Which is verie worthie to be noted, that we may know not onely that the beginning of worshipping God aright is the affiance of his mercy, but also that the fear of God (which the Papists will haue to be meritorious) cannot haue the name of merite, because it is grounded vpon the pardon and forgiuenes of sins.

To teach that God
doth freely pardon
sinners is no al-
lurement vnto
sinne.

4 But it is a most vaine slander, that men are allured to sinne, when we affirme the free forgiuenes of sins, in which we say that righteousnes consisteth. For, we say that it is of so great value, that it can with no good of ours be recompensed, and that therefore it should neuer be obtained, vnlesse it were freely giuen. More ouer, that it is to vs indeede freely giuen, but not so to Christ which bought it so deere, namely with his owne most holy bloode, beside which there was no price of value enough that might be paide to the iudgement of God. When men are taught these things, they are put in minde that it is no thanke to them that the same most holy blood is not shed so oft as they sinne. Furthermore, we learne, that our filthines is such, as is neuer washed away but with the fountaine of this most pure blood. Ought not they that heare these things, to conceiue a greater horrour of sinne, than if it were said that it is wiped away with the sprinkling of good works? And if they haue any thing of God, how can they but dread being once cleansed, to wallow themselves againe in the mire, as much as in them lieth to trouble and infect the purenes of this fountaine? I haue washed my feete (saith the faithfull soule in *Salomon*) how shall I againe defile them? Now it is euident, whether sort do both more abase the forgiuenes of sinnes, and do more make vile the dignitie of righteousnes. They babble that God is appeased with their owne trifling satisfactions, that is, their doung: We affirme that the guiltines of sin is more grieuous than can be purged with so light trifles: that the displeasure of God is more heauie than can be releas'd with these satisfactions of no value, and that therefore this is the prerogatiue off the onely blood of Christ. They say that righteousnes (if it faile at any time) is restored and repaired by satisfactorie workes: wee thinke it more precious than that it can be matched with any recompence of workes, and that therefore for the restoring thereof we must flie to the onely mercie of God. As for the rest of those things that pertaine to the forgiuenes of sinnes, let them be sought out of the next Chapter.

Can. 3. 5.

The xvij. Chapter.

The agreement of the promises of the law and the Gospel.

Iustification by
faith alone doth
not make the pro-
mises of the law
fruitlesse.

Nowe let vs also go through the other arguments wherewith Satan by the souldiers of his garde, goeth about either to ouerthrow or batter the iustification of faith. This I thinke we haue alreadye wrung from the scaunderers, that they can no more charge vs as enemies of good workes. For, iustification is taken away from good workes, not that no good workes should be done, or that those which be done should be denied to be good, but that we should not put affiance in them, nor glorie in them, nor ascribe saluation vnto them. For this is our affiance, this is our glory, and the onely author of our saluation, that Christ the sonne of God is ours, and we likewise are in him the sonnes of God, and heires of the heauenly kingdome, being called by the goodnesse of God, not by our owne worthinesse into the hope of eternall blessednesse. But because they do beside these assaile vs, as we haue saide, with other engines, goe to, let vs go forward in beating away these also. First they come backe to the promises of the lawe, which the Lorde did set forth to the keepers of his lawe: and they aske whether we will haue them to be vtterly void or effectuall.

Because

Because it were an absurditie and to be scorned to say that they are voidē, they tak^e it for confessed that they are of some effectualnesse. Hereupon they reason that wee are not iustificd by onely faith. For thus saith the Lord : and it shall be, if thou shalt heare these commaundements and iudgements, and shalt keepe them and doe them, the Lord also shall keepe with thee his couenant and mercie which he hath sworne to thy fathers, he shall loue thee and multiplie thee, and blesse thee, &c. Againe, if yee shall well direct your waies and your endeouours, if yee walke not after strange Gods; if ye doe iudgement betweene man and man, and goe not backe into malice, I will walke in the midst of you. I will not recite a thousand peeces of the same sort, which sith they nothing differ in sense, shall be declared by the solution of these. In a summe, *Moses* testifieth that in the lawe is set foorth blessing and curse, death and life. Thus therefore they reason, that either this blessing is made idle and fruitlesse, or that iustification is not of faith alone. We haue alreadie before shewed, how if wee stricke fast in the lawe, ouer vs being destitute of all blessing, hangeth only curse which is threatned to all transgressors. For the Lord promiseth nothing but to the perfect keepers of his lawe, such as there is none found. This therefore remaineth, that all mankinde is by the lawe accused, and subiect to curse and the wrath of God: from which that they may be loosed, they must needes goe out of the power of the lawe, and be as it were brought into libertie from the bondage thereof: not that carnall libertie which shoulde withdrawe vs from the keeping of the lawe, should allure vs to thinke all things lawfull and to suffer our lust, as it were the staires being broken and with loole reines to run at riot: but the spirituall libertie, which may comfort and raise vp a dismaied and ouerthrowen conscience, shewing it to be free from the curse and damnation wherewith the lawe helde it downe bound and fast tied. This deliuerance from the subiection of the lawe, and Manumission (as I may call it) wee obtaine when by faith we take holde of the mercie of God in Christ, whereby we are certified and assured of the righteoufnes of sinnes, with the feeling whereof the lawe did prick and bite vs.

2. By this reason euen the promises that were offered vs in the law shoulde be all vneffectuall and voidē, vnlesse the goodnesse of God by the Gospell did helpe. For this condition that we keepe the whole lawe, vpon which the promises hang, and whereby alone they are to be performed, shall neuer be fulfilled. And the Lorde so helpeth, not by leauing part of righteoufnes in our workes, and supplying part by his mercifull bearing with vs, but when hee setteth onely Christ for the fulfilling of righteoufnesse. For the Apostle, when he had before said that he and other *Iewes* beleued in Iesus Christ, knowing that man is not iustificd by the workes of the lawe, addeth a reason: not that they shoulde be holpen to fulnesse of righteoufnesse by the faith of Christ, but by it should be iustificd not by the workes of the law. If the faithfull remouee from the law into faith, that they may in faith finde righteoufnesse which they see to be absent from the law: truly they forsake the righteoufnesse of the law. Therefore now let him that list, amplifie the rewardings which are saide to be prepared for the keeper of the lawe, so that he therewithall consider that it commeth to passe by our peruerfenesse, that we feele no fruite thereof till we haue obtained an other righteoufnesse of faith. So *Dauid* when hee made mention of the rewarding which the Lorde hath prepared for his seruants, by and by descendeth to the reknowldging of sinnes, whereby that same rewarding is made voidē. Also in the xix. Psalm, he gloriously setteth foorth the benefits of the lawe, but he by and by crieth out: Who shall vnderstand his faults? Lord cleanse me from my secret faults? This place altogether agreeth with the place before, where when he had saide that all the waies of the Lord are goodnes and truth to them that feare him, he addeth: For thy names sake Lorde, thou shalt be mercifull to my peruerfenes, for it is much. So ought wee also to reknowldge, that there is indeed the good will of God set forth

Deut. 7. 12.

Ier. 7. 3. & 23.

Deut. 11. 26.

The promises offered vs in the law shoulde be vneffectuall if (br) it did not stand vs in steade of fulfilling that righteoufnes whereupon the promises hang.

Gal. 2. 16.

Psal. 19. 12.

Psal. 25. 10.

Cap. 17. Of the maner how to receiue

vnto vs in the law, if we might deserue it by works, but that the same neuer commeth to vs by the deseruing of works.

The vnperfect works of beleeuers rewarded with that which is promised vnto the perfect obseruers of the lawe: whereof there are three causes.
 Lcu. 18.
 Ezc. 20. 11.
 Rom. 10. 5.

3 How then? are they giuen that they should vanish away without fruit? I haue enen now already protested that the same is not my meaning. I saie verily that they vtter not their effectualnes toward vs, so long as they haue respect to the meite of works, and that therefore if they be considered in themselves, they be after a certaine maner abolished. If the apostle teacheth that this noble promise: I haue giuen you commandments, which who so shall do shall liue in them, is of no value if we stand still in it, and shall neuer a whit more profite than if it had not bene giuen at all: because it belongeth not euen to the most holy seruants of God, which are all farre from the fulfilling of the law, but are compassed about with manie transgressions. But when the promises of the Gospell are put in place of them, which doe offer free forgiuenesse of sins, they bring to passe that not onely wee our selues be acceptable to God, but that our workes also haue their thanke: and not this onely that the Lorde accepteth them, but also extendeth to them the blessings which were by couenant due to the keeping of the law. I grant therefore, that those things which the Lorde hath promised in his law to the followers of righteousnesse and holinesse, are rendered to the workes of the faithfull: but in this rendering the cause is alwaies to be considered that powreth grace to works. Now causes we see that there be three. The first is, that God turning away his sight from the workes of his seruants, which alway deserue rather reprob than praise, embraceth them in Christ, and by the onely meane of faith reconcileth them to himselfe without the meane of workes. The second, that of his fatherly kindnes and tender mercifulnes, he listeth vp workes to so great honor, not weying the worthines of them, that he accounteth them of som value. The third, that he receiuethe the very same workes with pardon, not imputing the imperfection, wherewith they all being defiled should othe: wise be rather reckoned among sins than vertues. And hereby appereth how much the Sophistes haue bin deceiued, which thought they had gaily escaped all absurdities, when they saide that workes do not of their owne inward goodnesse auaille to deserue saluation, but by the forme of the couenat, because the Lord hath of his liberalitie so much esteemed them. But in the meane time they considered not, how farre those workes which they would haue to be meritorious, were from the condition of the promises, vnlesse there went before both iustification grounded vpon onely faith, and the forgiuenesse of sinnes, by which euen the good workes themselves haue need to be wiped from spots. Therefore of three causes of Gods liberalitie, by which it is brought to passe that the workes of the faithfull are acceptable, they noted but one one, and suppressed two, yea and those the principall.

The testimonie of Peter and example of Cornelius peruerse alleged to prouue that the mercy of God towards men is procured by some worshine of their owne.
 Act. 10. 34.

4 These alleage the saying of Peter, which Luke rehearseth in the Actes: I finde in truth that God is not an acceptor of persons: but in euery nation he that doth righteousnes is acceptable to him. And hereupon they gather that which seemeth to be vndoubted, that if man doth by right endeouours get himselfe the fauour of God, it is not the beneficiall gift of God alone that he obtineth saluation: yea that God doth so of his mercy helpe a sinner, that he is by works bowed to mercy. But you can in no wise make the Scriptures agree together, vnlesse you note a double accepting of man with God. For, such as man is by nature, God findeth nothing in him whereby hee may be inclined to mercie, but onelic miserie. If therefore it bee certaine that man is naked and needie of all goodnesse, and on the other full stuffed and loaden with all kindes of euils, when God sitteth to receiue them: for what quality, I praie you, shall we saie that he is worthe of the heauenly calling? Away therefore with the vaine imagining of merits, where God so euidently setteth out his free mercifulnesse. For, that which in the same place is saide by the voice of the Angels to Cornelius, that his prayers and almes had ascended into the sight of God, is by these men

men most lewdly wrested, that man by endeuour of good workes is prepared to receiue the grace of God. For it must needs be that *Cornelius* was already enlightened with the spirit of wisdom, sith he was endued with true wisdom, namely with the feare of God: that he was sanctified with the same Spirit, sith he was a follower of righteousness, which the Apostle teacheth to be a most certaine fruit thereof. All these things therefore which are saide to haue pleased God in him, he hath of his grace, so farre is it off that he did by his owne endeuour prepare himselfe to receiue it. Truly there cannot one syllable of the scripture be brought forth, that agreeth not with this doctrine, that there is none other cause for God to accept man vnto him, but because he seeth that man should be euery way lost, if he be left to himselfe: but because he will not haue him lost, he vseth his owne mercie in deliuering him. Now we see how this accepting hath not regarde to the righteousness of man, but is a mere token of the goodness of God toward men being miserable and most vnworthy of so great a benefite.

Gal. 5.

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: because he hath newly begotten him and newly formed him into a new life, he now embraceth him, as a new creature with the gifts of his spirit. This is that accepting wherof *Peter* maketh mention, by which the faithfull are after their vocation allured of God even in respect also of workes: for the Lord cannot but loue & kisse those good things which he worketh in them by his Spirit. But this is alway to be remembered, that they are none otherwise acceptable to God in respect of workes, but in as much as for their cause and for their sakes, whatsoeuer good workes he hath giuen them in increasing of his liberalitie, he also vouchsafeth to accept. For whence haue they good workes, but because the Lord, as he hath chosen them for vessels vnto honour, so will garnish them with true godlinesse? Whereby also are they accounted good, as though there were nothing wanting in them, but because the kinde Father tenderly granteth pardon to those deformities and spots that cleaue to them? Summarily, he signifieth nothing else in this place, but that to God his children are acceptable and louely in whome hee seeth the markes and features of his owne face. For we haue in another place taught that regeneration is a repairing of the image of God in vs. For as much as therefore wherelouer the Lorde beholdeth his owne face, he both woorthily loueth it and hath it in honour: it is not without cause saide, that the life of the faithfull being framed to holinesse and righteousness pleaseth him, but because the godly being clothed with mortall flesh, are yet sinners, and their good workes are but begun and fauouring of the faultinesse of the flesh: hee cannot bee fauourable neither to those nor to these: vnlesse hee more embrace them in Christ than in themselves. After this manner are those places to be taken, which testifie that God is kinde and mercifull to the followers of righteousness. *Moses* saide to the Israelites, The Lord thy God keepeth couenant, to a thousand generations: which sentence was afterward vsed of the people for a common manner of speech. So *Salomon* in his solenne prayer, saith, Lord God of Israell, which keepeth couenant and mercie to thy seruants which walke before thee in their whole hart. The same wordes are also repeated of *Nehemias*. For, as in all the couenants of his mercie, the Lorde likewise on their behalves requirith of his seruants vprightnesse and holinesse of life, that his goodnesse shoulde not be made a mockerie, and that no man swelling with vaine reioycing by reason thereof should blesse his owne foule, walking in the meane time in the perversenesse of his owne hart: so his will is by this way to keepe in their duetic them that are admitted into the communion of the couenant: yet neuertheless the couenant it selfe is both made at the beginning free, and perpetually remaineth such. After this manner *Dauid* when hee glorieth that there was rendered to him rewarde of the cleannesse of his handes, yet omitteeth not that

The good workes of faithfull men acceptable vnto God howbeit not because they are woorthie to be accepted, but for that the mercie of God louing their persons embraceth their workes, their vnworthinesse notwithstanding.

Deut. 7.9.

1. King. 8. 23.

Nehem. 1. 5.

Deut. 29. 18.

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fountain which I haue spoken of, that he was drawn out of the wombe, because God loued him: where he so setteth out the goodnes of his cause, that he abateth nothing from the free mercie which goeth before all gifts, whereof it is the beginning.

The vertuous actions of faithfull men are assurances of their rewards, and tokens that they are in the favour of God, but no causes for the worthinesse whereof. God should favour them.

6 And here by the way it shall be profitable to touch what these formes of speaking doe differ from the promises of the lawe. I call promises of the lawe, not those which are eachwhere commonly written in the bookes of *Moses*: (for as much as in them also are found many promises of the Gospell) but those which properly belong to the ministration of the lawe. Such promises, by what name soeuer you list to call them, doe declare that there is reward ready vpon condition, if thou doe that which is commaunded thee. But when it is saide, that the Lord keepeth the covenant of mercie to them which loue him, therein is rather shewed what manner of men be his seruants which haue faithfully received his covenant, than the cause is expressed why the Lord should doe good to them. Now this is the manner of shewing it. As the Lord vouchsafeth to graunt vs the grace of eternal life, to this end that he should be loued, feared, and honored of vs: so whatsoeuer promises there are of his mercie in the Scriptures, they are rightfully directed to this end that wee should reuerence and worship the author of the benefites. So oft therefore as we heare that he doth good to them that keepe his lawe, let vs remember that the children of God are there signified by the dutie which ought to be continuall in them: that we are for this cause adopted, that we should honour him for our Father. Therefore least wee shoulde disherite our selues from the right adoption, we must alway endeavour to this whereunto our calling tendeth. But let vs againe keepe this in munde, that the accomplishment of the mercie of God hangeth not vpon the workes of the faithfull: but that he therefore fulfilleth the promise of saluation to them which answer to their calling in vprightnesse of life, because in them he acknowledgeth the naturall tokens of his children which are ruled with his spirite vnto good. Hereunto let that be referred which is in the xv. Psalme spoken of the Citizens of the Church, Lord who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, and who shall rest in thy holy hill? The innocent in hands and of a cleane hart, &c. Againe in *Esaie*, Who shall dwell with deuouring fire? He that doth righteoufnesse, he that speaketh right things, &c. For there is not described the stay whereupon the faithfull may stand before the Lord, but the manner wherewith the most mercifull father bringeth them into his fellowship, and therein defendeth and strengthneth them. For, because hee abhorreth sinne, hee loueth righteoufnesse: whom he ioyneth to himselfe, them he cleanseth with his spirite, that he may make them of like fashion to himselfe and his kingdome. Therefore if the question be of the first cause whereby the entrie is made open to the holy ones into the kingdome of God, from whence they haue that they may stande fast and abide in it, we haue this answer ready, because the Lorde by his mercie both hath once adopted them, and perpetually defendeth them. But if the question be of the manner, then we must come downe to regeneration and the fruites thereof, which are rehearsed in that Psalme.

Esaie. 33. 14.

In what sense the commaundments of God are called righteoufnesse.

Deut. 6. 25.

*Deut. 2. 4. 13.
Psal. 106. 30.*

7 But there seemeth to be much more hardnesse in these places, which doe both garnish good workes with the title of righteoufnesse, and affirmeth that man is iustified by them. Of the first sort there be very many places where the obseruings of the commaundments are called iustifications or righteoufnesse. Of the other sort, that is an example which is in *Moses*. This shall be our righteoufnesse, if we keepe all these commaundments. And if thou take exception and say that this is a promise of the law, which being knit to a condition impossible, prooueth nothing. There be other of which you cannot make the same answer, as this: And that shall be to thee for righteoufnesse before the Lord to redeliuer to the poore man his pledge, &c. Againe, that which the Prophet saith, that the zeale in reuenging the shame of *Israell*, was imputed to *Phinees* for righteoufnesse. Therefore the Pharisees of our time

time thinke that here they have a large matter to triumph vpon. For when we saie, that when the righteousnes of faith is set vp, the iustification of works giueth place, by the same right they make this argument: if righteousnes be of workes, then it is false that we are iustified by faith onely. Though I grant that the commandements of the law are called righteousnes: it is no maruell: for they are so indeed. Howbeit we must warne the Readers that the Grecians haue not fitly translated the Hebrew word *Hucmi*, *Dikaiomata*, righteousnes for commaundements. But for the worde, I willingly release my quarell. For neither doe wee denie this to the lawe of God, that it conteineth perfect righteousnes. For although, because we are debtors of all the things that it commandeth, therefore euen when we haue performed full obedience thereof, wee are vnprofitable seruants: yet because the Lord vouchsafed to graunt it the honour of righteousnes, we take not away that which he hath giuen. Therefore wee willingly confesse that the full obedience of the law is righteousnes, that the keeping of euerie commaundement, is a part of righteousnes, if so bee that the whole summe of righteousnes were had in the other partes also. But we denie that there is any where any such forme of righteousnes. And therefore we take awaie the righteousnes of the lawe, not for that it is maimed and vnperfect of it selfe, but for that by reason of the weakenes of our flesh it is no where scene. But the Scripture not onely calleth simplie the commandements of the Lorde righteousnes: but it also giueth this name to the workes of the holy ones. As when it reporteth that *Zacharie* and his wife walked in the righteousnes of the Lord: truly when it so speaketh it weigheth workes rather by the nature of the law, than by their own proper state. Howbeit here again is that to be noted, which I euen now said, that of the negligence of the Greeke translator is not a lawe to be made. But forasmuch as *Luke* woulde alter nothing in the receiued translation, I will also not strine about it. For God hath commanded these things that are in the lawe to men for righteousnes: but this righteousnes we performe not but in keeping the whole lawe: for by euerie transgression it is broken. Whereas therefore the lawe doth nothing but prescribe righteousnes: if wee haue respect to it, all the feuerall commandements thereof are righteousnes: if we haue respect to men of whom they are done, they do not obtaine the praise of righteousnes by one worke, being trespassers in many, and by that same worke which is euer partly faultie by reason of imperfection.

Luk. 1. 6.

8 But nowe I come to the second kinde, in which is the chiefe hardnesse. *Paul* hath nothing more strong to prooue the righteousnes of faith: than that which is written of *Abraham*, that his faith was imputed to him for righteousnes. Sith therefore it is saide that the act done by *Phinees* was imputed to him for righteousnes: what *Paul* affirmeth of faith, the same may wee also conclude of workes. Whereupon our aduerfaries, as though they had wonne the victorie, determine that we are indeed not iustified without faith, but that we are also not iustified by it alone, and that workes accomplish our righteousnes. Therefore here I beseech the godlie, that if they know that the true rule of righteousnes is to be taken out of the Scripture onely, they will religiously and earnestly weigh with me, how the scripture may without euillations be rightly made to agree with it selfe. Forasmuch as *Paul* knew that the iustification of faith is the refuge for them that are destitute of their owne righteousnes, he doth boldly conclude that all they that are iustified by faith, are excluded from the righteousnes of workes. But sith it is certaine that the iustification of faith is common to all the faithfull, he doth thereof with like boldnesse conclude that no man is iustified by workes, 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 another thing what account is to be made of them after the stablishing of the righteousnes of faith. If wee shall set a price vpon workes according to the r

In what sense
maris saide to be
iust by workes, and
the act of Phinees
to haue been imputed
vnto righteousnes.
Gen. 4. 4.
Psal. 106. 31.

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worthines, we say that they are vnworthie to come into the sight of God: and therefore that man hath no workes whereof he may glorie before God: then, that being spoiled of all helpe of workes he is iustified by onely faith. Now we define righteousnes thus, that a sinner being receiued into the communion of Christ is by his grace reconciled to God, when being cleansed with his blood he obteineth forgiveness of sins, and being cloathed with his righteousnes as with his owne, he standeth assured before the heauenly iudgment seat. When the forgiveness of sins is set before, the good workes which follow haue now another valuation then after their owne deserting: because whatsoeuer is in them vnperfect, is couered with the perfection of Christ: whatsoeuer spots or filthines there is, it is wiped away with his cleannes, that it may not com into the examination of the iudgment of god. Therefore when the guiltines of all trespasses is blotted out, whereby men are hindered that they can bring forth nothing acceptable to God, and when the fault of imperfection is buried, which is wont also to defile good workes: the good workes which the faithfull do are counted righteous, or (which is all one) are imputed for righteousnes.

*Definition of
true prof.*

*It cometh of the
righteousnesse
which is by faith
without workes
that the workes of
faithfull men are
accounted righte-
ous.*
Deut. 27.

Job. 4. 18.

9 Now if any man object this against me to assaile the righteousnes of faith, first I will aske whether a man be counted righteous for one or two holy workes, being in the rest of the workes of his life a trespasser of the law. This is more than an absurditie. Then I will aske if he be counted righteous for many good workes, if hee be in any part found guilty. This also he shall not be so bold to affirme, when the penall ordinance of the law crieth out against it, and proclaimeth all them accursed which haue not fulfilled all the commandements of the law to the vtermost. Moreouer, I will goe further and aske, whether there be any worke that deserveth to be accused of no vncleannes or imperfection. And howe could there be any such before those eyes, to whom euen the verie staires are not cleane enough, nor the Angels righteous enough? So shall he be compelled to grant that there is no good work which is not so defiled with transgressions adioyned with it, and with the corruptnes of it selfe, that it cannot haue the honour of righteousnes. Now if it be certaine that it proceedeth from the righteousnes of faith that workes which are otherwise vnpure, vncleane, and but halfe workes, not worthie of the sight of God, much lesse of his loue, are imputed to righteousnes, why do they with boasting of the righteousnesse of workes destroye the iustification of faith, whereas if this iustification were not, they should in vaine boast of that righteousnes? Will they make a vipers birth? For thereto tend the saying of the vngodly men. They cannot denie that the iustification of faith is the beginning, foundation, cause, matter, and substance of the righteousnes of workes: yet they conclude that man is not iustified by faith, because good workes also are accounted for righteousnesse. Therefore let vs passe these follies and confesse as the truth is, that if the righteousnes of workes of what sort soeuer it be accounted, hangeth vpon the iustification of faith, it is by this not onely nothing diminished but also confirmed, namely whereby the strength thereof appeareth more mightie. Neither yet let vs thinke that workes are so commended after free iustification, that they also afterward come into the place of iustifying a man, or doe part the office betweene them and faith. For vnlesse the iustification remaine alway whole, the vncleannesse of workes shall be vncouered. And it is no absurditie, that a man is so iustified by faith that not onely he himselfe is righteous, but also his workes are esteemed righteous, aboute their worthines.

*Not onely we but
our workes are ius-
tified by faith in
Christ: and there-
fore the righteous-
nesse of workes is
a thing both vnder
and after the ius-
tification of faith.*

10 After this manner we will graunt in workes not onely a righteousnesse in part (as our aduersaries themselves would haue) but also that it is allowed of God as if it were a perfect and full righteousnes. But if we remember vpon what foundation it is vpholden, all the difficultie shall be dissolued. For then and not till then it beginneth to be an acceptable worke, when it is receiued with pardon. Now whence cometh pardon, but because God beholdeth both vs and all our things in Christ?

Therefore

Therefore as we, when we are grafted into Christ, doe therefore appeare righteous before God, because our wickednesses are couered with his innocencie, so our workes are and be taken for righteous, because whatsoeuer faultinesse is otherwise in them, being buried in the cleannes of Christ, it is not imputed. So we may rightfully say, that by onely Faith not onely we but also our workes are iustified. Now if this righteousness of workes of what fort soeuer it be, hangeth vpon Faith and free iustification, and is made of it: it ought to be included vnder it, and to be set vnder it as the effect vnder the cause thereof, as I may so call it: so farre is it off that it ought to be raised vp either to destroy or darken it. So *Paul* to driue men to confesse that our blessednes consisteth of the mercie of God, not of workes, chiefly enforceth that saying of *Dauid*. Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose finnes are couered. Blessed is he to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin. If any man doe thrust into the contrary innumerable sayings wherein blessednesse seemeth to be giuen to workes, as are these: Blessed is the man which feareth the Lord, which hath pity on the poore, which hath not walked in the counsell of the wicked, which beareth temptation: Blessed are they which keepe iudgement, the vndefiled, the poore in Spirit, the meeke, the mercifull, &c. They shall not make but that it shall be true which *Paul* sayeth, For because those things that are there commended are neuer so in man, that he is therfore allowed of God, it followeth that man is alway miserable, ynesse he be deliuered from misery by forgiveness of finnes. Forasmuch as therefore all the kinds of blessednes which are extolled in the Scriptures, doe fall downe void, so that man receiue thure of none of them, till he haue obtained blessednesse by forgiveness of finnes, which may afterwards make place for them: it followeth that this is not onely the highest and the chiefe but also the only blessednes: ynesse peradventure you will haue that it be weakened of those which consist in it alone. Now there is much lesse reason why the calling of men righteous should trouble vs, which is commonly giuen to the Faithfull. I graunt verily that they are called righteous of the holines of life: but forasmuch as they rather endeavour to the following of righteousness, than doe fulfill righteousness in selfe, it is meete that this righteousness such as it is, giue place to the iustification of Faith, from whence it hath that which it is.

II But they say that we haue yet more businesse with *James*, namely which with open voice fighteth against vs. For he teacheth both that *Abraham* was iustified by workes, and also that all we are iustified by workes, not by Faith onely. What then? will they draw *Paul* to fight with *James*? If they hold *James* for a minister of Christ, his saying must be so taken that it disagree not from Christ speaking by the mouth of *Paul*, The holy Ghost affirmeth by the mouth of *Paul*, that *Abraham* obtained righteousness by Faith, not by workes: and we also doe teach that all are iustified by Faith without the workes of the law. The same holy Ghost teacheth by *James* that both *Abrahams* righteousness and ours consisteth of workes, not of onely Faith. It is certaine that the holy Ghost fighteth not with himselfe. What agrement shall there be therefore of these two? It is enough for the aduersaries, if they plucke the righteousness of Faith which we would haue to be fastened with most deepe roots: but to render to consciences their quietnes, they haue no great care. Whereby verily you may see that they gnawe the iustification of Faith, but in the meane time doe appoint no marke of righteousness where consciences may stay. Therefore let them triumph as they list, so that they may boast of no other victorie than that they haue taken away all certaintie of righteousness. And this wretched victorie they shall obtaine, where the light of truth being quenched, the Lord shall suffer them to ouerspread the darkenes of lies. But wheresoeuer the truth of God shall stand, they shall nothing prouaile. I denie therefore that the saying of *James* which they still continually holde vp against vs as it were the shielde of *Achilles* doth any thing at all make for them.

That this may be made plaine, first we must looke at the marke that the Apostle

Rom. 4. 7.
Psal. 32.

Psal. 113.
Psal. 14 21.
Psal. 111.
Iam. 1. 12.
Psal. 106. 3. &
119. 1.
Mat. 5. 3.

*S James maketh
nothing against
iustification by
faith alone with-
out workes. For he
speakes not of
such a faith as is
meant by S. Paul
in deliuering this
doctrine.*

shooteh at: and then we must note where they be deceiued. Because there were then manie (which mischuefe is wont to be continuall in the Church) which openly bewrayed their infidelitic, in neglecting and omitting all the proper workes of the faithfull, and yet ceased not to boast of the false name of faith: *Iames* doeth heere mocke the foolish boldnes of such men. Therefore it is not his purpose in any point to diminish the force of true faith; but to shew how fondly those triflers did challenge so much the vaine image of it, that being contented herewith they carelesly ranne dissolately abroade into all licentiousnes of vices. This ground being concerned, it shall be easie to perceiue where our aduersaries doe misse. For they fall into two deceits in the worde, the one in the name of faith, the other in the worde of iustifying. Whereas the Apostle nameth faith a vaine opinion far distant from the truth of faith, it is spoken by way of granting, which is no derogation to the matter: which he sheweth at the beginning in these words. What profiteth it, my brethren, if any man say that he hath faith, and hath no workes? Hee doth not say, if any haue faith without workes, but, If any man boast. More plainly also he speaketh a little after, where he in mockerie maketh it worse than the diuels knowledge: last of all, when he calleth it dead. But by the definition you may sufficiently perceiue what he meaneth. Thou beleueest (saith he) that there is a God. Truely if nothing be contained in this faith but to beleue that there is a God, it is now no maruell if it do not iustifie. And when this is taken from it, let vs not thinke that any thing is abated from the christian faith, the nature whereof is far otherwise. For after what maner doth true faith iustifie vs, but when it conioyneth vs with Christ, that being made one with him we may enioy the partaking of his righteousness? It doth not therefore iustifie vs by this that it conceiueh a knowledge of the being of God, but by this that it resteth vpon the assurednes of the mercie of God.

Neither doth *S.*
Iames vse the
word *Iustification*,
as *S. Paul* doth,
but in a meaning
far different: *S.*
Paul meaning
thereby the imputa-
tion of righteous-
nes and *S. Iames*
the declaration of
that righteousness
by workes, which
was imputed.

12 We haue not yet the worke, vnlesse we examine also the other deceit in the word, forasmuch as *Iames* setteth part of iustification in workes. If you will make *Iames* agreeing both with the rest of the Scriptures, and with himselfe, you must of necessitie take the word of iustifying in another signification than it is taken in *Paul*. For *Paul* saith that we are iustified, when the remembrance of our vnrighteousnes being blotted out, we are accounted righteous. If *Iames* had meant of that taking, he had wrongfully alleged that out of *Moses*: *Abraham* beleued God, &c. For he thus frameth it together. *Abraham* by workes obtained righteousness, because he stucked not at the commaundement of God, to offer vp his sonne. And so the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, that he beleued God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness. If it be an absurditie, that the effect is before his cause, either *Moses* doth in that place falsly testifie, that faith was imputed to *Abraham* for righteousness: or he deserued not righteousness by that obedience which he shewed in offering vp of *Isaac*. *Abraham* was iustified by his faith, When *Ismael* was not yet conceived, which was now grown past childhood before that *Isaac* was borne. How therefore shall we say, that hee got to himselfe righteousness by obedience which followed long afterwarde? Wherefore either *Iames* did wrongfully misurne the order (which it is a wickednesse to thinke) or he meant not to say that he was iustified, as though he deserued to be accounted righteous. How then? Truely it appeareth that he speaketh of the declaration of righteousness and not the imputation: as if he had said: Who so are righteous by true faith, they do proue their righteousness with obedience and good workes, not with a bare and imagelike visor of faith. In a summe, he disputeth not by what meane we are iustified, but he requireth of the faithfull a working righteousness. And as *Paul* affirmeth that men bee iustified without the helpe of workes: so *Iames* doeth here suffer them to be accounted righteous which want good workes. The considering of this shall deliuer vs out of all doubt. For our aduersaries are hereby chiefly deceiued, that they thinke that *Iames* defineth the maner of iustifying, whereas he tra-
ucteth

saileth about nothing but to ouerthrow their peruerse carelesnesse, which did vainly pretend faith to excuse their despising of good workes. Therefore into howe manie waies soeuer they wrest the words of *Iames*, they shall wring out nothing but two sentences: that a vaine bodilesse shew of faith doth not iustifie, and that a faithfull man not contented with such an imaginatiue shewe, doth declare his righteousnesse by good workes.

13 As for that which they alleage out of *Paul*, the same meaning, that the dooers of the law, not the hearers, are iustified, it nothing helpeth them. I will not escape away with the solution of *Ambrose*, that that is therefore spoken because the fulfilling of the law is faith in Christ. For I see that it is but a meere starting hole, which nothing needeth where there is abroad way open. There the Apostle throweth downe the Iewes from foolish confidence, which boasted themselues of the onely knowledge of the law, when in the meane time they were the greatest despisers of it. Therefore that they should not stand so much in their own conceit for the bare knowledge of the lawe, he warneth them, that if righteousnes be sought out of the lawe, not the knowledge but the obseruing of it is required. We verily make no doubt of this that the righteousnes of the law standeth in workes: nor yet of this also, that the righteousnesse consisteth in the worthines and merites of workes. But it is not yet proued, that we are iustified by workes, vnlesse they bring forth some man that hath fulfilled the law. And that *Paul* meant none otherwise, the hāging together of the text shal be a sufficient testimonie. After that he had generally condemned the Gentiles and the Iewes of vnrighteousnes, then he descended to the particular shewing of it, and faith, that they which sinned without the Law, do perish without the Law: which is spoken of the Gentiles: but they which haue sinned in the law, are iudged by the law: which pertaineth to the Iewes. Now because they winking at their owne trespassings proudly gloried of the onely lawe: hee adioyneth that which most fitly agreed, that the law was not therefore made, that men should be made righteous by onely hearing of the voice thereof: but then and not till then when they obeyed, as if he should say: Seekest thou righteousnes in the law: alleage not the hearing of it, which of it selfe is of small importance, but bring workes, by which thou maist declare that the law was not set for thee in vaine. Of these workes because they were all destitute, it followed that they were spoiled of glorying of the lawe. Therefore we must of the meaning of *Paul* rather frame a contrarie argument. The righteousnes of the lawe consisteth in the perfection of workes. No man can boast that he hath by workes satisfied the law. Therefore there is no righteousnes by the lawe.

14 Now they alleage also these places, wherein the faithfull doe boldly offer their righteousnes to the iudgement of God to be examined, and require that sentence be giuen of them according to it. Of which sort are these: Iudge me O Lord according to my righteousnes, and according to my innocencie, which are in me. Againe, Hear me my righteousnes, O God: Thou hast proued my heart, and hast visited it in the night, and there was no wickednes found in me. Againe, The Lord shall render to me according to my righteousnes, and he shall recompence me according to the cleanness of my hands. Because I haue kept the waies of the Lord, & haue not wickedly departed from my God. And I shall be vnspotted, and shall keepe me from my iniquity. Again, Iudge me, Lord, because I haue walked in mine innocencie. I haue not fit with lying men, I will not enter in with them that do wicked things. Destroy not my soule with the vngodly, my life with men of blood in whose hands are iniquities: whose right hand is filled with gifts. But I haue walked innocently. I haue about spoken of the affiance which the holy ones do seeme simply to take to themselues of workes. As for these testimonies that we haue heere alleaged, they shall not much accombre vs if they be vnderstanded according to their compasse, or (as they commonly call it) their circumstance. Now the same is double. For nei-

That the dooers of the lawe are iustified and not the bare hearers helpeth nothing to the ouerthrow of iustification by faith alone.
Rom. 2. 23.

The protestations which faithfull men do make of their innocencie in the sight of God, are no arguments that they supposed themselves thereby iustified before him.
Psal. 7. 5.
Psal. 17. 1.
Psal. 18. 25.
Psal. 26. 1.

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ther would they haue them to be wholly examined that they should be either cōdemned or acquitted according to the continuall course of their whole life: but they bring into iudgement a speciall cause to be debated. Neither do they claime to themselves righteousnes in respect of the perfection of God, but by comparison of naughtie and wicked men. First when the iustifying of man is entreated of, it is not onely required that he haue a good cause in some particular matter, but a certaine perpetuall agreement of righteousnes in his whole life. But the holy ones, when they cal vpō the iudgement of God to approue their innocencie, doe not offer themselves free from all guiltines and in curie behalfe faultlesse: but verily when they haue fastened their affiance of saluation in his goodnes onely, yet trusting that he is the reuenger of the poore afflicted against right and equitie, they commend to him the cause wherein the innocent are oppressed. But when they set their aduersaries with them before the iudgement seare of God, they boast not of such an innocencie as shall answer to the purenesse of God if it be seuerely searched, but because in comparison of the malice, obstinacie, furtletie and wickednes of their aduersaries, they know that their plainnesse, righteousnes, simplicitie, and cleannesse is known and pleasing to God: they feare not to call vpon him to be iudge betweene themselves and them. So when *David* said to *Saul*: The Lord render to euery man according to his righteousnesse and truth: he meant not that the Lord should examine by himselfe and reward euery man according to his deseruings, but he tooke the Lord to witness, how great his innocencie was in comparison of the wickednes of *Saul*. And *Paul* himselfe, when he boasteth with this glorying that he hath a good witness of conscience, that hee hath trauelled with simplicitie and vprightnesse in the Church of God, meaneth not that he standeth vpon such glorying before God, but being compelled with the standers of the wicked, he defendeth his faithfull and honest dealing, which he knew to be pleasing to the mercifull kindnesse of God, against all euill speaking of men whatsoever it be. For we see what he saith in another place, that he knoweth no euill by himselfe, but that he is not thereby iustified, namely because he knewe that the iudgement of God farre surmounteth the beare-ied sight of men. Howsoever therefore the godly doe defend their innocencie against the hypocrisie of the vngodly, by the witnessing and iudgement of God: yet when they haue to do with God alone, they all crie out with one mouth: If thou marke iniquitie, Lorde, Lord whoe shall abide it? Enter not into iudgement with thy seruants: because euery one that lueth shall not be iustified in thy sight: and distrusting their owne workes, they gladly sing, Thy goodnes is better than life.

1. Sa. 26. 15.

2. Cor. 1. 12.

1. Cor. 4. 4.

Psal. 130. 3.
& 140. 2.
Psal. 36. 4.

15 There are also other places not vnlke to these before, in which a man may yet tarie. *Salomon* saith, that he which walketh in his vprightnesse, is righteous. Again, That in the path of righteousnesse is life, and that in the same is not death. After which manner *Ezechiel* reporteth that hee shall liue life that doth iudgement and righteousnes. None of these do we either deny or darken. But let there come forth one of the sons of *Adam* with such an vprightnes. If there be none, either they must perish at the sight of God, or flee to the sanctuarie of mercy. Neither do we in the meane time deny but that to the faithfull their vprightnesse, though it be but half and vnperfect, is a steppe taken in immortallitie. But whence cometh that but because whom the Lord hath taken into the couenant of grace, he searcheth not their workes according to their deseruings, but kisseth them with fatherly kindnesse? Whereby we do not onely vnderstand that which the schoolemen do teach, that workes haue their value of the accepting grace. For they meane that workes which are otherwise insufficient to purchase righteousnesse by the couenant of the lawe, are by the accepting of God auanced to the value of equalitie. But I say that they being defiled both with other trespassings & with their owne spots, are of no other value at all, than inso much as the Lord tenderly graunteth pardon to both: that is to say, giueth

Vnno mens righteousnes neither is life vncainly promised if we vnderstand it giuen thereunto not for merit but of mercy: neither is perfection falsly attributed vnto saintes of a part thereof be the serious acknowledgement of their imperfection.
Pro. 20. 7. & 22. 15.
Eze. 18. 9. & 33. 15.

free righteousness to man. Neither are here those prayers of the Apostle seasonably thrust in place, where he wisheth so great perfection to the faithful, that they may be faultlesse & vnbblamable in the day of the Lord, These words in deed the Celestines did in old time turmoile, to affirme a perfection of righteousness in this life. But, which we thinke to be sufficient, we answer briefly after *Augustine*, that all the godly ought in deede to endeouour towards this marke, that they may one day appeere spotlesse and faultlesse before the face of God: but because the best and most excellent maner of this life is nothing but a going forward, wee shall then and not till then attaine to this marke, when being vnclodhed of this flesh of sinne wee shall fully cleaue to the Lorde. Yet will I not stiffely strue with him which will giue the title of perfection to the holy ones, so that he also limit the same with the wordes of *Augustine* himselfe. When (saith he) we will call the vertue of the holic ones, perfect: to the same perfection also belongeth the acknowledging of imperfection both in truth and humilitie.

Eph. 1. 4.
1. Thes. 3. 13.

Lib. ad Rom. 3.
cap. 7.

The xvij. Chapter.

*That of the rewarde, the righteousnesse of workes
is ill gathered.*

NOwe let vs passe ouer to those sayings which affirme, that God will render to euery man according to his works: of which sort are these. Euery man shall bear away that which he hath done in the body, either good or euill. Glorie and honour to him that worketh good: trouble and distresse vpon euery soule of him that worketh euill. And they which haue done good things, shall goe into the resurrection of life: they which haue done euill, into the resurrection of iudgement. Come yee blessed of my father: I haue hungered, and yee gaue mee meate: I haue thirsted, and yee gaue me drinke, &c. And with them let vs also ioyne these sayings, which call eternall life the reward of works. Of which sort are these. The rendering of the hands of a man shall be restored to him. He that feareth the commandment shall be rewarded. Be glad and reioice, behold, your reward is plentiful in heauen. Euery man shall receiue reward according to his labour. Where it is saide that God shall render to euery man according to his workes, the same is easily assoyled. For that manner of speaking doth rather shewe the order of following, than the cause. But it is out of doubt, that the Lord doth accomplish our saluation by these degrees of his mercie, when those whom he hath chosen he calleth to him: those whome he hath called, he iustificeth: those whom he hath iustificed, he glorifieth. Although therefore he do by his onely mercy receiue them that be his into life, yet because he bringeth them into the possession thereof by the race of good works, that he may fulfill his worke in them by such order as he hath appointed: it is no maruell if it be saide that they be crowned according to their workes, by which without doubt they are prepared to receiue the crowne of immortalitie. Yea and after this maner it is sily saide that they worke their owne saluation, when in applying themselves to good workes, they practise themselves toward eternall life: namely as in another place they are commanded to work the meate which perissheth not, when by beleeeuing in Christ they get to themselves life: and yet it is by and by afterwarde added: Which the sonne of man shall giue you. Whereby appereth that the worde of Working is not set as contrarie to grace, but is referred to endeouour: & therefore it followeth not, that either the faithful are themselves authors of their owne saluation, or that the same proceedeth from their workes. How then? So soone as they are taken into the fellowship of Christ, by knowledge of the Gospel, & the enlightening of the holy Ghost, eternall life is begun in them. Now the same good worke which God hath begun in them, must also be made perfect vntill the date of the Lorde Iesu. And it is made perfect, when resem-

*When rewards
are promised vnto
men according to
their workes,
it is not to shewe
that good workes
are the cause but
the way to salua-
tion.*

Matth. 16. 27.
2. Cor. 5. 10.
Rom. 2. 6.
Ioh. 5. 29.
Matt. 25. 34.
Prou 12. 14
& 13. 13.
Matth. 5. 12.
Luk. 6. 17.
2. Cor. 3. 8.
Rom. 2. 6.
& 8. 30.

Phil. 2. 12.

Ioh. 6. 27.

bling the heavenly father in righteousnes and holines, they proue themselues to be his children not swarned out of kinde.

2 There is no cause why we should of the name of reward gather an argument that our workes are the cause of saluation. First let this be determined in our hearts, that the kingdome of heauen is not a reward of seruants, but an inheritance of children, which they only shall enjoy, that are adopted of the Lord to be his children: and for no other cause, but for this adoption. For, the sonne of the bondwoman shall not be heire, but the sonne of the free woman. And in the very same places, in which the holy Ghost promisseth to workes eternall glorie for reward, in expressing the inheritance by name, he sheweth that it cometh from else where. So Christ rehearseth workes, which he recompenseth with the rewarding of heauen, when he calleth the elect to the possession thereof: but he therewithall adioyneth that it must be possessed by right of inheritance. So *Paul* biddeth seruants, which do their dutie faithfully, to hope for reward of the Lord: but he addeth, of inheritance. We see how they do as it were by expresse words prouide that we impute not eternall blessednes to workes, but to the adoption of God. Why therefore do they therewithall together make mention of workes? This question shalbe made plaine with one example of Scripture. Before the birth of *Isaac*, there was promised to *Abraham* a seed in which all the nations of the earth should be blessed: and a multiplying of his seede, which should match the starres of the skie, and the sands of the sea, and other like. In many yeres afterward, *Abraham*, as he was commanded by the oracle, prepared himselfe to offer vp his sonne in sacrifice. When he had performed this obedience, he receiued a promise. I haue sworne by my selfe (saith the Lord) because thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thine owne onely begotten sonne, I will blesse thee, and multiply thy seede as the starres of the skie, and the sands of the sea: thy seede shall possess the gates of their enemies, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in thy seede, because thou hast obeyed my voice. What heare we? Hath *Abraham* by his obedience deserued the blessing, the promise whereof he had receiued before that the commandement was giuen? Here verily we haue it without circumstances shewed, that the Lorde rewardeth the workes of the faithfull with those benefites which he had already giuen them before that the workes were thought of, hauing yet no cause why he should do good to them but his owne mercie.

3 Yet doth the Lord not deceiue nor mock vs when he saith that he rendereth for reward to workes the same thing which he had before workes freely giuen. For, because he will haue vs to be exercised with good workes, to thinke vpon the deliury or enjoying (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 fruite of the promises is also rightly assigned to them, to the ripenesse whereof they do not bring vs. The *Apottle* very fitly expressed both these points, when he said that the *Colostians* apply themselues to the duties of charitie, for the hope which is laide vp for them in heauen, of which they had before heard by the word of the true speaking Gospell. For when he saith that they knew by the Gospell, that there was hope laide vp for them in heauen, he declareth that the same is by Christ only, not vnderpropped with any workes. Wherewith accordeth that saying of *Peter*, that the godly are kept by the power of God, through faith, vnto the saluation which is readie to be manifestly shewed at the time appointed for it. When he saith that they labour for it, he signifieth that the faithfull must runne all the time of their life, that they may attaine to it. But least we should thinke that the reward which the Lord promisseth vs, is reduced to the measure of merite, he did put fourth a parable, in which he made himselfe a housholder, which sent all them that he met, to the trimming of his vineyard, some at the first houre of the day, some at the second, some at the third, yea and some also at the 11. At euening he paid to euery one equall wages. The exposition of which

parable,

The rewarding of workes with saluation doth not argue those workes to be the cause of that saluation, wherewith they are rewarded, more than Abrahams obedience in offering his sonne a cause of that blessing wherof he had the promise before he obeyed.
Ephe. 1. 18.
Gala. 4. 30.
Math. 25. 34.
Col. 3. 24.
Gen. 15. 5.
& 17. 1.
Gen. 22. 3. & 17.

We are not mocked when what is promised to our workes wherunto we are interested by faith alone.
Col. 1. 4.

1. Peter 1. 5.

Math. 12. 1.

parable, that same old writer whatsoever he was, whose booke is carried abroad vnder the name of *Ambrose* of the calling of the Gentiles, hath briefly and truly set out. I will vse rather his words than mine owne. The Lord (saith he) by the rule of this comparison hath stablished the diuersitie of manyfold calling, belonging to one grace: where without doubt they which being let into the vineyard at the 11. houre, are made equall with them that had wrought the whole day, do represent the estate of them, whome for the aduancing of the excellencie of grace, the tender kindnesse of the Lord hath rewarded at the waning of the day, and at the ending of their life: not paying wages for their labor, but pouring out the riches of his goodnes vpon them whom he hath chosen without works, that euen they also which haue sved in great labour, and haue receiued no more than the last, may vnderstand that they haue receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of works. Last of all, this also is worthe to be noted in these places, where eternall life is called the reward of workes, that it is not simply taken for the communicating which we haue with God to blessed immortalitie, when he embraceth vs with fatherly good will in Christ: but for the possessing or enioying (as they call it) of blessednes, as also the very words of Christ do sound, In time to come life euerlasting. And in another place, Come and possesse the kingdome, &c. After this manner *Paul* calleth adoption, the reuealing of the adoption which shall be made in the resurrection: and afterward expoundeth it the redemption of our bodie. Otherwise as estranging from God is eternall death, so when man is receiued of God into fauour, that he may enioy the communicating of him and be made one with him, he is receiued from death to life: which is done by the beneficiall meane of adoption only. And if, as they are wont, they stifly enforce the reward of workes, we may turne against them that saying of *Peter*, that eternall life is the reward of faith.

Lib. 1. cap. 3.

Math. 10. 30.
Math. 25. 34.

Rom. 8. 18.

1. Pet. 1. 9.

Rewards are see before vs, not to the end we should glorie in our workes, but lest we should faim in the midst of our trials.

4 Therefore let vs not thinke, that the holy Ghost doth with such promise set forth the worthines of our workes, as if they deserued such reward. For the Scripture leaueth nothing to vs, whereof we may be aduanced in the sight of God: But rather it wholly endeuoureth to beate downe our arrogancie, to humble vs, to throw vs downe, and altogether to breake vs in peeces. But our weakenesse is so succoured, which otherwise would by and by slip and fall downe, vnlesse it did susteine it selfe with this expectation, and mitigate her tedious grieues with comfort. First how hard it is for a man to forsake and deny not only all his things, but also himselfe, let euery man consider for himselfe. And yet with this introduction Christ traineth his scholars, that is, all the godly. Then throughout all their life he so instructeth them vnder the discipline of the crosse, that they may not set their heart eithr to the desire or confidence of present good things. Briefely he so handleth them for the most part, that which way soeuer they turne their eies throughout the whole widenesse of the world, they haue on enery side nothing but desperation present before them: so that *Paul* saith, that we are more miserable than all men if our hope be only in this world. That they should not faint in these so great distresses, the Lord is present with them, which putteth them in mind to lift vp their head higher, to cast their eies further, that they find with him the blessednesse which they see not in the world. This blessednesse he calleth, reward, wages, recompence, not weying the merite of workes, but signifying that it is a recompensing to their troubles, sufferings, slanders, &c. Wherefore nothing withstandeth, but that we may after the example of the Scripture, call eternall life a rewarding, because in it the Lord receiueh his from labors into rest, from affliction into prosperous and happie state, from sorow into gladnes, from pouertie into flowing wealth, from shame into glorie, and changeth all the euils which they haue suffered for greater good things. So it shall also be no inconuenience, if we thinke holnesse of life to be a way, not which openeth an entrie into the glorie of the heavenly kingdome, but whereby the elect are led of their God into the disclosing

1. Cor. 15. 19.

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Rom. 3. 30.

of it: for as much as this is his good will to glorifie them whome he hath sanctified. Onely let vs not imagine a correlation of merite and reward, wherein the Sophisters do fondly stick fast, because they consider not this end which we set foorth. But how vnorderly is it, when the Lord calleth vs to one end, for vs to looke to another? Nothing is more euident, than that rewarde is promised to good workes, to releue the weaknesse of our flesh with some comfort, not to puffe vp our mindes with glorie. Whofoeuer therefore doth thereby gather the merit of workes, or doth in one balance wey worke with reward, he erreth faire from the right marke of God.

God as a iust iudge shall render a crowne to our righteousnesse but not vnlesse he doe first graunt vnto our vnrighteousnesse a gracious pardon.
2. Tim. 4. 8.
Aug. ad Valent. de grat. & lib. arbit.

5 Wherefore when the Scripture saith that God the iust iudge will one day render to his a crowne of righteousnesse, I doe not onely take exception with *Augustine*, and say: To whom should he being a iust iudge, render a crowne, if he had not being a mercifull father giuen grace? and how should there be righteousnesse, vnlesse grace went before which iustificth the vnrighteous? How should these due things be rendered, vnlesse these vndue things were first giuen? But also I adde another thing. How should he impute righteousnesse to our workes, vnlesse his tender mercifulnesse did hide the vnrighteousnesse that is in them? How should he iudge them woorthie of reward, vnlesse he did by immeasurable bountifulnesse take away that which is worthy of punishment? For he is wont to call eternall life, grace: because it is rendered to the free gifts of God when it is repaid to workes. But the scripture doth further humble vs, and therewithall raise vs vp. For besides this that it forbiddeth vs to glorie in workes, because they are the free gifts of God, it therewithall teacheth that they are alwaies defiled with some dregs, that they cannot satisfie God, if they be examined by the rule of his iudgement: but least our courage should faint, it teacheth that they please by onely pardon. But although *Augustine* speaketh somewhat otherwise than we doe: yet that he doth not so disagree in the matter, shall appeere by his wordes in his third booke to *Boniface*. Where when he had compared two men together, the one of a life euen miraculously holy and perfect, the other honest in deede and of vncorrupt manners, but not so perfect but that much wanteth in him: at the last hee concludeth thus. Euen this man which in manners seemeth much inferior, by reason of the true faith in God whereof he liueth and according to which he accuseth himselfe in all his offences, in all his good workes praiseth God, giuing to himselfe the shame, and to him glorie, and taking from himselfe both the pardon of finnes, and the loue of weldoings, when he is to be deliuered out of this life, he passeth into the fellowship of Christ. Wherefore, but because of faith? Which although it saue no man without workes, (for it is it, which worketh by loue, not a reprobate faith) yet by it also finnes are released, because the righteous man liueth of faith: but without it euen the same which seeme good workes are turned into finnes. Here verily he doth plainly confesse that which we so much trauell to prouue, that the righteousnesse of good workes hangeth hereupon, that they are by pardon allowed of God.

Cap. 5.

Heb. 2. 4.

By seruing God we doe eternally enrich our selues, not that our seruice is worthy as much as ouce to be regarded, but that his mercie sufficeth not his seruants to losse their labors.
Luk. 16. 9.
1. Tim. 6. 17.

6 A very neere sense to the places aboue recited, haue these: Make to your selues friendes of the Mammon of wickednesse, that when you shall faile, they may receiue you into euerlasting tabernacles. Commaund the rich men of this world not to be proudly minded, nor to trust in vncertaine riches but in the liuing God, to doe well, to become rich in good workes, to lay vp in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may obtaine eternall life. For good workes are compared to the riches, which we may enioy in the blessednesse of eternall life. I answer, that we shal neuer come to the true vnderstanding of them, vnlesse we turne our eyes to the marke whereunto the holy Ghost directeth his words. If it be true which Christ saith that our mind abideth there where our treasure is, as the children of the world are wont to be earnestly bent to the getting of those things which serue for the delights of this present life: so the faithful must looke sith they haue learned that this life shall by & by vanish away like a dreame, that they send those things which

which they would enjoy, thither where they shall haue perfect life. We must therefore do as they do which purpose to remoue into any place, where they haue chosen to rest their whole life. They send their goods before, and do not discontentedly want them for a time : because they thinke themselves so much more happie, how much more goods they haue where they shall tarie long. If we beleue that heauen is our country, it behooueth vs rather to send away our riches thither than to keepe them here where we must loose them with sudden removing. But how shall we send them thither? If we communicate to the necessities of the poore : to whome whatsoever is giuen, the Lord accounteth it giuen to himselfe. Whereupon cometh that notable promise, He that giueth to the poore, lendeth for vs in his hand? The Lord. Againe, he that liberally soweth, shall liberally reape. For those things are deliuered into the hand of the Lord to keepe, which are bestowed vpon our brethren by the dutie of charitie. He, as he is a faithfull keeper of that which is deliuered to him, will one day restore it with plentifull gaine. Are then our dutifull doings of so great value with God, that they be as riches laide vp in store for vs in his hand? Who shall feare so to say, when the scripture doth so oft and plainly witnesse it? But if any man will leape from the meere goodnes of God to the worthines of workes, he shall be nothing holpen by these testimonies to the stablishing of his error. For you can gather nothing rightly thereof but the meere inclination of Gods tendernes toward vs: For as much as to encourage vs to well doing although the seruices which we do to him are not worthy of so much as his only looking vpon them, yet he suffreth none of them to be lost.

Math. 25. 46.
Prou. 19. 17.
2. Cor. 9. 6.

7 But they more enforce the words of the Apostle, which when he comforteth the Thessalonians in troubles, teacheth that the same are sent to them, that they may be accounted worthy of the kingdome of God, for which they suffer. For (saith he) it is righteous with God, to render trouble to them that trouble you : but to you, rest with vs when the Lord Iesus shall be shewed from heauen. But the author of the Epistle to the Hebrewes saith, God is not vnrighteous, that he should forget your worke, and the loue which you haue shewed in his name, for that you haue ministered to the Saints. To the first place I answer, that there is no worthines of merits spoken of : but because God the father willet that we whome he hath chosen to be his children, should be made like to Christ his first begotten sonne : as it behooued that he should first suffer, and then enter into the glorie appointed for him : so must we also by many tribulations enter into the kingdome of heauen. Therefore when we suffer tribulations for the name of Christ, there are as it were certaine marks printed vpon vs, wherewith God vseth to marke the sheepe of his flocke. After this manner therefore we are accounted worthy of the kingdome of God, because we beare in our body the marks of our Lord and master which are the signes of the children of God. To this purpose make these sayings. That we beare about in our body the mortification of Iesus Christ that his life may be shewed in vs. That we be fashioned like to his sufferings, that we may come to the likenes of his resurrection from the dead. The reason which is adioyned serueth not to prooue any worthines, but to confirme the hope of the kingdome of God : as if he had said, As it agreeth with the iust iudgement of God to take vengeance of your enemies for the vexations that they haue done to you: so agreeth it also to giue to you release & rest fro vexations. The other place, which teacheth that it so becometh the righteousnes of God not to forget the obedience of the that be his, that it declareth it to be in a maner vnrighteous if he should forget them, hath this meaning : God to quicken our slothfulnes, hath giuen vs assurance that the labour shall not be vaine which we shall take for his glorie. Let vs alway remember that this promise, as all other should bring vs no profit, vnlesse the free covenant of mercie went before, wherewith the whole assurednes of our saluation should rest. But standing vpon that covenant, we ought assuredly to trust, there shall also

This doctrine not shaken by the Apostle, either when he teacheth that afflictions are sent vs that they which are afflicted may be accounted worthy of a kingdome, nor when he denieth that God is so vnrighteous so forgets the good we do for his sake.

2. Thes. 1. 5.
Heb. 6. 10.
Rom. 8. 29.
Luke. 24. 26.
Act. 4. 22.

Gal. 6. 17.

1. Cor. 4. 10.

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also not want reward of the liberalitie of God to our workes howsoever they bee vnworthie. The Apostle to confirme vs in that expectation, affirmeth that God is not vnrighteous, but will stande to his promise once made. Therefore this righteousnes is rather referred to the truth of Gods promise, than to his iustice of rendering due. According to which meaning there is a notable saying of *Augustine*, which as the holy man sticketh not to rehearse often as notable, so I thinke it not vnworthie that we shoulde continually remeber it. The Lord (saith he) is faithfull, which hath made himself detter to vs, not by receiuing any thing of vs, but by promising al things to vs.

8 There are also alleaged these sayings of *Paul*. If I haue all faith, so that I remove mountains out of their place, but haue not charitie, I am nothing. Again, Now there remaine hope, faith & charitie, but the greatest among these is charitie. Again, About all things haue charitie, which is the bond of perfection. By the first two places our Pharisees affirme that we are rather iustified by charitie than by faith, namely by the cheefer vertue, as they say. But this fond argument is easily wiped away. For we haue in another place already declared, that those things which are spoken in the first place pertaine nothing to true faith. The other place wee also expounde of true faith, than which hee saith that charitie is greater: not that it is more meritorious, but because it is more fruitfull, because it extendeth further, because it serueth more, because it remaineth alway in force, whereas the vse of faith continueth but for a time. If we haue regard to excellency, the loue of god should worthily haue the cheef place, of which *Paul* here speaketh not. For hee enforceth this thing onely that wee shoulde with mutuall charitie edifie one another in the Lorde, but let vs imagine that charitie doth euery where excell faith: yet what man of sound iudgement, yea, or of sound braine, will gather hereof that it doth more iustifie? The power of iustifying which faith hath, consisteth not in the worthines of the work. Our iustification standeth vpon the onely mercy of God and the deseruing of Christ, which iustification whē faith taketh hold of it, is said to iustifie. Now if you aske your aduersaries in what sense they assigne iustification to charitie, they will answer that because it is a dutifull doing acceptable to God, therefore by the deseruing thereof righteousness is imputed to vs by the acceptation of the goodnes of God. Here you see how wel the argument proceedeth. We say that faith iustificieth, not because by the worthines of it selfe it deserueth righteousness to vs, but because it is an instrument by which we freely obtaine the righteousness of Christ. These men, omitting the mercy of God, and passing ouer Christ (where the sum of righteousness standeth) do affirm that we are iustified by the benefit of charitie because it excelleth aboue faith: euen as if a man should reason that a king is fitter to make a shooc than is a thooemaker, because he is an infinit way more excellent. This onely argument is a plaine example that all the Sorbonicall schooles do not so much as taste with the vtermoost part of their lips what the iustification of faith is. But if any wrangler do yet carpe & 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 gifts which *Paul* rehearseth are after a certaine manner vnder faith & hope, because they pertaine to the knowledge of god, he cōprehendeth them all by way of recapitulation vnder the name of faith & hope: as if he should say both propheticie, & toongs, & the grace and knowledge of interpretation tend to this mark to lead vs to the knowledge of God. And we knowe God in this life none otherwise but by hope & faith. Therefore when I name faith & hope, I comprehend all these things together. And so there remaine these three Hope, Faith, Charitie: that is to say, how great diuersitie of giftes fouer there be, they are all referred to these. Among these the chiefe is Charitic, &c. Out of the third place they gather, If Charitie bee the bond of perfection, then it is also the bond of righteousness which is nothing else but perfection. First, to speake nothing howe *Paul* there calleth perfection, when

In Psal. 32. & 109.

god is o' debtor

The aduancement
of Charitie is no
disgrace to the do-
ctrine of iustifica-
tion by faith.

1. Cor. 13.

Col. 3. 14.

the members of the Church well set in order doe cleave together, and to graunt that we are by charitie made perfect before God: yet what new thing bring they forth? For I will alway on the contrarie side take exception and say that we neuer come to this perfection vnlesse we fulfill all the partes of charitie, and thereupon I wil gather, that sith all men are most far from the fulfilling of charitie, therefore all hope of perfection is cut off from them.

9 I will not goe through all the testimonies which at this day the foolish Sorbonistes rashly snatch out of the scriptures, as they first come to hande, and doe throwe them against vs. For, some of them are so woorthie to be laughed at, that I my selfe also cannot rehearse them, vnlesse I would woorthily be counted sonde. Therefore I will make an ende, when I shall haue declared the saying of Christ, wherewith they maruellously please themselues. For, to the lawyer which asked him what was necessaric to saluation, he answered: if thou wilt enter into life keepe the commaundements. What would we more (say they) when we are commaunded by the author of grace himselve to get the kingdome of God by the keeping of his commaundements? As though, forsooth it were not certaine, that Christ tempered his answers to them with whom he sawe that he had to doe. Here a doctor of the law asketh of the meane to obtaine blessednesse, and not that onely, but with doing of what thing men may attaine vnto it. Both the person of him that spake and the question it selfe led the Lord so to answer. The Lawyer being filled with the persuasion of the righteousness of the lawe, was blinde in confidence of workes. Againe, he sought nothing else but what were the works of righteousness, by which saluation is gotten. Therefore he is woorthily sent to the lawe, in which there is a perfect mirroure of righteousness. We also doe with a loude voice pronounce that the commaundements must be kept, if life be sought in workes. And this doctrine is necessary to be knowen of Christians. For how should they flee to Christ if they did not acknowledge that they are fallen from the way of life into the headlong downfall of death? But how should they vnderstand how farre they haue straid from the way of life, vnlesse they first vnderstand what is that way of life? For then they are taught that the sanctuarie to recouer saluation is in Christ, when they see how great difference there is between their life and the righteousness of God which is contained in the keeping of the lawe. The summe is this, that if saluation be sought in workes, we must keepe the commaundements by which we are instructed to perfect righteousness. But we must not stick fast here, vnlesse we will faint in our mid course: for none of vs is able to keepe the commaundements. Sith therefore we are excluded from the righteousness of the lawe, we must of necessitie resort to another helpe, namely to the faith of Christ. Wherefore as here the Lord calleth backe the doctor of the lawe, whom he knew to swell with vaine confidence of workes, to the law, whereby he may learne that he is a sinner subiect to the dreadfull iudgement of eternall death: so in other places, without making mention of the lawe, he comforteth other that are already humbled with such knowledge, with promise of grace, as, Come to me all yee that labour and are loaden, and I will refresh you, and ye shall finde rest for your soules.

10 At the last when they are wearie of wresting the Scripture, they fall to subtleties and sophistical arguments. They caull vpon this that faith is in some places called a worke, and thereupon they gather that we doe wrongfully set faith as contrarie to workes. As though forsooth faith in that it is an obeying of the will of God, doth with her owne deserving procure vnto vs righteousness, and not rather because by imbracing the mercie of God, it sealeth in our hearts the righteousness of Christ offered to vs of it in the preaching of the Gospell. The readers shall pardon me if I doe not tarric vpon confuting of such follies, for they themselues without any assault of other, are sufficiently ouerthrowen with their owne feeblenesse. But I will by the way confute one obiection which seemeth to haue some shew of reason, least it shoulde

*Nothing contrarie
hereto is taught
by Christ in saying
to a doctor of the
law swelling with
a vaine conscience
of his workes, If
thou wilt enter in-
to life keepe the
commaundements.
Mat. 19. 17.*

Mat. 11. 29.

*Neither is faith by
it own worthnesse
of force to make vs
righteous, nor good
workes to iustifie
because euill are to
condemne.
Iohn. 6. 29.*

trouble

trouble some that are not so well practised. Sith common reason teacheth that of contraries is all one rule, and all particular sinnes are imputed to vs for vnrighthouse, they say it is meere that to all particular good works be giuen the praise of righteousness. They do not satisfie me which answer, that the damnation of men properly proceedeth from onely vnbeleefe, not from particular sins. I doe indeede agree to them, that vnbeleefe is the fountaine and roote of all euils. For it is the first departing from God, after which do follow the particular trespassings against the lawe. But whereas they seeme to set one selfe-same reason of good and euill workes in weying of righteousness or vnrighthouse, therein I am compelled to disagree from them. For the righteousness of workes is the perfect obedience of the lawe. Therefore thou canst not be righteous by workes, vnlesse thou doe followe it as a straight line in the whole continuall course of thy life. From it so soone as thou hast swarued thou art fallen into vnrighthouse. Hereby appeereth that righteousness commeth not of one or a few workes, but of an vnswaruing and vnwearied obseruing of the will of God. But the rule of iudging vnrighthouse is most contrarie. For hee that hath committed fornication, or hath stolen, is by one offence guiltie of death, because hee hath offended against the maiestie of God. Therefore these our subtle arguers doe stumble, for that they marke not this saying of *Iames*, that he which sinneth in one, is made guiltie of all, because hee that hath forbidden to kill, hath also forbidden to steale, &c. Therefore it ought to seeme no absurditie, when we saie that death is the iust reward of euery sin, because they are euery one worthie of the iust displeasure and vengeance of God. But thou shalt reason foolishly, if on the contrary side thou gather that by one good worke man may be reconciled to God, which with many sinnes deserueth his wrath.

Iam. 2. 10.

The xix. Chapter.

Of Christian libertie.

The necessitie of handling the question that concerneth Christians libertie.

NOW we must entreate of Christian libertie: the declaration whereof hee must not omit whose purpose is to comprehend in an abridgement the summe of the doctrine of the Gospell. For it is a thing principally necessarie, and without the knowledge whereof consciences dare in a manner enterprise nothing without doubting, they stumble and start backe in many things, they alway stagger and tremble: but especially it is an appendant of iustification, and auaieth not a litle to the vnderstanding of the strength thereof. Yea they that earnestly feare God, shall hereby receiue an incomparable fruite of that doctrine which the wicked and Lucianicall men doe pleasantly taunt with their scoffes, because in the spirituall darkenesse wherewith they be taken, euery wanton railing is lawfull for them. Wherefore it shal now come forth in fit season: and it was profitable to differre to this place the plainer discoursing of it, (for we haue already in diuerse places lightly touched it) because so soone as any mention is brought in of Christian libertie, then either filthie lusts do boyle, or mad motions do rise, vnlesse these wanton wits be timely met withall, which do otherwise most naughtily corrupt the best things. For, some men by pretence of this libertie, shake off all obedience of God, and breake forth into an vnbridled licentiousnes: and some men disdain it, thinking that by it all moderation, order and choise of things is taken away. What should we heere do, being compassed in such narrow straites? Shall we bid Christian libertie farewell, and so cutte off all fit occasion for such perils? But, as we haue said, vnlesse that bee fast holden, neither Christ, nor the truth of the Gospell, nor the inward peace of the soule is rightly knowen. Rather we must endeouour that so necessarie a part of doctrine be not suppressed, and yet that in the meane time those sonde obiections may be mette withall which are woont to rise thereupon.

2 Christian libertie (as I thinke) consisteth in three partes. The first, that the consciences of the faithfull, when the affiance of their iustification before God is to be sought, may raise and aduance themselues aboue the lawe, and forget the whole righteousnesse of the lawe. For sith the lawe (as we haue already in another place declared) leaueth no man righteous: either we are excluded from all hope of iustification, or we must be loosed from the lawe, and so that there be no regarde at all had of works. For whoso thinketh that he must bring somewhat be it neuer so little of good workes to obtaine righteousnesse, he cannot appoint any ende or measure of them, but maketh himselfe detter to the lawe. Therefore taking away all mention of the lawe, and laying aside all thinking vpon workes, we must embrace the only mercie of God, when we intreat of iustification: and turning away our sight from our selues, we must behold Christ alone. For there the question is not how we be righteous: but how although we be vnrighteous and vnwoorthie, we be taken for woorthie. Of which thing if consciences will attaine any certaintie, they must giue no place to the lawe. Neither can any man hereby gather that the lawe is superfluous to the faithfull, whom it doth not therefore cease to teach, & exhort, & prick forward to goodnes, although before the iudgement seate of God it hath no place in their consciences. For these two things, as they are most diuers, so must they bee well and diligently distinguished of vs. The whole life of Christians ought to be a certaine meditation of godlinesse, because they are called into sanctification. Herein standeth the office of the lawe, that by putting them in minde of their dutie, it should stirre them vp to the endeuour of holinesse and innocencie. But when consciences are carefull how they may haue God mercifull, what they shall answere, and vpon what affiance they shall stand if they be called to his iudgement, there is not to be reckoned what the lawe requirerth, but onely Christ must be set forth for righteousnesse, which passeth all perfection of the lawe.

The first part of Chr:st:am libertie, is the freedom from the bondage and tyrannie of the lawe.

*Eph: 1. 4.
1. The: 4. 5.*

4 Vpon this point hangeth almost all the argument of the Epistle to the Galatians. For, that they be fond expositors which teach that *Paul* there contendeth onely for the libertie of ceremonies, may be proued by the places of the arguments. Of which sort are these. That Christ was made a curte for vs, that he might redeeme vs from the Curse of the lawe. Again, Stand fast in the libertie wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not againe entangled with the yoke of bondage. Beholde, I *Paul* say, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profite you. And he which is circumcised is detter of the whole lawe. Christ is made idle to you whosocuer yee be that are iustified by the lawe: ye are fallen away from grace. Wherein truly is contained some higher thing than the libertie of ceremonies. I graunt in deede that *Paul* there intréateth of ceremonies, because he contendeth with the false Apostles, which went about to bring againe into the Christian Church the old shadowes of the law which were abolished by the comming of Chr:st. But for the discussing of this question, there were higher places to be disputed, in which the whole controuersie stood. First because by those Iewish shadowes the brightnesse of the Gospell was darkened, he sheweth that wee haue in Christ a full giuing in deede of all those things which were shadowed by the ceremonies of *Mosess*. Secondly, because these deceiners filled the people with a most naughtie opinion, namely that this obedience auailed to deserue the fauour of God: Here he standeth much vpon this point, that the faithfull should not thinke that they can by any workes of the lawe, much lesse by those little principles, obtaine righteousnesse before God. And therewithall he teacheth, that they are by the crosse of Christ free from the damnation of the law, which otherwise hangeth ouer all men, that they shoulde with full assurednesse rest in Christ alone. Which place properly pertaineth to this purpose. Last of all he maintaineth to the consciences of the faithfull their libertie, that they should not be bound with any religion in things not necessarie.

*The libertie discussed of in the Epistle to the Galatians.
Gal. 3. 13.
& 5. 1.*

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The second part of Christian libertie free and by the lawe unconstrained obedience.

Deut. 6. 5.

4 The second part, which hangeth vpon that former part, is that consciences obey the law, not as compelled by the necessitie of the lawe: but being free from the yoke of the law it selfe, of their owne accord they obey the will of God. For because they abide in perpetuall terrors, so long as they be vnder the dominion of the lawe, they shall neuer be with cheerefull readinesse framed to the obedience of God, vnlesse they first haue this libertie giuen them. By an example we shal both more briefly, and more plainly perceiue what these things meane. The commaundment of the law is, that we loue our God with all our hart, with al our soule, with all our strengthes. That this may be done, our soule must first bee made voide of all other sense and thought, our hart must be cleansed of all desires, all our strengthes must be gathered vp and drawn together to this onely purpose. They which haue gone most farre before other in the way of the Lord, are yet very farre from this marke. For though they loue God with their minde, and with synccere affection of heart, yet they haue still a great part of their hart and soule possessed with the desires of the flesh, by which they are drawn backe and staid from going forwarde with hastie course to God. They doe in deede trauell forward with great endeuour: but the flesh partly feebleth their strengthes, and partly draweth them to it selfe. What shall they here doe, when they seele that they doe nothing lesse then performe the lawe? They will, they couet, they endeuour, but nothing with such perfection as ought to be. If thou looke vpon the lawe, they see that whatsoeuer worke they attempt or purpose, is accursed. Neither is there any cause why any man should deceiue himselfe with gathering that the worke is therefore not altogether cuill, because it is vnperfect: and therefore that God doth neuertheless accept that good which is in it. For, the law requiring perfect loue, condemneth all imperfection, vnlesse the rigour of it be mitigated. Therefore his works should fall to nought which he would haue to seeme partly good: and he shall finde that it is a transgression of the law, euen in this because it is vnperfect.

Man freed from the exactions of the lawe are as children sweetly woon vnto cheerefull obedience by the fatherly gentleness wherewith God hath promised to increase them.

Mal. 3. 17.

5 Loe, how all our works are subiect to the curse of the lawe, if they be measured by the rule of the lawe. But howe shoulde then vnhappy soules cheerefully applie themselves to worke, for which they might not trust that they could get any thing but curse? On the other side; if being deliuered from this seuerely exacting of the lawe, or rather from the whole rigour of the lawe, they heare that they be called of God with fatherly gentleness: they will merily and with great cheerefulness answer his calling and follow his guiding. In a summe, they which are bound to the yoke of the lawe, are like to bondseruants, to whom are appointed by their lords certaine taskes of worke for euery day. These seruants thinke that they haue done nothing, nor dare come in the sight of their Lords, vnlesse they haue performed that full taske of their works. But children, which are more liberally and more freemanlike handled of their fathers, stick not to present to them their begun and halfe vnperfect works, yea and those hauing some fault, trusting that they will accept their obedience and willingnesse of minde, although they haue not exactly done so much as their good will was to do. So must we be as may haue sure affiance, that our obediences shall be allowed of our most kinde father, how little soeuer, and how rude and vnperfect soeuer they be. As also he assureth to vs by the Prophet: I will spare them (saith he) as the father is wont to spare his sonne that serueth him. Where this word Spare, is set for to beare withall, or gently to winke at faultes, for as much as he also maketh mention of seruice. And this affiance is not a little necessarie for vs, without which we shall goe about all things in vaine. For God accounteth himselfe to be worshipped 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 worshipped without our worke?

The libertie which we haue in the state of grace a

6 And that is the cause why the author of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, referreth all the good works which are read of in the holy fathers, to faith, and weigheth them only by

by faith. Touching this libertie there is a place in the Epistle to the Romanes, where *Paul* reasoneth that sinne ought not to haue dominion ouer vs, because wee are not vnder the law, but vnder grace. For when hee had exhorted the faithfull that sinne should not reigne in their mortall bodies, and that they shoulde not giue their members to be weapons of wickednes to sinne, but should dedicate themselves to God, as they that are aliuie frō the dead, & their members, weapons of righteousnes to god: and whereas they might on the other side obiect that they doe yet carrie with them the flesh full of lusts, and that sin dwelleth in them, hee adioyneth that comfort by the libertie of the law, as if he should say. Though they doe not yet throughly feele sinne destroyed and that righteousnes yet liueth not in them, yet there is no cause why they should feare and be discouraged as though he had beene alway displeas'd with them for the remnants of sinne, forasmuch as they are by grace made free from the lawe, that their workes shoulde not bee examined by the rules of the lawe. As for them that gather that wee may sinne because wee are not vnder the lawe, let them knowe that this libertie pertaineth nothing to them, the end whereof is to encourage vs to good.

Speciall encouragement to striue that we be not ouerwhelmed with sinne. Rom. 11. 2. Rom. 6. 12.

7 The third part is, that we be bound with no conscience before God of outward things which are by themselves indifferent, but that we may indifferently sometime vse them, and sometime leaue them vnused. And the knowledge of this libertie also is very necessarie for vs, for if it shall be absent, there shall be no quiet to our consciences, no end of superstitions. Many at this day do thinke vs fond to moue disputation about the free eating of flesh, about the free vse of daies, and garments, & such other small trifles as they indeed thinke the: but there is more weight in them than is commonly thought. For when consciences haue once cast themselves into the snare, they enter into a long and cumberfome way, from whence they can afterward finde no easie way to get out. If a man begin to doubt whether he may occupie linnen in theetes, shirts, handkerchiefs, and napkins, neither will he be out of doubt whether he may vse hempe, and at the last he will also fall in doubt of matters, for he will wey with himselfe whether hee cannot sup without napkins, whether hee may not be without handkerchiefs. If any man thinke deintie meate to be vnlawfull, at length he shall not with quietnes before the Lorde eate either brovn-bread or common meates, when he remembereth that he may yet sustaine his bodie with baser food. If he doubt of pleasant wine, afterward he will not drinke dead wine with good peace of conscience, last of al he will not be so bold to touch sweeter & cleaner water than other. Finally, at the length he will come to this point, to thinke it vnlawfull (as the common saying is) to tread vpon a straw lying a crosse. For here is begun no light strife, but this is in question, whether God will haue vs to vse these or those things, whose will ought to guide all our counsels and doings. Heereby some must needs be carried with desperation into a confuse deuouring pit: some must, despising God, and casting away his feare, make themselves awaie through destruction when they haue no ready way: For whosoever are entangled with such doubting, which way to euer they turne themselves, they see euery where present offence of conscience.

The thirde part of christian libertie is freedom of conscience touching the vse of indifferent things, as cloth, meate, drink, wherein it is unnecessary to know how much is permitted vs, least too much stressesse driue vs to incontinence.

8 I know (saith *Paul*) that nothing is common (meaning by common, vnholic) but who so thinketh any thing common, to him it is common. In which wordes hee maketh all outward things subiect to our libertie, prouided alway that our mindes haue the assurance of the libertie before God. But if any superstitious opinion cast into vs any doubt, those things which of their owne nature were cleane, are defiled to vs. Wherefore he addeth: blessed is he that iudgeth not himselfe in that which he alloweth. But he that iudgeth, if he eate, is condemned, because hee eateth not of faith. And that which is not of faith, is sin. Among such narrow straits, who so neuertheless with carelessly venturing on all things thewe themselves boulder, do they

Wee can not with thankfulness vnto God enjoy the vse of our vsings, vnlesse the knowledge of our libertie remove al scruple of conscience and trouble of mind: from vs. Rom. 14. 14.

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not as such turne themselves away from God? But they which are throughly pearced with some fear of God, when they themselves also are compelled to do many things against their conscience, are discouraged and do fall downe with feare. All that are such, doe receiue none of the giftes of God with thanksgiuing, by which alone yet *Paul* testifieth that they all are sanctified to our vse: I mean the thanksgiuing that proceedeth from a hart that acknowledgeth the liberality & goodnes of God in his gifts. For many of them indeed do vnderstand that those are the benefites of God which they vse, & they praise God in his workes: but sith they are not perswaded that they are giuen to themselves, how should they thanke God as the giuer of them? Thus in a summe we see, whereto this libertie tendeth, namely that we should vse the gifts of God to such vse as he hath giuen them vnto vs, without any scruple of conscience, without any trouble of minde, by which confidence our soules may both haue peace with him, and acknowledge his liberality toward vs. For here are comprehended all ceremonies that are at libertie to be obserued, that our consciences should not be bound with any necessitie to keepe them, but should remember that the vse of them is by Gods benefite subiect to themselves vnto edification.

*The vse and abuse
of the doctrine
which concerneth
Christian libertie.*

9 But it is diligently to be noted, that Christian libertie is in all the parts of it a spirituall thing, the whole strength whereof consisteth in appeasing fearefull consciences before God, if either they bee vnquieted, or careful for the forgiuenesse of finnes, or if they be pensive whether our imperfect workes and defiled with the faults of our flesh do please God, or if they be troubled about the vse of indifferent things. Wherefore they doe wrongfully expounde it, which either doe make it a cloke for their owne desires, that they may abuse the gifts of God to their owne lust, or which do thinke that there is no libertie but that which is vsed before men, and therefore in vsing it haue no regard of the weake brethren. In the first kinde, men do at this day much offend. There is almost no man which may by his abilitie of wealth be sumptuous, which deliteth not in excessiue gorgiounesse, in furniture of bankets, in apparell of bodie, in building of houses, which hath not a will to excell other in all kind of statelincsse: which doth not mariellously flatter himselfe in his finnes. And all these things are defended vnder the pretence of Christian libertie. They say that they are things indifferent, I graunt, so that a man indifferently vse them. But when they are too greedily courted, when they are proudly boasted, when they are wastfully spent, it is certaine that those things which otherwise were of themselves lawful, are by these faults defiled: This saying of *Paul* doth very well put difference betweene things indifferent. All things are cleane to the cleane: but to the defiled and vnbeleeuing, nothing is cleane, because their mind and conscience is defiled. For why are accursed the rich men, they which haue their comfort, which are satisfied with meate, which do now laugh, which sleepe in beds of Iuorie, which ioyne lande to land, whose bankets haue Lute, Harpe, taber and wine? Verily both iuorie, and gold, and riches, are the good creatures of God, permitted yea and appointed by the prouidence of God for men to vse. Neither is it any where forbidden either to laugh, or to be satisfied with meate, or to ioyne new possessions to their owne olde possessions or of their auncesters, or to be delited with music all melodic, or to drinke wine. This is true indeed. But when they haue plentie of things, to wallow in delights, to glut themselves, to make their wit and minde drunke with present pleasures and alway no gape for new, these doings are most farre from the lawfull vse of the gifts of God. Therefore let them take away immeasurable desire, let them take away immeasurable wasting, let them take away vanity and arrogancie, that they may with a pure conscience purely vse the gifts of God, When the minde shall be framed to this sobrietie, they shall haue a rule of the lawfull vse. On the other side let this moderation bee wanting, euen base and common delicacies are too much. For this is truly saide, that oftentimes in frise and course cloth dwelleth a purple heart, and sometime vnder silke

*Tit. 1. 15.
Luk. 6. 24.
Amos. 6. 1.
Esay. 5. 8.*

and purple, lyeth simple humilitie. Let every man in his degree so liue either poorely, or meanelly, or plentifully, that they all remember that they are fed of God to liue, not to be riotous: and let them thinke, that this is the law of Christian liberty: if they haue learned with *Paul* to be contented with those things which they presently haue: if they can skill both to be humble and to excell: if they be taught in all places and in all things to be both full and hungrie, to haue plentie and to suffer want. Philip. 4.

10 Herein also many men doe erre, because as though their libertie should not be found and fare vnlesse it had men witnesses of it, they doe vndiscreetly and vnwisely vse it. By which vnseasonable vsing they many times offend the weake brethren. You may see at this day some, which thinke that their libertie can not stand, vnlesse they take possession of it by eating of flesh on Friday. I blame not that they eate: but this false opinion must be driuen out of their mindes. For they ought to thinke that by their libertie they obtaine no new thing in the sight of men but before GOD, and that it standeth as well in abstaining as in vsing. If they vnderstand that it maketh no matter before GOD, whether they eate flesh or egges, whether they wear red or black garments, that is enough. The conscience is now free, to which the benefite of such liberty was due. Therefore although they doe afterward abstaine al their life long from flesh, and wear alway but one colour, yet they are no lesse free. Yea therefore because they are free, they doe with a free conscience abstaine. But they doe most hurtfully offend because they nothing regard the weakenesse of their brethren, which we ought so to beare with, that we rashly commit nothing with offence of them. But sometime also it behooueth that our libertie be set foorth before men. And this I graunt. But there is a measure most heedfully to be kept, that we cast not away the care of the weake of whom the Lord hath so earnestly giuen vs charge.

11 I will in this place therefore speake somewhat of offences, in what difference they are to be taken, which are to be auoided, and which to be neglected: whercupon we may afterward determine what place there is for our libertie among men. I like well that common diuision, which teacheth that there is of offences one sort giuen, another taken: for asmuch as it both hath a plaine testimony of the Scripture; and doth not vnfitly expresse that which it meaneth. If thou doe any thing by vnseasonable lightnesse, or wantonnesse, or rashnes, not in order, not in fit place, whereby the ignorant and weake are offended, that same may be called an offence giuen by thee: because it came to passe by thy fault that such offence was stured vp. And it is alway called an offence giuen in any thing, the fault wherof came from the doer of the thing it selfe. It is called an offence taken, when a thing which is otherwise not euilly done nor out of time is by euill will or by some wrongfull maliciousnes of mind drawn to occasion of offence. For in this case was not offence giuen, but these wrongfull construers doe without cause take one. With that first kind of offence none are offended but the weake: but with this second kinde sowre natures & Pharisaicall scornfull heads are offended. Wherefore we shall call the one, the offence of the weake: the other of the Pharisees: and we shall so temper the vse of our libertie, that it ought to giue place to the ignorance of the weake brethren, but in no wise to the rigorousnesse of the Pharisees. For, what is to be yeilded to weakenes, *Paul* sheweth in very many places. Beare (saith he) the weake in Faith. Againe, Let vs not hereafter iudge one another, but this rather, let there not be laid before our brother any offence or occasion of falling: and many other sayings to the same intent, which are more fit to be read in the place it selfe, than to be here rehearsed. The summe is, that we which are strong should beare with the weakenes of our brethren, and not please our selues, but every one of vs please his neighbour vnto good for edifying. In another place, But see that your libertie be not in any wise an offence to them that are weake. Againe, Eate ye all things that are sold in the thambles, asking no question for

Vndiscreete and vnseasonable vsing of liberty.

Of offences rising vnto others in the vse of our liberty.

Rom. 14. 1. & 13.

1. Cor. 8. 9.

1. Cor. 10. 25.

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conscience: of your conscience (I say) not another mans. Finally be ye such, that ye giue no offence, neither to the Iewes, nor to the Greekes, nor to the Church of God. Also in another place, Yee are called, brethren, into libertie: onely giue not your libertie to be an occasion to the flesh, but by charitie serue yee one another. Thus it is. Our libertie is not giuen towarde our weake neighbours, whose seruants charitie maketh vs in all things: but rather, that hauing peace with God in our minds, we may also liue peaceably among men. As for the offence of the Pharisees, how much it is to be regarded, we learne by the words of the Lord, whereby he bid- deth them to be let alone, because they are blind, and guides of the blind. The disci- ples had warned him, that the Pharisees were offended with his sayings: he answered that they were to be neglected, and the offending of them not to be cared for.

12 But yet still the matter hangeth doubtfull, vnlesse we know who are to be ta- ken for weake, and who for Pharisees: which difference being taken away, I see not among offences what vse at all of libertie remaineth, which might nerer be vsed with- out great danger. But it seemeth to me that *Paul* hath most plainly declared both by doctrine and by examples, how far our libertie is either to be tempered or to be defended though with offences. When he tooke *Timothee* into his companie, he cir- cumcised him: but he could not be brought to circumcise *Titus*. Heere were diuers doings, and no change of purpose or of minde: namely in circumcising *Timothee*, when he was free from all men, he made himsefe a seruant to all men: and he was made to the Iewes, as a Iew, that he might win the Iewes: to them that were vn- der the lawe, as if he himselfe were vnder the lawe, that he might winne them which were vnder the law: all things to all men, that he might saue many, as hee writeth in another place. Thus we haue a right moderation of libertie, if it may be indifferently restrained with some profit. What he had respect vnto, when hee stoutly refused to circumcise *Titus*, he himselfe testifieth, writing thus: But neither was *Titus*, which was with me, although he was a Grecian compelled to be circumcised, because of the false brethren which were come in by the way, which had priuily crept in to espie our libertie which we haue in Christ Iesus, that they might bring vs into bondage, to whom we gaue not place by subiection so much as for a time, that the truth of the Gospell might continue with you. There is also a time when we must of necessitie defend our libertie, if the same be in weake consciences endaugered by the vniust exactings of false Apostles. We must in euery thing studie to preferue charitie, and haue regarde to the edifying of our neighbour. All things (saith he) are lawfull for me, but not all things are expedient: all things are lawfull for me, but all things do not edifie. Let no man seeke that which is his owne, but that which is anothers. There is nothing new plainer by this rule, then that we must vse our libertie, if it may tune to the edifying of our neighbour: but if it be not so expedient for our neigh- bour, then we must forbear it. There be some which counterfait the wisdom of *Paul* in forbearing of libertie, while they do nothing lesse than apply the same to the duties of charitie. For so that they may proude for their owne quietnes, they with all mention of libertie to be buried, whereas it is no lesse behouefull for our neigh- bours, sometime to vse libertie for their benefit and edification, than in fit place to restraine it for their commoditie. But it is the part of a godly man to thinke, that free power in outward things is therefore granted him, that he may be the fitter to all du- ties of chaaritie.

13 But what focuer I haue spoken of auoiding of offences, my meaning is that it be referred to meane and indifferent things. For those things that are necessarie to be done, are not to be left vndone for feare of any offence. For as our libertie is to be submittid to charitie, so charitie it selfe likewise ought to bee vnder the purenesse of faith: Venie heere also ought to be had regarde of charitie, but so farre as to the altars, that is, that for our neighbours sake we offend not God. Their intemperance

Gal. 5. 13.

Matt. 15. 14.

How far our li-
bertie extendeth in
respect of others
whom it may
offend.

A. 16. 3.

Galat. 2. 3.

Cor. 9. 19. & 21

Gal. 2. 1.

1. Cor. 10. 23.

Intollerable bal-
ancing couer't with
presence of not of-
fending the weak.

is not to be allowed, which doe nothing but with troublesome turmoiling, and which had rather rashly to rend all things, than leisurely to rip them. Neither yet are they to be harkned to, which when they be leaders of men into a thousand sortes of vngodlinesse, yet doe faine that they must behaue them selues so that they be none offence to their neighbours. As though they doe not in the meane edifie the consciences of their neighbours to euill, specially whereas they sticke fast in the same mire without any hope of getting out. And the pleasant men forsooth, whether their neighbour to be instructed with doctrine or example of life, say that he must be fed with milke, whom they fill with most euill and poysonous opinions. *Paul* reporteth that he fed the Corinthians with drinking of milke: but if *Popish Masse* had then bene among them, would he haue sacrificed to giue them the drinke of milke? No: For milke is not poyson. Therefore they lie in saying that they feede them whom vnder a shew of flattering allurements they cruelly kill. But, granting that such dissembling is for a time to be allowed, how long yet will they feede their children with milke? For if they neuer grow bigger, that they may 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 now more sharply contende with them: first, because their follies are scarcely worthy to be confuted, sith they worthily seeme filthie in the sight of all men that haue their sound wit: secondly, because I haue sufficiently done in peculiar bookes, I will not now doe a thing already done. Onely let the readers remember this, that with whatsoever offences Satan and the world goe about to turne vs away from the ordinances of God, or to stay vs frō following that which he appointeth, yet we must neuertheless goe earnestly forward: and then, that whatsoever dangers hang vpon it, yet is it not at our libertie to swaue one haire breadth from the commandement of the same God, neither is it lawfull by any pretence to attempt any thing but that which he giueth vs leaue.

1. Cor. 3. 2.

14 Now therefore sith faithfull consciences hauing receiued such prerogative of libertie as we haue about set forth, haue by the benefite of Christ obtained this that they be not entangled with any snares of obseruations in those things in which the Lord willed that they should be at libertie: we conclude that they are exempt from all power of incn. For it is vnmeet, that either Christ should lose the thanke of his so great liberality, or consciences their profite. Neither ought we to thinke it a slight matter, which we see to haue cost Christ so deere: namely which he valued not with gold or siluer, but with his owne blood: so that *Paul* sticketh not to say, that his death is made voide, if we yeeld our soules into subiection to men. For he trauelleth about nothing else in certaine Chapters of the Epistle to the Galathians, but to shew that Christ is darkned or rather destroyed to vs, vnlesse our consciences stande fast in their libertie, which verily they haue lost if they may at the wil of men be snared with the bonds of lawes and ordinances. But as it is a thing most worthie to be knowne, so it needeth a longer and plainer declaration. For so soone as any word is spoken of the abrogating of the ordinances of men, by and by great troubles are raised vp partly by seditious men, partly by slanderers, as though the whole obedience of men were at once taken away and ouerthrowne.

The consciences of faithfull men exempted from humane power.

1. Pet. 1. 18.
Gal. 5. 1. & 4.

15 Therefore that none of vs may stumble at this stone, first let vs consider, that there are two sortes of gouernement in man: the one spiritual, whereby the conscience is framed to godlines and to the worship of God: the other ciuill, whereby man is trained to the duties of humanity and ciuility which 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 the two formes of gouernment pertaineth to the life of the Soule, and the latter is occupied in the things of this present life: not onely in feeding and clothing, but in setting forth of lawes whereby a man may spend his life among men holily, honestlie, and soberly. For, that first kinde hath place

Christians are not therefore according to the ournarde behaviour of these persons privileged from subiection to the lawes of men, because their consciences are at libertie before God.

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in the inward minde, this latter kinde ordereth onely the outward behauiours. The one we may call the spirituall kingdome, the other, the Ciuill kingdome. But these two, as wee haue diuided them, must be either of them alway severally considered by themselues, and when the one is in considering, we must withdrawe and turne away our mindes from the thinking vpon the other. For there are in man as it were two worldes, which both diuers kings and diuers lawes may gouerne. By this putting of difference shall come to passe, that that which the Gospell teacheth of the spirituall libertie, we shall not wrongfully draw to the ciuill order, as though Christians were according to the outward gouernement lesse subiect to the lawes of men, because their consciences are at libertie before God: as though they were therefore exempt from all bondage of the flesh, because they are free according to the spirit. Againe, because euen in those ordinances which seeme to pertaine to the spirituall kingdome, there may be some error, wee must also put difference betweene these, which are to be taken for lawfull as agreeable to the word of God, & on the other side which ought not to haue place among the godly. Of the Ciuill gouernement there shall be else where place to speake. Also of the Ecclesiasticall lawes I omit to speake at this time, because a more full entreating of it shal be fit for the fourth 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 saide) of it selfe not very darke or entangled, doth for this cause accumber many, because they doe not fully enough put difference between the outward court as they call it, and the court of conscience, Moreover this encreaseth the difficultie, that *Paul* teacheth that the magistrate ought to be obeyed, not onely for feare of punishment, but for conscience. Whereupon followeth that consciences are also bound by the ciuill lawes. If it were so, all should come to naught which we both haue spoken and shall speake of the spirituall gouernment. For the loosing of this knot, first it is good to know what is conscience. And the definition thereof is to be fetched from the deriuation of the word. For, as when men do with minde and vnderstanding conceiue the knowledge of things, they are thereby saide (*Seire*) to knowe, whereupon also is deriued the name of Science: Knowledge: so when they haue a feeling of the iudgement of God, as a witness ioynd with them, which doth not suffer them to hide their sinnes but that they be drawn accused to the iudgement seate of God, that same feeling is called Conscience. For it is a certaine meane betweene God and man, because it suffereth not man to suppress in himselfe that which he knoweth but pursueth him so far till it bring him to guiltines. This is it which *Paul* meaneth, where he saith that conscience doth together witness with men, when their thoughts do accuse or acquite them in the iudgement of God. A simple knowledge might remaine as enclosed within man. Therefore this feeling which presenteth man to the iudgement of God, is as it were a keeper ioynd to man, to marke and espie all his secrets, that nothing may remaine buried in darknes: Whereupon also cometh that olde Prouerbe, Conscience is a thousand witnesses. And for the same reason *Peter* hath set the examination of a good conscience for the quietnes of minde, when being perswaded of the grace of Christ, we do without feare present our selues before God. And the author of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, setteth to haue no more conscience of sin, in steed of, to be deliuered or acquitted that sinne may no more accuse vs.

16 Therefore as works haue respect to men, so conscience is referred to God, so that a good conscience is nothing else but the inward purenesse of the heart. In which sense *Paul* writeth that charitie is the fulfilling of the law out of a pure conscience and faith not fained. Afterward also in the same chapter he sheweth how much it differeth from vnderstanding, saying that some had sinned shipwracke from the faith, because they had forsaken good Conscience. For in these words he signifieth it is a lively affection to worship God, and a sincere endeouour to liue holily and godly.

Sometime

Rom. 13 & 5.

conscience is

Rom. 2. 15.

1. Pet. 3. 21.

Heb. 10. 2.

In what sort the
conscience is
bound or free.

Tit. 1. 5.

Sometime in deede it extendeth also to men, as in *Luke* where the same *Paul* protesteth that he endeoured himselfe to walke with a good conscience towarde God & men. But this was therefore said, because the fruites of good conscience do flowe and come euen to men. But in speaking properly, it hath respect to God onely, as I haue already said. Hereby it commeth to passe that the law is said to bind the conscience, which simply bindeth a man without respect of men, or without hauing any consideration of them. As for example: God commandeth not onely to keepe the minde chaste and pure from all lust, but also forbiddeth all manner of filthinesse of wordes and outward wantonnes whatsoeuer it be. To the keeping of this law my conscience is subiect although there liued not one man in the world. So he that behaueth himself intemperately, not only sinneth in this that he giueth an euil example to the brethren, but also hath his conscience bound with guiltines before God. In things that are of themselves meane, there is another consideration. For wee ought to abstaine from them if they breede any offence, but the conscience still being free, So *Paul* speaketh of flesh consecrate to Idols. If anie (saith he) moue any doubt, touch it not for conscience sake: I say for conscience, not thine but the others. A faithfull man shoulde sinne, which being first warned should neuertheless eate such flesh. But howsoeuer in respect of his brother, it is necessarie for him to abstaine as it is prescribed of God, yet he ceaseth not to keepe still the libertie of conscience. Thus we see how this law binding the outward worke, leaueth the conscience vnbound.

A. 3. 14. 16.

I. Cor. 10. 28.

The xx. Chapter.

Of Prayer, which is the chiefe exercise of faith, and whereby we daily receiue the benefits of God.

OF these things that haue bene hitherto spoken, we plainly perceiue how needy and voide man is of all good things, and how he wanteth all helpes of saluation. Wherefore if he seeke for relectes whereby he may succour his needinesse, hee must go out of himselfe and get them elswhere. This is afterward declared vnto vs, that the Lorde doth of his owne free will and liberally giue himselfe to vs in his Christ, in whom he offereth vs in steede of our miserie all felicitie, in steede of our neede welthinesse, in whom he openeth to vs the heavenly treasures: that our whole faith shoulde beholde his beloued sonne, that vpon him our whole expectation should hang, in him our whole hope should sticke and rest. This verily is the secret and hidden Philosophie, which cannot be wrung out with Logieall arguments: but they learne it whose eies God hath opened that they may see light in his sight. But since that we are taught by faith to acknowledge that whatsoeuer we haue neede of, whatsoeuer wanteth in vs, the same is in God and in our Lord Iesus Christ, namely in whom the Lorde willed the whole fulnesse of his largesse to rest, that from thence we should all drawe as out of a most plentiful fountaine: now it remaineth that we seeke in him, and with praiers craue of him that which we haue learned to be in him. Otherwise to know God to be the Lord and giuer of all good things, which allureth vs to pray to him, and not to go to him and pray to him: should so nothing profite vs, that it should be all one as if a man should neglect a treasure shewed him buried and digged in the ground. Therefore the Apostle to shewe that true faith cannot bee idle from calling vpon God, hath set this order: that as of the Gospell springeth faith, so by it our harts are framed to call vpon the name of God. And this is the same thing which he had a little before said, that the spirit of adoptiō, which sealeth in our harts the witness of the Gospell, raileth vp our spirits that they dare shewe forth their desires to God, stirre vp vnspeakable gronings, and crie with confidence Abba Father. It is meete therefore that this last point, because it was before but onely spoken of by the way and as it were lightly touched, should now be more largely entreated of.

Our owne empires and the substance of abriches laid up in Christi shoulde allure vs vnto prayer.

Rom. 8. 26.

By prayer we are both enriched with grace, and in distresse quieted.

2 This therefore we get by the benefit of prayer, that we attaine to those riches which are laid vp for vs with the heauenlie father. For there is a certaine communicating of men with God, whereby they entring into the sanctuarie of heauen, do in his owne presence call to him touching his promises: that the same thing which they beleueed him affirming only in word not to be vaine, they may when neede so requirerth finde in experience. Therefore we see that there is nothing set forth to vs to be looked for at the hand of the Lord, which we are not also commanded to craue with prayers: so true it is that by prayer we are digged vp the treasures, which our faith hath looked vpon being shewed to it by the gospell of the Lord. Now how necessarie and how manie waies profitable this exercise of praier is, it can by no words be sufficientlie declared. Vndoubtedly it is not without cause that the heauenly father testifieth, that the only fortres of saluation is in the calling vpon his name, namely whereby we call to vs the presence both of his prouidence, by which he watcheth to take care of our matters: and of his power, by which he sustaineith vs being weake and in a manner fainting: and of his goodnes, by which he receiueith vs into fauour being miserably loaden with sinnes: finally whereby we call him all whole, to giue himselfe present to vs. Hereby groweth singular rest and quietnesse to our consciences. For when we haue disclosed to the Lord the necessitie which distressed vs, we largely rest though it were but in this onely that none of our euils is hidden from him, whom we are perswaded both to be most well willing toward vs, and most able to prouide well for vs.

It is not a needlesse thing to pray euen for those things which before we pray we know that God is purposed to bestow.

3 But (will some man say) did not he know without any to put him in mind of it, both in what part we be distressed, and what is expedient for vs: so that it may seeme after a certaine 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 end the Lord hath instructed them that be his to pray: for he ordeined it not so much for his owne cause as rather for ours. He willeth in deede, as right it is, that his due be rendred to him, when they acknowledge to come from him whatsoeuer men require or do perceiue to make for their profite, and do testifie the same with wishings. But the profite also of this sacrifice wherewith he is worshipped, cometh to vs. Therefore how much more boldly the holy fathers gloriously talked both to themselues and other of the benefites of God, so much the more sharpely they were pricked forward to pray. The onely example of *Elias* shall be enough for vs, which being sure of the counsell of God, after that he not rashly had promised raine to *Achab*, yet busily prayeth betwene his knees, and sendeth his seruant seuen times to espie it: not for that he did discredit the oracle of God, but because he knew that it was his durie, least his faith should waxe drowisie and sluggish, to lay vp his desires with God. Wherefore although while we lie senselesse and so dull that we perceiue not our owne miseries, he waketh and watcheth for vs, and sometime also helpeth vs vndesired, yet it much behooueth vs, that he be continually called vpon of vs, that our heart may be enflamed with earnest and feruent desire to seeke, loue, and worship him, while we accustome ourselues in eury necessitie to flee to him as to our shoote-anchor. Againe, that no desire and no with at all may enter into our mind, wherof we should be ashamed to make him witnesse, while we learne to present our wishes, yea and to poure out our whole-heart before his eyes. Then that we may be framed to receiue all his benefites with true thankfulness of mind, yea and with outward thanksgiving, of which we are put in mind by our prayer that they come to vs from his hand. Morcouer, that when we haue obtained that which we desired, being perswaded that he hath answered to our prayers, we may be thereby the more feruently casted to thinke vpon his kindnes, and therewithall embrace with greater pleasure those things which we acknowledge to haue bene obtained by praier. Last of all, that verie vse and experience may according to the measure

1.King. 18.42.

of our weaknes assure our minds of his providence when we vnderstand that he not only promisseth that he will neuer faile vs, and that he doth of his owne accord open vs the entrie to call to him in the verie point of necessitie, but also hath his hand alway stretched out to helpe them that be his, and that he doth not feede them with words, but defendeth them with present help. For these causes, the most kind Father, although he neuer sleepeeth or is sluggish, yet oftentimes maketh a shew as though he slept and were sluggish, that so he may exercise vs, which are otherwise slothfull and sluggish to come to him, to aske of him, to require him to our owne great benefit. Therefore they do too foolishly, which to call away the minds of men from prayer, babble that the providence of God, which maketh for the safekeeping of all things, is in vaine wearied without callings vpon him: Whereas the Lord contrariwise not in vaine testifieth that he is nigh to all them that call vpon his name in the truth. And of none other sort is that which other do triflingly say, that it is superfluous to aske those things which the Lord is of his owne will readie to giue: whereas euen the verie same things which flowe to vs from his owne free liberalitie, he will haue vs acknowledge to be graunted to our prayers. Which thing that notable sentence of the Psalme doeth testifie, wherewith many like sayings do accord. The eyes of the Lord are vpon the righteous, and his eares vnto their prayers. Which saying setteth out the providence of God bent of his owne accord to provide for the safetie of the godly, that yet he omitteeth not the exercise of faith, whereby slothfulnes is wiped from the mindes of men. The eyes of God therefore do wake, that he may succour the necessitie of the blinde: but he will againe on our behalves heare our groanings, that he may the better prooue his loue toward vs. And so both are true, that the watchman of *Israel* sleepeeth not, nor slumbereth, and yet that he sitteth still as hauing forgotten vs when he seeth vs dull and dumme.

Psal. 145. 18.

Psal. 34. 16.

Psal. 121. 8.

4 Now, to frame prayer rightly and well, let this be the first rule, that we be no otherwise framed in minde and heart, than becommeth them that enter into talke with God. Which verily we shall attaine as touching the minde, if the same being free from fleshly cares and thoughts wherewith it may be called away or withdrawn from the right and pure beholding of God, do not only bend it selfe wholly to prayer, but also so much as is possible be lifted vp and caried about it selfe. Neither doe I here require a mind so at libertie, that it be pricked and nipped with no care, whereas contrariwise the feruentnesse of prayer must by such carefulnesse be kindled in vs (as we see that the holy seruants of God do sometime declare great torments, much more carefulnesse, when they say they vter to the Lord a bewailing voice out of the deepe depth, and out of the midst of the iawes of death.) But I say that all strange and foraine cares must be driuen away, wherewith the minde it selfe wandring hither and thither is carried about, and being drawn out of heauen is pressed downe to the earth. I meane by this that it must be lifted vp about it selfe, that it may not bring into the sight of God any of those things which our blinde and foolish reason is wont to imagine, nor may hold it selfe bound within the compasse of her owne vanitie, but rise vp to purenes worthe for God.

The first rule of framing rightlie our prayers is to vvoid our cogitations as much as may be from all fleshlie & earthlie cares.

5 Both these things are specially worthie to be nored, that whosocuer prepareth himselfe to pray, should thereto applye all his senses and endcuours, and not (as men are wont) be diuersly drawn with wandering thoughts: because there is nothing more contrarie to the cuerence of God, than such lightnesse which is a witnesse of too wanton licentiousnesse and loose from all feare. In which thing we must so much more earnestly labour as we find it more hard. For no man can be bent so to pray, but that he shall feele many by thoughts to creepe vpon him, either to breake off, or by some bowing and swaruing to hinder the course of his prayer. But here let vs call to mind, how great an vnworthinesse it is, whē God receiueth vs vnto familiar talk with him, to abuse his so great gentlenesse, with mingling holie and prophane things

The preparation of the minde vnto prayer is a thing of great both weight and difficultie.

Cap. 20. Of the maner how to receiue

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 midst of our praier, forsaking him, leape hither and thither. Let vs therefore knowe that none doe rightly and well prepare themselues to praier, but they whom the maiestie of God pearceth, that they come to it vncumbred of earthly cares and affections. And that is meant by the ceremonie of lifting vp of handes, that men should remember that they be farre distant from God, vnlesse they lift vp their senses on high. As also it is said in the Psalm: To thee haue I lifted vp my soule. And the Scripture oftentimes vseth this maner of speech, to lift vp praier : that they which desire to be heard of God, should not sit still in their dregs. Let this be the summe : that how much more liberally God dealeth with vs, gently alluring vs to exload our cares into his bosome, so much lesse excusable are we vnlesse his so excellent and incomparable benefite doe with vs ouerwey all other things and drawe vs vnto it selfe, that we may earnestly applic our endeouours and senses to pray : which cannot be done vnlesse our minde by strongly wrastling with the hinderances doe rise vp aboue them. Another point we haue set forth, that we aske no more than God giueth leaue. For though he biddeth vs to poure out our harts, yet he doth indifferently giue loose reines to foolish and froward affections : and when he promisseth that he wil doe according to the wil of the godly, he proceedeth not to so tender bearing with them that he submitteth himselfe to their will. But in both these points men doe commonly much offend. For not onely the most part of men presume without shame, without reuerence, to speake to God for their follies, and shamelesly to present to his throne whatsoeuer liked them in their dreame : but also so great foolishnesse or senselesse dulnesse possiesseth them, that they dare thrust into the hearing of God, euen all their most filthie desires, whereof they would greatly be ashamed to make men priuie. Some prophane men haue laughed to scorne, yea and detested this boldnesse, yet the vice it selfe hath alway reigned. And hereby it came to passe that ambitious men haue chosē *Iupiter* to be their Patrone : couetous men, *Mercurie*: the desirous of learning *Apollo* and *Minerva*: warriors, *Mars*: and lecherous folke, *Venus*. Like as at this day (as I haue euen now touched) men doe in praier graunt more licence to their vnlawfull desires, than when they sportingly talke with their egals. But God suffereth not his gentlenesse to be so mocked : but claiming to himselfe his right, maketh our praier subiect to his authoritie, and restraineth them with a bridle. Therefore we must keepe fast this saying of *Iohn*. This is our affiance, that if we aske any thing according to his will, he heareth vs. But for as much as our abilities are farre from being sufficient to performe so great perfection, we must seeke a remedie to helpe vs. As wee ought to bend the sight of our minde to God, so the affection of the hart ought also to followe to the same ende. But both doe staie farre beneath it, yea rather doe faint and faile or bee carried a contrarie waie. Wherefore God to succour this weakenesse, in our praier giueth the spirit to be our schoolemaster, to instruct vs what is right, and to gouerne our affections. For, because we know not what we ought to pray as we ought, the spirit cometh to our succour, and maketh intercession for vs with vnspeakable gronings, not that it in deede either praierth or groneth but sturth vp in vs affiance, desires, and sighings, which the strength of nature were not able to conceiue. And not without cause *Paul* calleth them vnspeakable gronings which so the faithfull send forth by the guiding of the spirit, because they which are truly exercised in praier, are not ignorant that they bee so holden in perplexitie with blinde cares, that they scarcely finde what is profitable for them to speake : yea while they goe about to vter stammering wordes they sticke fast incumbred. Whereupon it followeth, that the gift of praying rightly is a singular gift. These things are not spoken to this purpose, that we fauouring our owne slothfulnesse should giue ouer the charge of praying to the spirit of God, and lie dull in that carelesnesse, to which we are too much inclined (as

there

Psal. 25. 14.

Psal. 62. 9.

1. Iohn. 5. 14.

Rom. 8. 26.

there are heard the wicked sayings of some, that we must lie negligentlie gaping to waite vntill he preuent our mindes occupied elsewhere) but rather that we loathing our owne slothfulnesse and sluggishnesse, should craue such help of the Spirit. Neither doeth *Paul*, when he biddeth vs to pray in Spirit, therefore cease to exhort vs to wakefulnesse: meaning that the instinct of the Spirit so vseth his force to frame our prayers, that it nothing hindereth or slacketh our owne endeavour: because God will in this behalfe proue how effectually faith moueth our hearts.

2. Cor. 14. 26.

6 Let also another lawe be, that in praying we alway feele our owne want, and that earnestly thinking how we stand in neede of those things 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 rendered a certaine taske to God: and although they confesse that this is a necessarie remedie for their euils, because it is to their destruction to be without the help of God which they craue: yet it appeareth that they doe this duetic for custome, forasmuch as in the meane time their mindes are cold, and do not wey what they aske. The generall and confuse feeling indeede of their necessitie leadeth them hereunto: but it doth not stirre them as it were in a present case to aske releefe of their neede. Now what thinke we to be more hatefull or more detestable to God than this faining, when a man asketh forgiveness of sinnes, in the meane time either thinking that he is not a sinner, or not thinking vpon this that he is a sinner, euen wherewith God himselfe is plainly mocked? But of such peruersenesse (as I haue saide) mankind is full, that for manners sake they manie times aske many things of God, which they certainly iudge that without his liberality to come to them from some other where, or that they haue them alreadie remaining with them. The fault of some other seemeth to be lighter and yet not tollerable, that they which haue onlie conceiued this principle that we must sacrifice to God with prayers, do mumble vp prayers without any musing of minde vpon them. But the godly must principally take heede, that they neuer come into the sight of God to aske any thing, but because they do both boyle with earnest affection of heart, and do therewithall desire to obtaine it of him. Yea, and also though in those things which we aske onely to the glorie of God, we seeme not at the first sight to prouide for our owne necessitie, yet the same ought to be asked with no lesse feruentnesse and vehemences of desire. As, when we pray that his name be hallowed, we must (as I may so speake) feruently hunger and thirst for that hallowing.

A second rule for direction of prayer is the sense and feeling of our owne wants.

7 If any man object, that we are not alway driuen with like necessitie to pray, I graunt the same indeede: and this difference is profitably taught vs of *Iames*: Is any man heauie among you? Let him pray. Who so is merie, let him sing. Therefore euen common feeling teacheth vs, that because we are too slothfull, therefore, as the matter requireth we are the more sharply pricked forward of God to pray earnestly. And this *David* calleth the fit time, because (as he teacheth in many other places) how much more hardly troubles, discomforts, fears, and other kinds 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 saying of *Paul*, that we must at all times: because how soeuer things prosperously flow according to our hearts desire, and matter of mirth doeth compass vs on euery side, yet there is no minute of time wherin our neede doth not exhort vs to pray. If a man haue abundance of wine and wheate: yet sith he cannot enjoy one morsell of bread but by the continuall grace of God, whole cellers or barnes full shall be no let why he should not craue daily bread. Now if wee call to minde how many dangers do euery moment hang ouer vs, the verie feare it selfe will teach vs that we haue no time free from prayer. But this we may better perceiue in spirituall things. For, when shall so many sinnes, whereof wee knowe our selues guiltie, suffer vs to sit still without care and not in humblewise craue pardon

Although there be no time where in prayer needeth not, yet at some time we see a speciall necessitie thereof, but reape no benefit thereby at any time without a lothing of our owne filthinesse which cannot be in vs but by repentance.
Iac. 5. 13.
Psal. 32. 6.
Eph. 6. 18.

both of the fault and the paine? When doe tentations graunt vs truce, so that we need not to haue vnto help? Moreover the desire of the kingdome and glory of God ought so to plucke vs to it selfe, not by sittes but continually, that it should alway be fit time for vs. Therefore not without cause we are so oft commended to pray continually. I doe not yet speake of perseuerance in prayer, whereof mention shall be made hereafter: but when the Scripture warneth vs that we ought to pray continually, it accuseth our slothfulnes, because we doe not perceiue how necessarie this care and diligence is for vs. By this rule all hypocrisie and craftines of lying to God, is debarred, yea driuen farre away from prayer. God promiseth that he will be neere to all them that call vpon him in truth, and he pronounceth that they shall finde him which seeke him with their whole hart. But they aspire not thither which please themselues in their owne filthines. Therefore a right prayer requireth Repentance. Whereupon this is commonly said in the Scriptures, that God heareth not wicked doers, and that their prayers are accursed, like as their sacrifices also be: because it is rightfull that they finde the cares of GOD shut, which doe locke vp their owne harts, and that they should not finde God easie to bow, which doe with their owne hardnes prouoke his stiffenesse. In *Esay* he threatneth after this manner. When yee shall multiply your praiers, I will not heare you: for your hands are full of blood. Again in *Jeremie*: I haue cried and they haue refused to heare: they shall likewise crie, and I will not heare: because he taketh it for a most high dishonor, that wicked men should boast of his couenant, which doe in all their life defile his holy name. Wherefore in *Esaie* he complaineth that when the *Iewes* come neere to him with their lips, their hart is farre from him. He speaketh not this of onely praiers, but affirmeth that he abhorreth faining in all the partes of worshipping him. To which purpose maketh that saying of *Iames*. Yee aske, and receiue not: because yee aske ill, that yee may spend it vpon your pleasures. It is true in deede (as we shall againe shew a little hereafter) that the prayers of the godly which they putre out, doe not rest vpon their owne worthinesse: yet is not that admonition of *Iohn* superfluous, if we aske any thing we shall receiue it of him, because we keepe his commandements: forasmuch as an euill conscience shutteth the gate against vs. Whereupon followeth that none doe rightlie pray, nor are heard, but the pure worshippers of God. Therefore whosoever prepareth himselfe to pray, let him be lothfull to himselfe in his owne euils, and (which cannot be done without Repentance) let him put on the person and minde of a begger.

8 Hereunto let the third rule be ioyned, that whosoever presenteth himselfe before God to pray, should forsake all thinking of his owne glory, put off all opinion of worthines, and finally giue ouer all trust of himselfe, giuing in the abacing of himselfe the glory wholly to God: least if we take any thing be it neuer so little to our selues, we doe with our owne swelling fall away from his face. Of this submission which throweth downe all height, we haue often examples in the seruants of God: among whom the holier that euery one is, so much the more he is throwne downe when he commeth into the sight of the Lord. So *Damel*, whom the Lord himselfe commended with so great title of praise, said: We power not out our praiers before thee in our righteousnesses, but in thy gret mercy. Heare vs Lord, Lord be merciful to vs: Heare vs, and do these things that we aske, For thine own sake: because thy name is called vpon ouer the people and ouer thy holy place. Neither doth he by a crooked figure (as men sometime speake) mingle himselfe with the multitude as one of the people, but rather seuerally confesseth his owne guiltinesse and humbly fleeth to the sanctuary of forgiveness, as he expressly saith: When I confessed my sins and the sins of my people. And this humblenes *Dauid* also setteth out with his own example, when he saith, Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, because in thy sight euery one that lueth shall not be iustificed. In such manner *Esay* preacheth: Loec, thou art angrie because we haue sinned, the world is founded in thy waies, therefore we shall be saued:

And

Esa. 15. 15.

Ierc. 11. 7. & 11.

Esa. 29. 9.

Iam. 4. 3.

1. *Iohn* 3. 22.

The third rule of prayer is the vnfained humbling and abasing of our selues.

Dan. 9. 18.

Psal. 143. 2.
Esa. 64. 5.

And we haue been all filled with vncleanesse, and all our righteousnesse as a defiled cloth: and we haue all withered away as a leafe, & our iniquities do scatter vs abroad as the wind: and there is none that calleth vpon thy name, that raiseth vp himselfe to take hold of thee: because thou hast hid thy face from vs, and hast made vs to pine away in the hand of our wickednes. Now therefore O Lord, thou art our father, we are clay, thou art our fashioner, and we are the worke of thy hande. Be not angrie O Lord, neither remember wickednes for euer. Behold, looke vpon vs, we are al thy people. Lo, how they stand vpon no affiance at all, but vpon this only, that thinking vpon this that they be Gods, they despaire not that he will haue care of them. Likewise *Ieremie*. If our iniquities answere against vs, doe thou for thy names sake. For it is both most truly & most holy written, of whosoener it be, which being written by an vnknown author is fathered vpon the Prophet *Zaruc*: A soule heauie and desolate for the greatnes of euill, crooked, and weake, a hungrie soule, and fainting cies giue glorie to thee O Lord. Not according to the righteousnes of our fathers do we poure our praers in thy sight, and aske mercie before thy face O Lord our God: but because thou art mercifull, haue mercie vpon vs, because we haue sinned before thee.

Ier. 14. 7.

9 Finally the beginning and also the preparing of praying rightly, is craving of pardon, with an humble and plaine confession of fault. For neither is it to be hoped, that euen the holiest man may obtaine any thing of God, vntill he be freely reconciled to him: neither is it possible that God may be fauourable to any but them whom he pardoneth. Wherefore it is no maruell if the faithfull doe with this key open to themselves the dore to pray. Which we learne out of many places of the Psalmes. For *Dauid* when he asketh another thing, saith: Remember not the sinnes of my youth, remember me according to thy mercie for thy goodnes sake O Lord. Again, Look vpon my affliction, and my labour, and forgiue all my sinnes. Where we also see that it is not enough, if we euery feuerall day do cal our selues to account for our new sins, if we do not also remember those sins which might seem to haue bin long ago forgotten. For the same Prophet in another place, hauing confessed one hainous offence by this occasion returneth euen to his mothers wombe wherein he had gathered the infection: not to make the fault seeme lesse by the corruption of nature, but that heaping together the sinnes of his whole life, how much more rigorous he is in condemning himselfe, so much more easie he may finde God to entreat. But although the holie ones doe not alwaie in expresse wordes aske forgiveness of sinnes, yet if we diligently weigh their praers which the Scripture rehearseth, wee shall easilie finde that which I say, that they gathered a minde to pray of the onely mercy of God, and so alway tooke their beginning at appeasing him: because if euery man examine his owne conscience, so farre is he from being bolde to open his eares familiarly with God, that he trembleth at euery coming toward him, except that he standeth vpon trust of mercy and pardon. There is also another speciall confession, where they aske release of paines, that they also pray to haue their sins forgiuen: because it were an absurditie to will that the effect be taken away while the cause abideth. For wee must beware that God be fauourable vnto vs, before that hee testifie his fauour with outward signes: because both he himselfe will keepe this order, and it should little profit vs to haue him beneficiall, vnlesse our conscience feeling him appeased shoulde throughly make him louely vnto vs. Which wee are also taught by the answere of Christ. For when he had decreed to heale the man sick of the Palsey, he said, Thy sins are forgiuen thee: desiring vp our mindes thereby to that which is chiefly to be wished, that God first receiue vs into fauour, and then shew soorth the fruite of reconciliation in helping vs. But beside that speciall confession of present guiltines, whereby the faithful make supplication to obtaine pardon of euery speciall fault & paine, that generall preface, which procureth fauour to praers, is neuer to be omitted, vnlesse they be grouaded vpon the free mercie of God, they shall neuer obtaine any thing of God.

The preface of our prayer must be the humble acknowledgement of sinnes.

Psal. 25. 6. & 18.

Psal. 57. 7.

Math. 9. 1.

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1. Ioh. 1. 9.

God. Whereunto may be referred that saying of *Iohn*: If we confesse our sins, hee is faithfull and righteous to forgiue vs, and cleanse vs from al iniquitie. For which cause it behooued praier in the time of the law to be hallowed with expiation of bloude, that they might be acceptable, and that to the people should be put in mind that they are vnwoorthie of so great a prerogatiue of honor, till being cleansed from their defiling they should of the onely mercy of God conceiue affiance to pray.

Prayer is fruitlesse where there is not an vnfaigned aspiring vnto godlines, (such as Dauid and Ezechiah mention in their praying as warranted thereby) they could not pray in vaine.

2 Reg. 20. 2.

Psal. 34. 16.

1. Ioh. 2. 3.

Ioh. 9. 21.

10 But whereas the holy ones seeme sometime for the entreating of God to alleage the helpe of their owne righteousness (as when *Dauid* saith: Keepe my soule, because I am good. Againe *Ezechias*: Remember Lord I beseech thee, that I haue walked before thee in truth, and haue done good in thine eies) by such formes of speaking they meane nothing else than by their very regeneration to testifie themselues to be the seruants and children of God, to whom he himselve pronounceth that hee will be mercifull. He teacheth by the Prophet (as we haue already seene) that his cies are vpon the righteous, and his cares vnto their praier. Againe by the Apostle, that wee shall obtaine whatsoeuer we aske, if we keepe his commandments. In which sayings he doth not value prayer by the worthines of works: but his will is so to stablish their affiance, whose owne conscience well assureth them of an vnfaigned vp-rightnes and innocencie, such as all the faithfull ought to be. For the same is taken out of the very tuth of God, which the blinde man that had his sight restored, saith in *Iohn*, that God heareth not sinners: if we vnderstand sinners after the common vse of the Scripture, for such as without al desire of righteousness do altogether sleepe and rest vpon their sins: forasmuch as no hart can euer breake foorth into vnfaigned calling vpon God which doth not also aspire to godlines. Therefore with such promises accord the prayers of the holy ones, wherein they make mention of their own purenes or innocencie that they may feele that to bee giuen them which is to bee looked for of all the seruants of God. Againe it is then commonly found that they vse this kind of praier, when they do in the presence of the Lorde compare themselues with their enemies, from whose vniust dealing they wished themselues to be deliuered by his hand. In this comparison it is no maruell if they brought foorth their righteousness, and simplicitie of hart to moue him the rather by the rightfulness of their cause to helpe them. This therefore we take not away from the godly hart of a good man, but that he may vse the purenes of his conscience before the Lord, to strengthen himselve in the promises wherewith the Lord comforteth & vpholdeth his true worshippers: but our meaning is, that the trust of obtaining stande vpon the onely mercy of God, laying away all thinking of their owne destruering.

The fourth rule of praier is courage grounded vpon certaine hope and trust to obtaine the thing we pray for.

Psa 5. 8.

11 The fourth rule is, that being so thrown downe and subdued with true humilitie, wee should neuertheless with certaine hope of obtaining be encouraged to praie. These be things indeed contrary in shewe to ioyne with the feeling of the iust vengeance of Gods sure affiance of fauour: which things do yet very well agree together, if the onely goodnes of God raise vs vp being oppressed with our owne euils. For as we haue before taught that repentance and faith are knit as companions together with an vnseparable bond: of which yet the one afraieith vs, the other cheareth vs: so in praier they must mutually meete together. And this agreement *Dauid* expresseth in fewe words: I (saith he) will in the multitude of thy goodnes enter into thy house: I will worship in the Temple of thy holines with feare. Vnder the goodnes of God he comprehendeth faith, in the meane time not excluding feare: because not onely his maicesty driueth vs to reuerence, but also our own vnworthines holdeth vs in feare forgetting all pride and assurednes. But I meane not such affiance, which should stroke the minde loosed from all feeling of carefulnesse with a sweete and full quietnesse. For, to rest so peaceable is the dooing of them which hauing all things flowing as they would wish it, are touched with no care, are kindled with no desire, doe swell with no feare. And it is a verie good spurre to the holie ones to call vpon

God,

God, when being distressed with their owne necessitie, they are vexed with most great vnquietnesse, and are almost dismaide in themselves, till faith come in fit time to their succours, because in such distresses the goodnesse of God so shineth to them, that they doe in deede grone being wearied with weight of present euils, they are also in paine and greeued with feare of greater: yet being so vpholden by ir, they both releue and comfort the hardnesse of bearing them, and doe hope for escape and deliuerance. Therefore the praier of a godly man must arise out of both affecti-
Mat. 11. 24.
Mat. 21. 22.
Iam. 5. 15.
Rom. 10 24

12 This necessitie our aduersaries doe not thinke vpon. Therefore when we bid the faithful to hold with assured confidence of mind that God is fauourable and beareth good will to them, they thinke that we speake a most great absurditie. But if they had any vse of true praier, they would truly vnderstande that God cannot be rightly called vpon without that stedfast feeling of Gods good will. Sith no man can wel perceiue the force of faith, but he which by experience feeleth it in his hart: what may a man profite by disputing with such men which doe openly shew, that they neuer had any thing but a vaine imagination? For of what force, and how necessarie is that assurednesse which we require, is chiefly learned by inuocation. Which who so seeleth not, he bewraileth that he hath a very dul conscience. Let vs therefore, leauing this kinde of blinde men, sticke fast in that saying of *Paul*, that God cannot be called vpon of any other, but them that know his mercie by the Gospell, and are surely perswaded that it is readie for them. For what manner of saying should this be? O Lord, I am verily in doubt whether thou wilt heare me: but because I am distressed with carefulness, I flee to thee, that thou maist helpe me if I be worthy. This was not the wonted maner of al the holy ones, whose praieres we reade in the scriptures. Neither hath the holy Ghost thus taught vs by the Apostle which biddeth vs to go to the heauenly throne with confidence, that we may obtaine grace, and when in another place he teacheth that we haue boldnes and access in confidence by the faith of Christ. We must therefore hold.

It is a thing not absurd but most necessarie, that they which call vpon God haue an assured confidence in his fauour, and a stedfast feeling of his good will.

Heb. 4. 16;
Eph. 3. 12.

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hold fast with both hands this assurednes to obtaine what we aske (sith both the Lord with his owne voice so commandeth vs, and al the holy ones teach it by their example) if we will pray with fruit. For, that onely praier is pleasing to God which springeth out of such a presumption of faith (as I may so call it) & is grounded vpon a dreadlesse certainty of faith. He might haue bin content with the bare name of faith, but he not onely added confidence, but also furnished the same with libertie or boldnes, by this mark to put difference betweene vs and vnbeleeuers, which doe in deede also pray to God as we doe, but at aduenture. For which reason the whole Church praiereth in the psalme: Let thy mercy be vpon vs, as we put our trust in thee. The same condition is also spoken of in another place by the Prophet: In what day I shall crie, this I knowe that God is with me. Againe, In the morning I will direct my selfe to thee, and I will watch. For of these words we gather, that praieres are in vain cast into the aire, vnlesse hope be adioined, from whence as out of a watch tower we may quietly waite for the Lord. Wherewith agreeth the order of *Pauls* exhortation. For before that he moue the faithfull to pray in spirite at all times with wakefulnesse and diligence, he first of all biddeth them to take the shield of faith, the helmet of saluation, and the sword of the spirite, which is the word of God. Now let the readers here call to remembrance that which I haue before saide, that faith is not ouerthrowne where it is ioyned with acknowledging of our misery, needinesse, and filthinesse. For with how heauiue weighte soeuer of euill doings the faithfull feele themselues to be ouerladen or greeued, and that they be not onely voide of all things which may procure fauour with God, but also that they be burdened with many offences which may woorthily make him dreadfull to them: yet they cease not to present themselues, neither doth this feeling make them so astraide but that they still resort to him, for as much as there is no other way to come to him. For praier was not ordained, whereby we should arrogantly aduance our selues before God, or esteeme at great value any thing of our owne, but whereby confessing our guiltinesse, we woulde bewaile our miseries to him, as children doe familiarly open their complaints to their parents. But rather the vnmeasurable heape of our euils ought to be full of spures or pricks to pricke vs forward to pray. As also the Prophet teacheth vs by his example, saying: Heale my soule, because I haue sinned against thee. I graunt in deede that in such sayings should be deadly prickings vnlesse God did helpe: but the most good father of his incomparable tender kindnesse hath brought remedie in fit season, whereby appealing al trouble, as swaging all cares, wiping away feares, he might gently allure vs to him, yea, and taking away all doubts (much more all stops) he might make vs an easie way.

13 And first when he commandeth vs to pray, he doth by the very same commandement accuse vs of wicked obstinacie, vnlesse we obey him. Nothing could be more precisely commanded, than that which is in the Psalme: Call vpon me in the day of trouble. But for as much as among al the duties of godlinesse, the Scripture commandeth none more often, I neede not to tarrie longer vpon this point. Aske (saith our master) and ye shall receiue: knock, it shal be opened to you. Howbeit here is also with the commandement ioined a promise as it is necessary. For though al men confesse that the commandement ought to be obeyed, yet the most part would flee from God, whē he calleth, vnlesse he promised that he woulde be easie to be intreated, yea & woulde offer himselfe. These two things being established, it is certaine that whosoeuer make delaias that they come not straight to God, are not only rebellious & disobedient, but also are proued guiltie of infidelitie, because they distrust the promises. Which is so much more to be noted, because hypocrites vnder the colour of humilitie & modestie do as well proudly despise the commandement of God, as discredit his gentle calling, yea & defraud him of the chiefe part of his worship. For after that he hath refused sacrifices, in which at that time all holinesse seemed to stand, he declareth that this is the chiefe thing & most precious to him aboue al other, to be called vpon in the

Psa. 33.

Psal. 66. 10.

Psal. 5. 15.

Eph. 6. 16.

Psal. 64. 5.

Nothing should withhold vs from praier, whereunto we are bound by the authoritie of his commandement bound, and encouraged by the sweet assurances of his promises to whom we pray.
Psal. 50. 15.
Matt. 7. 7.

the day of need. Therefore where he requireth his owne, and encourageth vs to cheerfulnesse of obeying, there are none so gay colours of doubting that may excuse vs. Wherefore how many testimonies are commonly found in the scriptures whereby we are commanded to call vpon God, so many standards are set vp before our eyes to put assurance into vs. It were rashnes to rush into the sight of God, vnlesse hee did preuent vs with calling vs. Therefore he openeth vs the way with his owne voice, saying: I will say to them, Yee are my people: and they shall say to me, thou art our God. Wee see how he preuenteth them that worship him, and willet them to follow him, and therefore it is not to be feared that this should not be a verie sweete melodie which hee turneth. Specially let this notable title of God come in our minde, whereupon if we stay, we shall easily passe ouer all stops. Thou God that hearest praier, euen to thee shall all flesh come. For what is more louely or more alluring, than that God be garnished with this title which may ascertaine vs that nothing is more proper to his nature, than to grant the desire of humble suiters? Hereby the Prophet gathereth that the gate standeth open not onely to a few, but to all men: because he speaketh euen to all in this saying: Call vpon mee in the day of trouble: I will deliuer thee, and thou shalt glorifie mee. According to this rule *Dauid* iaeth for himselfe that a promise was given him, that he may obtaine what hee asketh: Thou Lord hast reuealed into the care of thy seruant: therefore thy seruant hath found his hart to praie. Whereupon we gather that he was fearefull, sauing in so much as the promise had encouraged him. So in another place hee armeth himselfe with this generall doctrine. Hee will doe the will of them that feare him. Yea, and this wee may note in the Psalmes, that as it were breaking his course of praying he passeth ouer somtime to the power of God, somtime to his goodnes, somtime to the truth of his promises. It might seeme that *Dauid* by vnseasonable thrusting in of these sentences, made mangled prayers: but the faithfull know by vse and experience, that seruicentesse fainteth vnlesse they put newe nourishments vnto it, and therefore in praying the meditation both of the nature of God, and of his worde is not superfluous. And so by the example of *Dauid*: let it not greue vs to thrust in such things as maye refresh fainting heartes with newe liuelic strength.

14 And it is woonderfull that with so great sweetnesse of promises we are either but coldly or almost not at all moued, that a great part of men wandring about by compasses had rather leauing the fountaine of liuing waters, to digge for themselues drie pits, than to embrace the liberalitie of God freely offered them. An inuincible tower is the name of the Lord (saith *Salomon*) to it the righteous man shall flee, and he shall be saued. And *Ioel*, after that he had prophced of that horrible destruction which was at hande, addeth this notable sentence. Whosoever calleth vpon the name of the Lorde, shall bee safe: which sentence wee knowe to pertaine properly to the course of the Gospell. Scarcely euerie hundreth man is moued to go forward to meete God. He himselfe crieth by *Esay*: Yee shall call vpon me, and I will heare you, yea, before that yee crie, I will answer you. And the same honour also in another place he vouchsaueth to giue in common to the whole Church, as it belongeth to all the members of Christ. He hath cried to me, I will heare him, I am in trouble with him, that I may deliuer him. Neither yet (as I haue alreadye saide) is it my purpose to reckon vp all the places, but to choose out the cheefe, by which we may take a taste how kindly God allureth vs vnto him, and with howe strait bondes our vnthankfulnesse is bounde, when among so sharpe prickings our sluggishnes still maketh delaie. Wherefore let these sayings alway sounde in our eares: The Lord is nic to all them that call vpon him, that call vpon him in truth: also these sayings which wee haue alleaged out of *Esai*e and *Ioel*, by which God affirmeth that he is heede-full to heare prayers, yea and is delited as with a sacrifice of sweete fauour, when wee cast our cares vpon him. This singular fruite wee receiue of the promises of

Zach. 13. 9.

Psal. 65. 3.

Psal. 50. 15.

2 Sam. 7. 27.

Psal. 145. 19.

*Our sluggishnesse
notwithstanding
so many so effectiua-
all motives vnto
this beauenly exer-
cise.*

Prou. 18. 10.

Ioel. 2. 32.

Esaie. 65. 24.

Psal. 91. 15.

Psal. 145.

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God, when we make our prayers not doubtingly and fearefully: but trusting vpon his worde, whose maiestie would otherwise make vs afraide, we dare call vpon him by the name of Father, for as much as he vouchsafeth to put this most sweete name into our mouthes. It remaineth that we hauing such allurements shoulde know that we haue thereby matter enough to obtaine our prayers: for as much as our praier stande vpon no merite of our owne, but all their woorthines and hope of obtaininge are grounded vpon the promises of God, and hang vpon them: so that it needeth none other vnderpropping, nor looketh vward hither or thither. Therefore we must determine in our mindes, that although we excell not in like holinesse as is prayesd in the holy fathers, Prophets and Apostles, yet because the commaundement of prayer is common to vs, and faith is also common, if we rest vpon the word of God, in this right we are fellowes with them. For God (as we haue before shewed) promising that he will be gentle, and mercifull to all, giueth cause of hope to all euen the most miserable that they shall obtaine what they aske. And therefore the generall formes are to bee noted, from which no man (as they say) from the first to the last is excluded: onely let there bee present a purenesse of heart, mistaking of our selues, humilitie, and faith: let not our hypocritie vnholilie abuse the name of God with deceitfull calling vpon it: the most good father will not put backe them, whom he not only exhorteth to come to him, but also moueth them by all the meanes that he can. Hereupon commeth the manner of praying of *Dauid* which I haue euen now rehearsed. Lo thou hast promised, Lord, to thy seruant: for this cause thy seruant at this day gathereth courage, and hath found what praier he might make before thee. Now therefore O Lord God, thou art God, and thy wordes shall be true. Thou hast spoken to thy seruant of these benefits: begin therefore, and do them. As also in another place, Perseuourme to thy seruant according to thy word. And all the Israclites togither, so oft as they arme themselves with remembrance of the couenât, do sufficiently declare that we shoulde not pray fearefully, whereas the Lord so appointeth. And herein they followed the examples of the fathers, specially of *Iacob*, which after that he had confessed that he was vnworthie of so many mercies which he had receiued at the hand of God, yet he saith that he is encouraged to require greater things because God had promised that he would do them. But whatsoeuer colours the vnbeleeuers do pretend, when they flee not to God so oft as necessitie presseth them, when they seeke not him nor craue his helpe, they do as much defraud him of his due honor as if they made to themselves new Gods and idols: for by this meane they denie that he is to them the author of al good things. On the other side, there is nothing stronger to deliuer the godly from all doubt, than to be armed with this thought, that no stop ought to stay them while they obey the commaundement of God, which pronounceth that nothing is more pleasing to him than obedience. Here againe that which I said before more clearly appeareth, that a dreadles spirit to pray agreeth well with feare, reuerence, and carefulnes: and that it is no absurditie to say that God raiseth vp the ouerthrowen. After this manner those formes of speech agree well togither which in seeming are contrarie. *Ieremie* and *Daniel* say that they throw downe praier before God. In another place *Ieremie* saith: Let our prayer fall downe in the sight of God, that he may haue mercie on the remnant of his people. On the other side, the faithfull are oftentimes said to lift vp prayer. So speaketh *Ezechias*, requiring the prophet to make intercession for him. And *Dauid* desireth that his praier may ascend as incense. For although they being perswaded of the fatherly loue of God, cheerefully commit themselves into his faithfull keeping, and doubt not to craue the helpe which he freely promiseth: yet doeth not an alle carefulnesse lift them vp, as though they had cast away shame, but they ascend to vwarde by degrees of promises, that they still remaine humble suppliants in the abacement of themselves.

2.Sam.7.27.

Psal.119.76.

Gen.32.10.

Iere.42.9.

Dan.9.18.

Iere.42.2.

2.King.20.10.

Psal.141.

15 Here are questions objected more than one. For the Scripture reporteth that the Lord granted certaine desires which yet brake forth of a minde not quiet nor well framed. Verily for a iust cause: *Ioatham* had auowed the inhabitants of *Sichem*, to the destruction which afterward came vpon them: but yet God kindled with feruentnes of anger and vengeance following his execration seemeth to allow ill tempered violent passions. Such heate also carried *Sampson* when he said, Strengthen me O God, that I may take vengeance of the vncircumcised. For though there were some peece of good zeale mingled with it: yet a hote, and therefore faultie greedinesse of vengeance did beare rule therein. God granted it. Whereupon it seemeth that it may be gathered, that although the prayers be not framed according to the prescribed rule of the word, yet they obtaine their effect. I answer first that a generall lawe is not taken away by singular examples: againe, that sometime speciall motions have been put into a few men, whereby it came to passe that there was another consideration of them than of the common people. For the answer of Christ is to be noted, when the Disciples did vndiscreetly desire to counterfait the example of *Eliaz*, that they knew not with what Spirit they were endued. But we must goe yet further, and say that the prayers doe not alway please God which he graunteth: but that, so much as serueth for example that is by cleere praise made plaine which the Scripture teacheth, namely that he succoureth the miserable, heareth the groanings of them which being vniustly troubled do craue his helpe: that therefore he executeth his iudgements, when the complaintes of the poore rise vp to him, although they be vnworthie to obtaine any thing be it neuer little. For how oft hath he taking vengeance of the cruelties, robberies, violence, filthy lusts, and other wicked doings of the vngodly, subduing their boldnes and rage, and also ouerthrowing their tyrannous power, testified that he helpeth the vnworthily oppressed, which yet did beate the ayre with praying to an vncertaine Godhead? And one Psalm plainely teacheth that the prayers want not effect, which yet doe not pearce into heauen by faith. For he gathereth together those prayers which necessarily winneth no lesse out of the vnbelecuers than out of the godly by the very feeling of nature: to which yet he prooueth by the effect, that God is fauourable. Is it because he doth with such gentlenesse testifie that they be pleasing to him? No. But to enlarge or to set out his mercy by this circumstance, for that euen to vnbelecuers their prayers are not denied: and then the more to pricke forward his true worshippers to pray, when they see that prophane wallings sometime want not their effect. Yet there is no cause why the faithfull should swarue from the law laid vpon them by God, or should enuie the vnbelecuers, as though they had gotten some great gaine, when they obtained their desire. After this manner we haue saide, that the Lord was bowed with the Repentance of *Achab*, that he might shew by this example how easie he is to entreat toward his elect, when true turning is brought to appease him. Therefore in the Psalm he blameth the *Jewes*, that they hauing by experience prooued him so easie to graunt their prayers, yet within a little after returned to the stubbornesse of their nature. Which also plainely appeareth by the historie of the *Iudges*: namely that so oft as they wept, although their tears were deceitfull, yet they were deliuered out of the hands of their enemies. As therefore the Lord indifferently bringeth forth his Sunne vpon the good and the euill: so doth he also not despise their weepings, whose cause is righteous and their miseries worthie of helpe. In the meane time he no more heareth these to saluation, than herein ministreth foode to the despisers of his goodnes. The question seemeth to be somewhat harder of *Abraham* and *Samuel*: of whom the one being warranted by no word of God, prayed for the *Sodomites*: the other against a manifest forbidding prayed for *Saul*. Likewise is it of *Jeremie* which prayed that the City might not be destroyed. For though their requestes were denied, yet it seemeth hard to take faith frō them. But this solution shal (as I trust) satisfie sober readers: that they being

Some hauing prayed otherwise than they should, haue neuertheless at the hands of God obtained the things they haue prayed for.

Iud. 9. 20.
Iud. 6. 28.

Luk. 9. 55.

Psal. 107.

1. King. 21. 39.

Psal. 100. 5.

Gen. 18. 13.
1. Sam. 11.
Ierc. 31. 16.

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instructed with the generall principles, wherby God comāderth them to be merciful euen also to the vnworthie, were not altogether without faith, although in a speciall case their opinion deceived them. *Augustine* writeth wisely in a certaine place. How (saith he) do the holy ones pray by faith, to aske of God contrarie to that which hee hath decreed? Euen because they pray according to his will: not that hidden and vnchangeable will, but the will which he inspireth into them, that he may heare them after another maner: as he wisely maketh difference. This is well said: because after his incomprehensible counsell he so tempereth the fit cesses of things, that the pray-ers of the holy ones be not void which are wrapped both with faith and error to-gether. Neither yet ought this more to auail to be an example to follow, than it excu-seth the holy ones themselues, whom I denie not to haue passed measure. Wherefore where appeareth no certaine promise, we must aske of God with a condition adioy-ned. To which purpose serueth that saying of *Dauid*. Watch to the iudgement which thou hast commanded: because he telleth what he was warranted by a speciall ora- cle to aske a temporall benefit.

Lib. de ciuit. Dei
22. cap. 1.

Psal. 7. 7.

The rules of prayer
must not be too ri-
gorously applicd.

16 This also it is profitable to note, that those things which I haue spoken of the fower rules of right prayer, are not so exactly required with extreme rigour, that God refuseth the prayers in which he shall not finde either perfect faith or perfect penitance together with a feruentnes of zeale and well ordered requestes. We haue said that although prayer be a familiar talke of the godly with God, yet we must keepe a reuerence and modestie, that we giue not loose reines to all requestes whatsoever they be, & that we desire no more, than God giueth leaue: and then, least the maiestie of God should grow in contempt with vs, that wee must lift our mindes vpwarde to a pure and vndefiled worshipping of him. This no man hath euer performed with such purenesse as it ought to be. For (to speake nothing of the common sort) how many complaintes of *Dauid* do fauour of vntemperance: not that hee meant of purpose to quarrell with God, or carpe against his iudgements: but because hee fainting for weaknesse, found no other better comfort, than to cast his sorrowes into his bosome. Yea and God beareth with our childish speeche and pardoneth our ignorance, so oft as any thing vnadvisedly escapeth vs: as truly without this tender bearing, there should be no libertie of praying. But although *Dauid*'s mind was to submit himselfe wholly to the will of God, and he prayed with no lesse patience than desire to obtaine: yet there arise yea boile out sometimes troublous affections, which are much disagreeing from the first rule that we haue set. Specially we may perceiue by the conclusion of the xxxix. Psalme, with how great vehemencie of sorrow that holy man was carried away, that he could not keepe measure. Cease (saith he) from me, till I goe away and be not. A man would say that he like a desperate man desi- reth nothing else but that the hand of God ceassing, he might rot in his euils. Hee saith it not for that he with an auowed minde runneth into such outrage, or (as the reprobate are wont) would haue God to depart from him: but onely he complaineth that the wrath of GOD is too heauie for him to beare. In these tentations also there fall out oftentimes requestes not well framed according to the rule of the word of God, and in which the holy ones do not sufficiently weigh what is lawfull and expedient. Wh insoeuer prayers are spotted with these faults, they deserue to be re- fused: yet if the holy ones do bewaile, correct themselues, and by and by come to themselues againe, God pardoneth them. So they offend also in the second rule, be- cause they are oftentimes drinen to wastle with their owne coldnesse, and their need and miserie doth not sharply enough picke them to pray earnestly. And oftentimes it happeneth that their mindes do slippe aside, and in a maner wander away into vani- tie. Therefore in this behalfe also there is neede of pardon, least our faint, or vn- perfect, or broken and wandering prayers haue a deniall. This God hath natu- rally planted in the mindes of men, that prayers are not perfect but with mindes lifted
vpward,

vpward. Hereupon came the ceremony of lifting vp of hands, as we haue before said, which hath bene vsed in all ages and nations, as yet it is in vre. But how many a one is there, which when he listeth vp his hands doth not in his own conscience find himselfe dull, because his hart resteth vpon the ground? As touching the asking of forgiveness of sinnes, although none of the faithfull doe ouerpass it, yet they which are truly exercised in prayers doe feele that they bring scarcely the tenth parte of that sacrifice, of which *Dauid* speaketh. An acceptable sacrifice to God is a troubled Spirit: a broken and humbled hart. O God thou wilt not despise. So there is alway a double pardon to be asked, both bicause they know themselves gilty in consciences of many faultes, with feeling whereof they are not yet so touched, that they mislike themselves so much as they ought: and also that, so much as it is giuen them to profit in repentance and in the feare of God, they being throwne downe with iust sorrow for their offences, should pray to escape the punishment of the Iudge. Cheefely the feeblenes or imperfection of faith corrupteth the prayers of the faithful, vnlesse the tender mercie of God did helpe them. But it is no maruell that God pardoneth this default, which doth oftentimes exercise the that be his with sharp instructions, as if he should of purpose quench their faith. This is a most hard tentation, whē the faithfull are compelled to cry: How long wilt thou be angry vpon the prayer of thy seruant? as though the very prayers made God more angrie. So when *Ieremie* sayeth: The Lord hath shut out my prayer, it is no doubt that he was shaken with a violent pang of trouble. Innumerable such examples are commonly found in the Scriptures, by which appeareth that the Faith of the holy ones was oftentimes mingled and troubled with doubtings, that in beleeuing and hoping they bewrayed yet some vnfaithfulness: but because they come not so far as it is to be wished, they ought to indeuour so much the more that their faultes being amended, they may dayly come neerer to the perfect rule of praying, & in the meane time to feele in how great a depth of euils they be drowned, which euen in the very remedies doe get to themselves new diseases: sith there is no prair, which the Lord doth not worthily loth, vnlesse he winke at the spots wherewith they are all besprinkled. I rehearse not these things to this end that the Faithfull should carelesly pardon themselves any thing, but that in sharpelie chastising themselves they should trauell to ouercome these stobs, and although *Satan* labour to stop vp all the waies, that he may keep them from praying, yet neuertheless they should breake through, being certainly perswaded, that although they be not vncombred of all hinderances, yet their indeuours doe please God, and their prayers are allowed of him, so that they trauaile and bend themselves thitherward, whether they doe not by and by attaine.

17 But forasmuch as there is no man worthie to present himselfe to God, and to come into his sight: the heauenly Father himselfe to deliuer vs both from shame and feare which should haue throwne down all our courages, hath giuen to vs his Sonne *Iesus Christ* our Lord, to be an *Advocate* & *Mediator* with him for vs, by whose leading we may boldly come to him, trusting that we haue such an intercessor, nothing shall be denied vs which we aske in his name, as nothing can be denied him of the Father. And hereunto must all be referred whatsoeuer we haue heretofore taught concerning Faith: because as the promise setteth out vnto vs *Christ* for our Mediator, so vnlesse our hope of obteneing stay vpon him, it taketh from it selfe the benefite of praying. For so soone as the terrible maiestie of God commeth in our minde, it is impossible but that we should tremble for feare, and the acknowledging of our owne vnworthinesse should driue vs farre away, till *Christ* come meane betweene vs and him, which may change the throne of dreadfull glory into the throne of grace: as also the *Apostle* teacheth that we may be bold to appeare with all confidence which shall obtaine mercy and find grace in helpe comming in fit season. And as there is a law set that we should call vpon God like as there is a promise giuen, that

Psal. 51. 19.

Psal. 80.

Lam. 3. 8.

That the confidence of our owne imbecillitie discourageth vs not so much, we are so releas'd our selues in prayer with the mediation of Christ Iesus besides whose name no other by way of intercession should be mentioned in our prayers.
1. *Tim.* 1. 5.
1. *Iohn* 2. 1.

Heb. 4. 15.

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they shal be heard which call vpon him: so are we peculiarly commanded to call vpon him in the name of Christ, and we haue a promise set fourth, that we shall obtaine that which we shall aske in his name. Hitherto (saith he) ye haue not asked any thing in my name: aske & ye shall receiue. In that day ye shall ask in my name, & whatsoeuer ye aske, I will do that the father may be glorified in the son. Hereby it is plaine without controuersie, that they which call vpon God in any other name than of Christ, do stubbornly breake his commandements, and regard his wil as nothing, & that they haue no promise to obtaine any thing. For (as *Paul* saith) al the promises of God are in Christ, yea and Amen, that is to say, they are confirmed and fulfilled.

John. 14. 13. &
16. 24.

2. Cor. 1. 20.

No prayer effectu-
all which hath not
Christ as an aduocate
Iohn. 16. 26.

Exo. 1. 28. 9. &
30. 21.

18 And the circumstance of the time is diligently to be marked, where Christ commandeth his disciples to flee to intercession to him after that he is gone vp into heauen. In that hower (saith he) ye shall aske in my name. It is certaine that euen from the beginning none were heard that prayed, but by meane of the Mediatour. For this reason the Lord had ordained in the lawe, that the Priest alone entering into the sanctuary, should beare vpon his shoulders the names of the tribes of Israel, and as many precious stones before his breast: but the people should stand a far off in the porch, and from thence should ioyne their prayers with the priest. Yea and the sacrifice auailed hereto, that the prayers should be made sure and of force. Therefore that shadowish ceremonie of the law taught that we are all shut out from the face of God, and that therefore wee neede a Mediatour, which may appeare in our name, and may beare vs vpon his shoulders, and hold vs fast bound to his breast, that wee may be heard in his person: then that by sprinkeling of blood our prayers are cleansed, which (as we haue already saide) are neuer void of filthinesse. And wee see that the holy ones, when they desired to obtaine any thing, grounded their hope vpon sacrifices, because they knewe them to bee the establishing of all requestes. Let him remember thy offering (saith *Dauid*) and make thy burnt offering fatte. Hereupon is gathered that God hath bene from the beginning appeased by the intercession of Christ, to receiue the prayers of the godly. Why then doth Christ appoint a new heire, when his Disciples shall beginne to praie in his name, but because this grace, as it is at this day more glorious, so deserueth more commendation with vs. And in this same sense he had saide a litle before. Hitherto yee haue not asked any thing in my name, now aske. Not that they vnderstood nothing at al of the office of the Mediator (whereas all the Iewes were instructed in the principles) but because they had not yet clearly knowen that Christ by his ascending into heauen should be a surer patron of the Church than he was before. Therefore to comfort their griefe of his absence with some speciell fruit, he claimeth to himselfe the office of an aduocate, and teacheth that they haue hitherto wanted the chiefe benefit, which it shal be graunted them to enioy, when being aided by his mediation, they shall more freely call vpon GOD: As the Apostle saith that his new way is dedicate in his blood.

And so much lesse excusable is our frowardnesse, ynllesse we doc with both armes (as the saying is) embrace so inestimable a benefit, which is properly appointed for vs.

Hcb. 10. 20.

The intercession of
Christ withstand-
eth not: but that
we may be adu-
cates one for ano-
ther: so that we
know that the
force of our mutu-
all prayers de-
pendeth wholly vpon
him without whom
we were in vaine to
intreat either for
others or for our
selues.

2. Tim. 2. 1.

19 Now wheras he is the onely way, and the onely entrie by which it is graunted vs to come in vnto God: who so do swarue from this way and forsake this entrie, for them there remaineth no way nor entrie to God: there is nothing left in liis throne but wrath, iudgement, and terrour. Finally sith the Father hath marked him for our head, and guide, they which do in any wise swarue or goe away from him, do labour as much as in them lieth to race out and disfigure the marke which God hath imprinted. So Christ is set to be the onely Mediator, by whose intercession the Father may be made to vs fauourable and easie to be entreated. Howbeit in the meane time the holy ones haue their intercessions left to them, whereby they do mutually com-
mende the safetie one of another to God, of which the Apostle maketh mention:

but those be such as hang vpon that one onely intercession: so farre is it off, that they minish any thing of it. For as they spring out of the affection of loue, where with wee embrace one another, as the members of one body: so they are also referred to the vnitie of the head. Sith therefore they also are made in the name of Christ, what doe they elsie but testifie that no man can be holpen by any prayers at all, but with the intercession of Christ? And as Christ with his intercession withstandeth not, but that in the Church we may with prayers be aduocates one for another: so let this remain certaine, that all the intercessors of the whole church ought to be directed to that onely one. Yea and for this cause we ought specially to beware of vnthankfulness, because God pardoning our vntoorthines, doth not onely giue leaue to euery one of vs to praie for himselfe, but also admitteth vs to be entreaters one of another. For, where God appointeth aduocates for his Church which deserue worthily to bee respected if they pray priuately euery one for himselfe: what a pride were it to abuse this libertie to darken the honour of Christ?

20 Nowe it is a meere trifling, which the Sophisters bable, that Christ is the Mediatour of redemption, but the faithfull are Mediatours of intercession. As though Christ hauing performed a Mediation for a time, hath giuen to his seruants that eternall Mediatourship which shall neuer die. Full courteously forsooth they handle him, that cut away so litle a portion of honor from him. But the Scripture saith farre otherwise, with the simplicitie whereof a good man ought to be contented, leauing these deceiuers. For where *Iohn* saith, that if any doe sinne, wee haue an aduocate with the Father, Christ Iesus: doth he meane that he was once in olde time a patrone for vs, and not rather assigned to him an euerlasting intercession? How say we to this that *Paul* also affirmeth, that he sitteth at the right hande of God the father and maketh intercession for vs? And when in another place he calleth him the onely Mediatour of God and men: meaneth hee not of prayers, of which hee had a litle before made mention? For when he had before saide that intercession must bee made for all men: for prooffe of that saying, he by and by addeth, that of al men there is one God and one Mediatour. And none otherwise doth *Augustine* expound it, when he saith thus: Christian men do mutually commend themselves in their prayers. But hee for whom none maketh intercession, but hee for all, he is the onely and true Mediatour. *Paul* the Apostle, though he were a principall member vnder the head (yet because he was a member of the body of Christ, and knew that the greatest and truest priest of the Church entred, not by a figure, into the inward places of the vaille, to the holy of holie places, but by expresse and stedfast truth into the innermost places of heauen, to a holinesse not shadowish but eternall) commendeth himselfe also to the prayers of the faithfull. Neither doeth hee make himselfe a Mediatour betwene the people and God, but prayeth that all the members of the bodie of Christ should mutually praie for him: because the members are carefull one for another: and if one member suffer, the other suffer with it. And that so the mutuall prayers one for another of all the members yet traouailing in earth, may ascend to the head which is gone before into heauen, in whom is appeasement for our sinnes. For if *Paul* were a Mediatour, the other Apostles should also be Mediatours: and if there were manie Mediatours, then neither shoulde *Paul*es owne reason stande fast, in which hee had said, For there is one God, one Mediatour of one GOD and men, the man Christ, in whom we also are one if we keepe the vnitie of faith in the bond of peace. Again in another place. But if thou seeke for a Priest, hee is aboue the heauens, where he maketh intercession for thee, which in earth died for thee. Yet do we not dreame that he falleth downe at the fathers knees and in humble wise entreateth for vs: but wee vnderstande with the Apostle, that he so appeereth before the face of God, that the vertue of his death auaileth to bee a perpetuall intercession for vs: yet so that being entred into the sanctuarie of heauen, vnto the end of the ages

Christ the onely mediator not onely of redemption but intercession also

1. Ioh. 2. 2.

Rom. 8. 3. 2.

1. Tim. 2. 5.

Rom. 15. 30.

Lib. cont. Par. 2. cap. 1.

Rom. 15. 30.

Eph. 6. 9.

Col. 4. 3.

1. Cor. 12. 25.

Eph 4. 3.

In Psal. 94.

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of the world he alone carrieth to God the praers of the people abiding a farre off in the porch.

No Saint hath entrie vnto God but by Christ: and therefore we cannot without iniurie vnto him, make them our intercessors.

21 As touching the Saints, which being dead in the flesh do liue in Christ, if we giue any prayer at all to them, let vs not dreame that they themselues haue any other way of asking than Christ which onlie is the waie, or that their praers be acceptable to God in anie other name. Therefore sith the Scripture calleth vs backe from all to Christ onlie: sith the heavenly fathers will is to gather together all in him: it was a point of too much dulnesse, I will not say madnesse, so to desire to make for our selues an entrie by them, that we should be led away from him without whom euen they themselues haue no entrie open. But, that this hath bene vsually done in certaine ages past, and that it is at this day done wherefoeuer Papistry reigneth, who can denie? Their merites are from time to time thrust in, to obtaine the good will of God: and for the most part, Christ being passed ouer, God is praied to by their names. Is not this, I beseech you, to conuey awaie to them the office of that onlie intercession, which we haue affirmed to belong to Christ alone? Againe, what Angell or Diuell euer reueiled to any man anie one syllable of this their intercession which these men saie? For in the Scripture is nothing of it. What is the reason therefore of inuenting it? Truelie when the wit of man so seeketh for it selfe succours, wherewith we are not certified by the word of God, it plainly bewraith his owne distrustfulness. If we appeale to all their consciences that are delighted with the intercession of Saints, we shall finde that the same commeth from no other ground, but because they are grieued with carefulness, as though Christ were in this behalfe either too wenke or too rigorous. By which doubtfulness first they dishonor Christ, and rob him of the title of only Mediatour, which as it is ginen him of the Father for a singular prerogative, so ought not also to be conueyed away to any other. And in this verie doing they daken the glorie of his birth, they make void his crosse, finally whatsoeuer he hath done or suffered they spoile and defraud of the due praise thereof: for all tend to this end that he may be in deede and be accompted the only Mediator. And therewith they cast away the goodnesse of God, which gaue himselfe to be their Father. For he is not their father, vnlesse they acknowledge Christ to be their brother. Which they viterly denie vnlesse they thinke that he beareth a brotherly affection toward them, than which there can nothing be more kinde or tender. Wherefore the Scripture offereth only him to vs, sendeth vs to him, and stayeth vs in him. He (saith *Ambrise*) is our mouth, by which we speake to the Father: our eye, by which we see the Father: our right hand, by which we offer vs to the father, otherwise than by whose intercession neither we nor all the Saints haue any thing with God. If they answer that the common prayers which they make in Churches, are ended with this conclusion adioyned, Through Christ our Lord: this is a trifling shift: because the intercession of Christ is no lesse prophaned when it is mingled with the prayers and merites of dead men, than if it were vtterly omitted and only dead men were in our mouth. Againe, in all their Letanies, Hymnes, and Profes, where no honour is left vn giuen to dead Saints, there is no mention of Christ.

Lib. de Isa. & anima.

How farre superstition hath gone in prayer vnto Saints.

22 But their foolish dulnesse proceeded so farre, that here we haue the nature of superstition expressed, which when it hath once shaken off the bridle, is wont to make no end of running astray. For after that men once begun to looke to the intercession of Saints, by little and little there was giuen to euery one his speciall doing, that according to the diuersitie of businesse, sometime one and sometime another should be called vpon to be intercessor: then they tooke to themselues euery one his peculiar Saint, into whose faith they committed themselues as it were to the keeping of safe-guarding Gods. And not only (wherewith the Prophet in the old time reproched *Israel*) gods were set vp according to the number of Cities, but euen to the number of persons. But sith the Saints referre their desires to the onely will of God, and behold

Iere. 2. 13. & 11. 13.

hold it and rest vpon it: he thinketh foolishly, and fleshly, yea and slanderously of them, which assigneth to them any other prayer, than wherby they pray for the comming of the kingdome of God: from which that is most farre distant which they faue to them, that euery one is with priuat affection more partially bent to his owne worshippers. At length many abstained not from horrible sacriledge, in calling now vpon them not as helpers but as principall rulers of their saluation. Loe wherunto foolish men do fall when they wander out of their true standing, that is, the word of God. I speake not of the grosser monstrousnesses of vngodlinesse, wherein although they be abhominable to God, Angels, and men, they are not yet ashamed nor wearie of them. They falling downe before the image or picture of *Barbara*, *Catherine*, and such other, doe mumble *Pater noster*, Our father. This madnes the Pastors do so not care to heale or restraints, that being allured with the sweete sauour of gaine they allow it with reioysing at it. But although they turne from themselves the blame of so hainous an offence, yet by what colour will they defend this that *Loy* or *Medard* are prayed vnto, to looke downe vpon and help their seruants from heauen? that the holy Virgin is prayed vnto, to commaund her sonne to do that which they aske? In the old time it was forbidden in the Councell at *Carthage*, that at the altar no direct prayer should be made to Sainctes. And it is likely that when the holy men could not altogether suppress the force of the naughty custome, yet they added at least this restraint that the publike prayers should not be corrupted with this forme: *Saint Peter* pray for vs. But how much further hath their duellish importunacie ranged, which sticke not to giue away to dead men that which properly belongeth onely to God and Christ?

23 But whereas they trauell to bring to passe that such intercession may seeme to be grounded vpon the authoritie of Scripture, therein they labour in vaine. We reade oftentimes (say they) of the prayers of Angels: and not that onely: but it is saide that the prayers of the faithfull are by their hands caried into the sight of God. But if they list to compare holy men departed out of this present life, to angels: they should proue that they are ministering spirits, to whom is committed the ministerie to looke to our safetie, to whom the charge is giuen to keepe vs in all our wayes, to go about vs, to admonish and counsell vs, to watch for vs: all which things are giuen to Angels, but not to them. How wrongfully they wrap vp dead holy men with Angels, appeareth largely by so many diuers offices, whereby the scripture putteth difference betwene some and other some. No man dare execute the office of an aduocate before an earthly iudge, vnlesse he be admitted, from whence they haue wormes so great libertie, to thrust vnto God those for patrons to whome it is not read that the office is inioyned? Gods will was to appoint the Angels to looke vnto our safetie, wherefore they do both frequent holy assemblies, and the Church is a stage to them, wherein they wonder at the diuerse and manifold wisdom of God. Who so conuey away to other that which is peculiar to them, verily they confound and peruert the order set by God, which ought to haue been inuiolable. With like handsomnesse they proceede in alleaging other testimonies. God said to *Ieremie*: If *Moses* and *Samuel* should stand before me, my soule is not to this people. How (say they) could he haue spoken thus of dead men, vnlesse he knew that they made intercession for the liuing? But I on the contrarie side gather thus, that sith it thereby appeareth that neither *Moses* nor *Samuel* made intercession for the people of Israel, there was then no intercession at all of dead men. For which of the Saints is to be thought to be carefull for the safetie of the people, when *Moses* ceaseth, which in this behalfe farre passed all other wher he liued. But if they follow such sleight sutleties, to say that the dead make intercession for the liuing, because the Lord said, If they should make intercession: I will much more colourable reason in this manner: In the extreme necessitie of the people *Moses* made not intercession, of whom it is said, if he shall make inter-

*Vaine labouring
to ground the
intercession of Saints
vpon Scripture.
Heb. 1. 14.
Psal. 91. 11.
Psal. 34. 8.*

Iere. 15. 5.

cession,

cession. Therefore it is likely that none other maketh intercession, sith they are all so farre from the gentleness, goodnesse, and fatherly carefulnesse of *Moses*. This falsehood they get with caulling, that they be wounded with the same weapons, wherewith they thought themselues gaily fensed. But it is very fond that a simple sentence should so be wrested, because the Lord pronounceth onely that he will not spare the offences of the people, although they had seene *Moses* to be their patron, or *Samuel*, to whose prayers he had shewed himselfe so tender. Which sense is most cleerely gathered out of a like place of *Ezechiel*. If (saith the Lorde) these three men were in the citie, *Noe*, *Daniel*, and *Iob*, they shall not deliuer their sonnes and daughters in their righteousnesse: but they shall deliuer onely their owne soules. Where it is no doubt that he meant if two of them should happen to reuiue againe, for the thirde was then aliue, namely *Daniel*, who (as it is knowen) did in the first flourishing of his youth shew an incomparable example of godlinesse: let vs then leaue them whome the Scripture plainly sheweth to haue ended their course. Therefore *Paul*, when he speaketh of *Dauid*, teacheth not that he doth with prayers helpe his posteritie, but onely that he serued his owne time.

Ezcc. 14. 14.

A. 13. 36.

A thirde argument for intercession of Saines answered.

24 They answer againe: shall we then take from them all praier of charitie, which in the whole course of their life breathed nothing but charitie and mercie? Verily as I will not curiously search what they doe, or what they muse vpon: so it is not likely that they are carried about hither and thither with diuers and particular requests: but rather that they doe with a staied and vnmooued wil, long for the kingdom of God, which standeth no lesse in the destruction of the wicked, than in the saluation of the godlie. If this be true, it is no doubt that their charitie is contained in the communion of the body of *Christ*, and extendeth no further, than the nature of that communion beareth. But now though I graunt that they pray in this maner for vs, yet they doe not therefore depart from their owne quietnesse, to be diuersly drawen into earthly cares: and much lesse must we therefore by and by call vpon them. Neither doth it thereby followe that they must so doe, because men which liue in earth may commend one another in their prayers. For this doing serueth for nourishing of charitie among them, when they doe as it were part and mutually take vpon them their necessities among themselues. And thus they doe by the commandment of the Lord, and are not without a promise, which two things, haue alway the chiefe place in praier. All such considerations are farre from the dead, whome when the Lord hath conueied from our companie, he hath left to vs no interchange of doings with them, nor to them with vs, so farre as we may gather by coniectures. But if any man alleage, that it is impossible but that they must keepe the same charitie towarde vs, as they be ioyned in one faith with vs: yet who hath reuealed that they haue so long eares to reach to our voices? and so peacing eyes to watch our necessities? They prate in their shadowes I wot not what of the brightnesse of the countenance of God extending his beames vpon them, in which as in a mirror they may from on high behold the matters of men beneath. But to affirme that, specially with such boldnesse as they dare, what is it else but to goe about by the drunken dreames of our owne braine, without his word to pearce and breake into the hidden iudgements of God, and to tread the Scripture vnder feete which so oft pronounceth that the wisdom of the flesh is enemy to the wisdom of God, which wholly condemneth the vanitie of our natural wit, which willet all our reason to be throwen downe, and the onely will of God to be looked vnto of vs.

Ezcc. 9. 5 & 6.

Rom. 8. 6.

A fourth argument.
Gen. 48. 16.

25 The other testimonies of Scripture which they bring to defend this their lie, they most naughtily wrest. But *Iacob* (saide they) praieth that his name and the name of his Fathers *Abraham* and *Isaac* be called vpon ouer his posteritie. First let vs see what forme of calling vpon this is among the Israelites. For they call not vpon their Farhers, to help them: but they beseech God to remember his seruants *Abraham*, *Isaac* and

and *Iacob*. Therefore their example maketh nothing for them that speake to the Saintes themselves. But because those blocks (such is their dulnes) neither vnderstand 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 verie forme also they so childishly stumble. This maner of speech is not seldome found in the Scriptures. For *Esay* saith that the name of the men is called vpon ouer the women, when they haue them as their husbands vnder whose charge and defence they liue. Therefore the calling vpon of the name of *Abraham* vpon the Israelites, standeth in this when they conuey their pedegree from him, and do with solemne memorie honor him for their author and parent. Neither doth *Iacob* this because he is carefull for the enlarging of the renoume of his name: but forasmuch as he knew that the whole blessednesse of his posteritie consisted in the inheritance of the couenant which God had made with him: he wished that that which he seeth should be the chiefe of all good things to them, that they be accounted in his kindred: For, that is nothing els but to conuey to them the succession of the couenant. They againe when they bring such remembrance into their prayers, do not flee to the intercessions of dead men: but do put the Lord in mind of his couenant, whereby the most kinde father hath promised that he will be fauorable and beneficiall to them for *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacobs* sake. How little the holy ones did otherwise leane vpon the merits of their father, the common saying of the Church in the Prophet testifieth, Thou art our Father, and *Abraham* knew vs not, and *Israel* was ignorant of vs. Thou Lord art our Father and our redeemer. And when they say thus, they adde therewithall, Returne O Lord for thy seruants sakes: yet thinking vpon no intercession, but bending their mind to the benefite of the couenant. But now sith we haue the Lord Iesus, in whose hand the eternall couenant of mercie is not onlie made, but also confirmed to vs: whose name should we rather vse in our praiers? And because these good masters will haue the Patriarches to be by these words made intercessours, I would faine knowe of them why in so great a rout *Abraham* the Father of the Church hath no place at all among them. Out of what sinke they fetch their aduocates, it is not vnknown. Let them answer me, how fit it is that *Abraham*, whome God preferred aboue all other, and whom he aduanced to the highest degree of honor, should be neglected and suppressed. Verily when it was euident that such vse was vnknown to the old Church, they thought good for hiding of the newnesse to speake nothing of the old Fathers: as though the diuersitie of names excused the new and forged manner. But whereas some obiekt that God is praied vnto, to haue mercie on the people for *Dauids* sake, it doth so nothing at all make for defence of their error, that ~~is~~ is a most strong prooffe for the confutation thereof. For if we consider what person *Dauid* did beare: he is seuered from all the assembly of the Saintes, that God should stablish the couenant which he hath made in his hand. So both the couenant is rather considered than the man and vnder a figure the onely intercession of Christ is affirmed. For it is certaine that that which belouged only to *Dauid*, in so much as he was the image of Christ, accordeth not with any other.

26 But this forsooth moueth some, that it is often times read that the praiers of Saintes haue bene heard. Why so? Euen because they praied. They trusted in thee (saith the Prophet) and they were saued: they cried, and they were not confounded. Therefore let vs also pray as they did, that we may be heard as they were. But these men, otherwise than they ought, do wrongfullie reason, that none shall be heard but they that haue once bene heard. How much better doth *Iames* say? *Elias* (saith he) was a man like to vs: and he prayed with praier that it should not raine, and it rained not vpon the earth in three yeeres and sixe months. Againe he praied, and the heauen gaue raine, and the earth gaue her fruite. What? doth he gather any singular prerogatiue of *Elias*, to which we ought to flee? No. But he teacheth what is the continuall strength of godly and pure praier, to exhort vs likewise to pray. For we do

Esay. 4. 1.

Esay. 63. 16.

A sibil Argument.

Psal. 22. 5.

Iam. 6. 17.

niggardlie.

niggardly construe the readines and gentleness of God in hearing them, vnlesse we be by such experiences confirmed into a more sure affiance of his promises, in which he promisseth that his eare shall be inclined not to one, or two, nor yet to a few, but to all that call vpon his name. And so much lesse excusable is this foolishnes, because they seeme as it were of set purpose to despise so many admonitions of Scripture. *Dauid* was oft deliuered by the power of God. Was it that he should draw that power to himselfe, that we should be deliuered by his helpe? He himselfe affirmeth farre otherwise: The righteous looke for me, till thou render to me. Againe, The righteous shall see, and they shall reioyce, and trust in the Lord. Behold, this poore man hath cried to God, and he hath answered him: There be in the Psalmes many such praier, in which to craue that which he requireth, he moueth God by this manner, that the righteous be not made ashamed, but many by his example be raised vp to hope well. Let vs now be contented with this one example. Therefore euery holy one shall pray to thee in fit time. Which place I haue so much the more willingly rehearsed, because the lewd babblers which doe let out to hire the seruice of their waged tooenge haue not beene ashamed to alleage it to prooue the intercession of the dead. As though *Dauid* meant any thing else, than to shew the fruite that shall come of the mercifulnes and gentlenes of God, when he shall be heard. And in this kind we must learne, that the experience of tye grace of God, as well toward our sekies as other, is no slender helpe to confirme the credite of his promises. I haue vnhearsed many places, where *Dauid* setteth before himselfe the benefits of God for matter of confidence, because the readers of the Psalmes shal commonly find them without seeking. This selfe same thing had *Iacob* before taught by his owne example: I am vnworthie of all thy mercies, and of the truth which thou hast performed to thy seruant. I with my staffe haue passed ouer this *Jordane*, and now I come forth with two bands. He alleageth in deed the promise, but not alone: but he also ioyneth the effect, that he may the more courageously in time to come trust that God will be the same towarde him. For he is not like to mortall men, which are weary of their liberalitie, or whose abilitie is wasted: but he is to be weighed by his owne nature, as *Dauid* wisely doth, where he saith, Thou hast redeemed me, O God that speakest truth. After that he hath giuen to God the praises of his saluation, he addeth that he is a true speaker: because vnlesse he were continually like him selfe, there could not be gathered of his benefits a sufficiently strong reason of affiance and calling vpon him. But when we know that so oft as he helpeth vs, he sheweth an example and prooffe of his goodnes, we neede not to feare that our hope shall be put to shame or disappoint vs.

27 Let this be the summe. Whereas the Scripture setteth out this vnto vs for the cheefe point in the worshipping of God, (as refusing all sacrifices, he requireth of vs this ductie of godlines) prayer is not without manifest sacriledge directed to other. Wherefore also it is said in the Psalmes. If we stretch forth our handes to a strange God, shall not God require these things? Againe, whereas God will not be called vpon but of Faith, and expressly commandeth praier to be framed according to the rule of his word: finally where as Faith founded vpon the word, is the mother of right praier: so soone as we swarue from the word, our praier must needs be corrupted. But it is already shewed, that if the whole scripture be sought, this honor is therein challenged to God only. As touching the office of intercession, we haue also shewed that it is peculiar to Christ, and that there is no praier acceptable to God, but which that Mediator halloweth. And though the faithful do one for another offer praier to God for their brethren, we haue shewed that this abateth nothing from the onely intercession of Christ: because they altogether standing vpon it do comend both themselves and other to God. Moreouer we haue taught that this is vnfitly drawne to dead men, to whom we neuer read that it hath bene comanded that they should pray for vs. The Scripture doth oftentimes exhort vs to mutuall dooings of this duty one for another:

Psal. 142. 8.
Psal. 51. 8.

Psal. 34. 7.

Psal. 32. 6.

Gen. 38. 10.

Psal. 31. 6.

The directing of
praier vnto Saints
departed is the of-
fering of iniurie
vnto God, and of
disgrace vnto
Christes interces-
sion, which by the
mutuall praier of
Saintes as ycs li-
uing, is not preiu-
diced.

Psal. 44. 21.

but of dead men there is not so much as one syllable: yea and *Iames* ioyning these two things together, that we should confesse our selues among our selues, and mutually pray one for another, doth secretly exclude dead men. Therefore to condemne this error, this one reason sufficeth, that the beginning of praying rightly, springeth out of faith, and that Faith commeth 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 which were not giuen them of God. For whereas the Scripture is full of many formes of prayer, there is no example found of this patroneship, without which in the Papacie they belecue that there is no praier. Moreouer it is certaine that this superstition hath grown of distrustfulnesse either because they were not content with Christ to be their intercessor, or haue altogether robbed him of his praise. And this latter point is easily prooued by their shamelesnesse: because they haue no other stronger argument to prooue that we haue neede of the intercession of Saints, than when they obiect that we are vnworthie of familiar access to God. Which we in deede graunt to be most true: but thereupon we gather, that they leaue nothing to Christ, which esteeme his intercession, nothing woorth, vnlesse there be adioyned *George, Hypolite*, or such other visors.

28 But although praier properly signifieth onely wishes and petitions: yet there is so great affinitie betweene petition and thankesgiuing, that they may be fitly comprehended both vnder one name. For, these speciall sortes which *Paul* rehearseth, fall vnder the first part of this diuision. With asking and crauing we powre forth our desires before God, requiring as well those things that seeme to spread abroad his glorie and set forth his name, as the benefites that are profitable to our vse. With giuing of thanks, we doe with due praise magnifie his good doings towarde vs, acknowledging to be receiued of his liberalitie whatsoever good things do come to vs. Therefore *Dauid* comprehended these two parts together, saying: Cal vpon me in the day of necessity: I will deliuer thee, and thou shalt glorifie me. The Scripture not in vaine commandeth vs to vse both. For we haue said in another place, that our needines is so great, and the experience it selfe crieth out that we are on euery side pinched and pressed with so many and so great distresses, that all haue cause enough why they should both sigh to God, and in humble wise call vpon him. For though they be free from aduersities, yet the guiltines of their wicked doings, & their innumerable assaults of tentations ought to prick forward the most holy to aske remedie. But in the sacrifice of praise & thankesgiuing there can be no interruption without hainous sin, forasmuch as God ceaseth not heape vpon diuerse men diuerse benefites to driue vs though we be slacke & slowe, to thankfulness. Finally so great & so plenteous largesse of his benefites doth in a maner ouerwhelme vs: there are so many and so great miracles of his scene on euery side which way soeuer thou turne thee, that we neuer want ground and matter of praise and thankesgiuing. And that these things may be somewhat plainlier declared: sith all our hopes & wealth stande in God (which wee haue before sufficiently prooued) that neither we nor all our things can be in prosperitie but by his blessing: wee must continually commit our selues and all our things to him. Then whatsoever we purpose, speake, or do, let vs purpose, speake, & do vnder his hand & will, finally vnder the hope of his helpe. For, all are pronounced accursed of God, which deuise or determine any purposes vpon trust of themselves or of any other, which without his will, & without calling vpon him doe enterprise or attempt to begin any thing. And whereas we haue diuerse times already said, that he is duellie honored when he is acknowledged the author of all good things: thereupon followeth that all those things are to be receiued at his hand, that we yeelde continuall thanks for them: & that there is no other right way for vs to vse his benefites; which flow & proceed from his liberality to no other end, but that we should be continually busied in confessing his praise & giuing of thanks. For *Paul*, when he testifieth that they

Iam. 3. 8.

The kindes of prayer.

Psal. 50. 15.

Ioh. 4. 14.
Esa. 50. 1. & 31. 1.

more to the opinion of men than to the secrete iudgement of God. In the meane time, that the common praier of the Church should not growe into contempt, God in olde time garnished them with glorious titles, specially where he called the temple the house of praier. For, by this saying he both taught that the chiefe part of the worshipping of him is the dutie of praier: and that to the ende that the faithfull should with one consent exercise themselves in it, the temple was set vp as a standard for them. There was also added a notable promise: There abideth for thee, O God, praise in Sion: and to thee the vow shall be paide. By which words the prophēt telleth vs, that the praier of the Church are neuer void: because the Lord alway minisheth to his people matter to sing vpon with ioy. But although the shadowes of the law are ceased: yet because the Lords will was by this ceremonie to nourish among vs also the vnitie of faith, it is no doubt that the same promise belongeth to vs, which both Christ hath stablished with his owne mouth, and *Paul* teacheth that it is of force for euer.

Esaï. 56. 7.

Psal. 65. 2.

*Churches ordained
to be houses of
praier.*

Mat. 18. 20.

Iohn. 4. 23.

*Esaï. 66. 1.
Act. 7. 48.*

*The sound of the
voice without the
inward feeling of
the hart in praier
availeth not.*

*Esaï. 9. 13.
Mat. 15. 8.*

34 Now as the Lorde by his worde commaunded the faithfull to vse common praier: so there must be common temples appointed for the vsing of them: where who so refuse to communicate their praier with the people of God, there is no cause why they should abuse this pretence, that they enter into their chamber that they may obey the commaundement of the Lord. For he that promiseth that he will doe whatsoever two or three shal aske being gathered together in his name, testifieth that he despiseth not praier openly made: so that boasting and seeking of glorie of men be absent, so that vnfaigned and true affection be present which dwelleth in the secret of the hart. If this be the right vse of temples (as truly it is) we must againe beware that neither (as they haue begun in certaine ages past to be accounted) we take them for the proper dwelling places of God from whence he may more neerely bende his care vnto vs: nor faigne to them I wote not what secrete holincesse, which may make our praier more holy before God. For sith we our selues be the true temples of God we must pray in our selues if we will call vpon God in his owne holy temple. As for that grossenesse, let vs which haue a commaundement to call vpon the Lord in spirit and truth without difference of place, leaue it to the Iewes or the Gentiles. There was in deede a Temple in olde time by the commaundement of God for offering of praier and sacrifices: but that was at such time as the truth lay hid figured vnder such shadowes, which being now liuely expressed vnto vs doth not suffer vs to sticke in any materiall temple. Neither was the temple giuen to the Iewes themselves with this condition, that they should inclose the presence of God, within the wals thereof, but whereby they might be exercised to behold the image of the true temple. Therefore they, which in any part thought that God dwelleth in temples made with hands, were sharply rebuked of *Esaï* and *Stephen*.

31 Here morcouer it is more than euidēt, that neither voice nor song, if they be vsed in praier, haue any force, or doe any whit profite before God, vnlesse they proceede from the deepe affection of the hart. But rather they prouoke his wrath against vs, if they come onely from the lips and out of the throte: for as much as that is to abuse his holy name, and to make a mockerie of his maiestie: as we gather out of the wordes of *Esaï*, which although they extend further, yet pertaine also to re-prooue this fault. This people (saith he) commeth neere to me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips: but their hart is farre from me: and they haue feared me with the commaundement and doctrine of men. Therefore behold I will make in this people a miracle great and to be wondered at. For, wise dome shall perish from their wise men, and the prudence of the Elders shall vanish away. Neither yet doe we here condemne voice or singing, but rather doe highly commend them, so that they accompanie the affection of the minde. For so they exercise the minde and holde it intentiue in thinking vpon God: which as it is slipperie and rolling, easily slacketh

and

and is directly drawn vnto it be staied with diuersel helps. Moreouer whereas the glorie of God ought after a certaine manner to shine in all the partes of our bodie, it specially behooueth that the tooing be applied and aouwed to this seruice both in singing and in speaking which is properly created to shew forth and display the praise of God: But the cheefe vse of the tooing is in publike prayers, which are made in the assembly of the godly: which tende to this ende, that we may all with one common voyce, and as it were with one mouth together glorifie God whom we worshippinge with one spirite and one faith: and that openly, that all men mutually, every one of his brother, may receiue the confession of Faith, to the example wherof they may bee both allured and stirred.

32 As for the vse of singing in Churches (that I may touch this also by the way) it is certaine that it is not onely most auncient: but that it was also in vse among the Apostles, we may gather by these words of *Paul*. I will sing in Spirite, I will sing also in minde. Againe to the *Colossians*, Teaching and admonishing you, mutually in Hymnes, Psalmes, and spirituall songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lorde. For in the first place he teacheth that we should sing with voice and hart: in the other he commendeth spirituall songs, wherewith the godly doe mutually edifie themselves. Yet that it was not vniuersall, *Augustine* testifieth, which reporteth that in the time of *Ambrose* the Church of *Milain* first began to sing, when while *Iustina* the mother of *Valentinian* cruelly raged against the true faith, the people more vfe watchings than they were wont: and that after ward the other westerne Churches followed. For he had a little before said that this manner came from the Easterne Churches. He telleth also in his second booke of Retractions that it was in his time receiued in *Africa*. One *Hilarie* (saith he) a ruler did in cuerie place wheresoeuer he coulede, with malicious blaming raille at the manner which then began to be at *Carthage*, that the Hymnes at the altar should be pronounced out of the booke of Psalmes, either before the oblation, or when that which had been offered was distributed to the people. Him I answered at the commandement of my brethren. And truly if song be tempered to that grauitie which becommeth the presence of God and Angels, it both procureth dignitie and grace to the holy actions, and much auuleth to stirre vp the mindes to true affection and seruencnes of praying. But we must diligently beware that our eares be not more heedfully bent to the note, than our mindes to the spirituall sense of the wordes. With which peril *Augustine* in a certaine place saith that he was so moued, that he sometime wished that the maner which *Albanasius* kept should be established, which commanded that the Reader should sound his words with so small a bowing of his voice, that it should be liker to one that readeth than to one that singeth. But when he remembered how much profite he himselfe had receiued by singing, hee inclined to the other side. Therefore vsing this moderation, there is no doubt that it is a most holy and profitable ordinance. As on the other side what songs foucer are framed onely to sweernes and delight of the eares, they both become not the maiestic of the Church, and cannot but highly displeas God.

33 Whereby it also plainly appeereth that common prayers are to bee spoken not in Greeke among Latine men, not in Latine among Frenchmen or Englishmen (as it hath heretofore beene each where commonly done) but in the peoples mother tooing, which commonly may be vnderstood of the whole assemblee: forasmuch as it ought to be done to the edifying of the whole Church, which receiue no fruite at all of a sound not vnderstanded. But they which haue no regard neither of charity nor of humanitie, should at least haue beene somewhat moued with the authority of *Paul*, whose words are nothing doubtfull. If thou blestie (saith he) in spirit, how shall he that filleth the place of an vnlearned man answer Amen to thy blessing, sith he knoweth not what thou saiest? For thou in deed giuest thankes, but the other is not edified. Who therefore can sufficiently wonder at the vnbrideled licentiousnes of the Papists,

The vse of singing in the Church.
1. Cor. 14. 13.

Confesse. lib. 9.
cap. 7.

Confesse. lib. 19.
cap. 33.

*Publike prayer in
whoe tooing and
with whose sentence
to be made.*

1. Cor. 14. 16.

Cap. 20. Of the maner how to receiue

which, the Apostle so openly crying out against it, feare not to roare out in a strange toong most babling prayers, in which they themselves sometime vnderstand not one syllable, nor would haue other folks to vnderstand it? Bet *Paul* teacheth that we ought to do otherwise. How then? I will pray (saith he) with spirite, I will pray also with minde: I will sing with spirit: I will sing also with mind: signifying by the name of spirit, the singular gift of toongs, which many being endued with, abused it, when they seuered it from the minde, that is, from vnderstanding. But this we must altogether thinke, that it is by no meane possible, neither in publicke nor in priuate prayer, but that the toong without the heart must highly displeas God. Moreouer we must thinke that the minde ought to be kindled with feruentnes of thought, that it may far surmount all that the toong may expresse with vtterance. Finally that the toong is not necessaric at all for priuate prayer, but so farre as the inward feeling either is not able to suffice to enkindle it selfe, or the vehemencie of inkindling violently carieth the worke of the toong with it. For though verie good prayers sometime be without voice, yet oftentimes betideth, that when the affection of the minde is feruent, both the toong breaketh forth into voice, and the other members into gesturing without excessive shew. Hereupon came the muttering of *Hanna*, and such a like thing all the holy ones alway feele in themselves, when they burst out into broken and vnperfect voyces. As for the gestures of the bodie which are wont to be vsed in prayer (as kneeling and vncouering of the head) they are exercises by which we endeouour to rise vp to a greater reuerencing of God.

1. Sam. i. 13.

A prescript forme
of prayer deliuered
by Christ.
Matt. 6. 9.
Luk. 11. 9.

34 Now we must learne not onely a more certaine rule, but also the verie forme of praying: namely the same, which the heauenly father hath taught vs by his beloued sonne: wherein we may acknowledge his vnmeasurable goodnes and kindnes. For beside this he warneth and exhorteth vs to seeke him in all our necessitie (as children are wont to flie to their fathers defense, so o't as they be troubled with any distresse) because he sawe that he did not sufficiently perceiue this, how slender our pouvertie was, what were meete to be asked, and what were for our profit: he provided also for this our ignorance, and what our capacitie wanted, hee supplied and furnished of his owne. For he hath prescribed to vs a forme wherein he hath as in a Table set out whatsoeuer we may desire of him, whatsoeuer vaileth for our profit, and whatsoeuer is necessaric to aske. Of which his gentlenes we receiue a great fruit of comfort that we vnderstand that we aske no inconuenient thing, no vnseeming or vnfit thing, finally nothing that is not acceptable to him, sith we aske in a manner after his owne mouth. When *Plato* sawe the follie of men in making requestes to God, which being graunted, it many times befell much to their owne hurt: he pronounced that this is the best maner of praying taken out of the old Poet. King *Iupiter* giue vnto vs the best things both when we aske them, and when we do not aske them, but command euil things to be away from vs euen when we aske them. And verily the heathen man is wise in this, that he iudgeth how perillous it is to aske of the Lord that which our owne desire moueth vs: and therewithall he bewrayeth our unhappie case, that we cannot once open our mouthes before God without danger, vnlesse the spirite do instruct vs to a right rule of praying. And in so much greater estimation this priuiledge is worthe to be had of vs, sith the onely begotten son of God ministrereth words into our mouth which may deliuer our mind from all doubting.

Alcib. vel de
voto.

Rom. 8. 6.

The diuision of the
Lords prayer into
parts.

Aug. in Enchi.
ad Luc. co. 116.
Christi que oper.
sing. 5.

35 This whether you call it forme or rule of praying is made of sixe petitions. For, the cause why I agree not to them that diuide it into seuen parts, is this, that by putting in this aduertatiue word (But) it seemeth that the Euangelist meant to ioine these two peeces together, as if he had said. Suffer vs not to be oppressed with temptation; but rather helpe our weakenes, and deliuer vs, that we faint not. The old writers also thinke on our side, so that now that which is in *Matthew* added in the seuenth place, is by way of declaratiō to be ioined to the sixt petition. But although the whole prayer

prayer is such that in every part of it regard is specially to be had of the glory of God, yet the three first petitions are peculiarly appointed to Gods glory, which alone we ought in them to looke vnto without any respect (as they say) of our owne profit. The other three haue care of vs, and are properly assigned to aske those things that are for our profit. And when we pray that the name of God be hallowed: because God will prouoe whether he be loued and honored of vs freely or for hope of reward, we must then thinke nothing of our own commodity, but his glory must be set before vs, which alone we must behold with fixed eyes: and no otherwise ought we to be minded in the other prayers of this sort. And euen this turneth to our great profit, that when it is sanctified as we pray, it is also likewise made our sanctification. But our eyes (as it is said) must winke and after a certaine manner be blind at such profits, so as they may not once looke at it: that if all hope of our priuate benefite were cut off, yet we should not cease to wish and pray for this sanctification and other things which pertaine to the glory of God. As it is seene in the examples of *Moses* and *Payl*, to whom it was not greuous to turne away their mindes and eyes from themselves, and with vehement and inflamed zeale to wish their owne destruction, that though it were with their owne losse they might aduance the glory and kingdome of God. On the other side when we pray that our dayly bread be giuen vs: although we wish that which is for our owne commodity, yet here also we ought chiefly to seeke the glory of God, so that we should not aske it vlesse it might turne to his glory. Now let vs come to the declaring of the prayer it selfe.

Exod. 32. 32.
Rom. 9. 3.

Our Father which art in heauen.

36 First in the very entry we meete with this which we said before that all prayer ought none otherwise to be offered of vs to God than in the name of Christ, as it can by no other name be made acceptable vnto him. For since we call him Father, truly we alludge for vs the name of Christ. For by what boldnesse might any man call God, Father? who should burst forth into so great rashnesse, to take to himselfe the honor of the Sonne of God, vnlesse we were adopted the children of grace in Christ? Which being the true Sonne, is giuen of him to vs to be our brother: that that which he hath proper by nature, may by the benefite of adoption be made ours, if we doe with sure Faith embrace so great bountifullnesse. As *Iohn* saith, that power is giuen to them which belceue in the name of the onely begotten Sonne of God, that they also may be made the children of God. Therefore he both calleth himselfe our Father, and will be so called of vs, by this sweetenesse of name deliuering vs from all distrust, sith there can no where be found any greater affection of loue than in a Father. Therefore he could by no surer example testifie his vnmeasurable deare loue toward vs than by this that we are named the Sonnes of God. But his loue is so much greater and more excellent toward vs than all loue of our parentes, as he passeth all men in goodnesse and mercie: that if all the Fathers that are in the earth, hauing shaken off all feeling of Fatherly naturalnesse, would forsake their children, yet he will neuer faile vs, because he cannot deny himselfe. For we haue his promise, If you being euill can giue good gifts to your children, how much more can your Father which is in heauen? Again in the Prophet, Can a mother forget hir children? Though she forget them, yet I will not forget thee. If we be his children: then as a child cannot giue himselfe into the tuition of a stranger and forein man, vnlesse he complaine either of the cruelty or pouertie of his Father: so we cannot seeke succours from else where than from him alone, vnlesse we reproch him with pouertie and want of abilitie, or with cruelty or too extreme rigoroufnesse.

*A comfort vnto
Christians that
they may call God
their Father.*

John 1. 12.
1. Iohn. 3. 1.
Psal. 27. 10.
Esa. 63. 16.
2. Tim. 2. 13.

Mat. 7. 11.

Esa. 39. 15.

37 Neither let vs alludge that we are worthily made fearefull with conscience of sinnes, which may make a Father be he neuer to mercifull and kinde, dayly to be

*What the name of
a Father doth im-
port and teach.*

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displeas'd. For if among men the sonne can with no better aduocate plead his cause to his Father, and by no better meane get and recouer his fauour being lost, than if he himselfe humbly and lowly, acknowledging his fault, do beseech his fathers mercie (for then the fatherly bowels cannot hide themselves but must bee 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 groanings of his children intreating for themselves (specially sith he doth call and exhort vs to do so) than any other intercessions whatsoever they be to the succour whereof they do so fearefully flee, not without some shew of despaire, because they distrust of the kindnes and mercifulnes of their father? This ouerflowing plenty of fatherly kindnes he depainteth and setteth out vnto vs in the parable, where the Father louingly embraceth the sonne that had estranged himselfe from him, that had riotously wasted his substance, that had euery way grieuouly offended against him, and he tarieth not till he do with wordes craue pardon, but he himselfe preuenteth him, knoweth him a farre off returning, of his owne will goeth to meeete him, comforteth him and receiaeth him into fauour. For, setting out in a man this example of so great gentlenes, he minded to teach vs how much more plentifull kindnes we ought to looke for at his hand, who is not onely a Father, but also the best and most mercifull of all Fathers, howsoeuer we be vnkinde, rebellious and naughtie children: so that yet we cast our selues vpon his mercie. And that he might make it to be more assuredly beleueed, that he is such a Father to vs, if we be Christians: he willed not onely to be called Father, but also by expresse name Our Father: as if we might thus talke with him, O Father which hast so great naturall kindnesse toward thy children, so great easinesse to pardon, we thy children call to thee & pray to thee, being assured and fully perswaded, that thou bearest no other affection to vs than fatherly, howsoeuer we be vnworthie of such a father. But because the small capacities of our heart conceiue not so great vnmeasurableness of fauour, not onely Christ is to vs a pledge and earnest of our adoption, but also he giueth vs the spirit for witness of the same adoption, through whom we may with a free and lowd voice crie *Abba, Father.* So oft therefore as any deliuy shall with stand vs, let vs remember to aske of him, that correcting our fearfulness he will set before vs that spirit of couraigoulnes to be our guide to pray boldly.

2. Cor. 1. 3.

Luk. 15. 20.

Gal. 4. 6.

When we call God our Father the holy fellowship which we haue one with another is commended and we adorns, he to pray for others not onely for our selues.
Mat. 23. 9.

38 Whereas wee are not so taught that euery one should seuerally call him his owne father, but rather that we should all in common together call him Our Father: thereby we are put in mind, how great affection of brotherly loue ought to be among vs, which are altogether by one same right of mercie and liberalitie, the children of such a father. For we all haue one common Father, from whom cometh whatsoever good thing may beride vnto vs: there ought to be nothing seuerall among vs, which we are not readie with great cheerefulness of minde to communicate one to another, so much as neede requireth. Now if we be so desirous, as we ought to be, to reach our hand and helpe one to another, there is nothing wherein we may more profit our brethren, than to commend them to the care & prouidence of the most good father, who being well pleased and fauouring, nothing at all can be wanted. And verily euen this same we owe to our father. For as he that truly and hartily loueth any father of household, doth also embrace his whole household, with loue and good will: likewise what loue and affection we beare to this heauenly Father, we must shew toward his people, his household and his inheritance, which he hath so honored, that he hath called it the fulnesse of his onely begotten Sonne. Let a Christian man therefore frame his prayers by this rule, that they be common, and may comprehend all them that bee brethren in Christ with him: and not onely those whom he presently seeth and knoweth to be such, but all men that liue vpon earth: of whom, what God hath determined, it is out of our knowledge: sauing that it is no lesse godly than natural to wish the best to them, & hope the best of them. Howbeit we ought with a certain

Ephc. 1. 24.

singular

singular affection to beare a speciall inclination to them of the household of Faith, whom the Apostle hath in euery thing peculiarly commended vnto vs. In a summe, All our praers ought to be so made, that they haue respect to that community which our Lord hath stablished in his kingdome and his house.

39 Yet this withstandeth not, but that we may specially pray both for our selues and for certaine other: so that yet our minde depart not from hauing an eie to this community, nor once swarue from it, but apply all things vnto it. For though they be singularly spoken in forme, yet because they are directed to that marke, they cease not to be common. All this may be easily vnderstoode by a like example. The commandement of God is generall, to relieue the neede of all poore: and yet they obey this commandement which to this end doe helpe their povertie whom they know or see to be in neede, although they passe ouer many whom they see to be pressed with no lesse necessitie: either because they can not know all, or be not able to helpe all. After this manner they also doe not against the will of God, which hauing regard vnto and thinking vpon this common fellowship of the Church, doe make such particular praers, by which they do with a common mind in particular words, commend to God themselues or other, whose necessitie God willed to be more neerely known to them. Howbeit all things are not like in praier and in bestowing of goods. For, the liberalitie of giuing cannot be vsed but toward them whose need we haue perceiued: but with praers we may helpe euen them that are most strange and most vnknown to vs, by how great a space of ground soeuer they be distant from vs. This is done by the generall forme of praier, wherein all the children of God are contained, among whom they also are. Hereto we may apply that which *Paul* exhorteth the faithfull of his time, that they lift vp euery where pure hands, without strife: because when he warneth them that strife shutteth the gate against praers, he willeth them with one minde to lay their petitions in common together.

40 It is added, that he is in heauen. Whereupon it is not by and by to be gathered that he is bound fast inclosed and compassed with the circle of heauen, as within certaine barres. For *Salomon* also confesseth that the heauens of heauens cannot containe him. And he himselfe saith by the Prophet that heauen is his seate, and the earth his footstoole. Whereby verily he signifieth that he is not limited in any certaine coast, but is spred abroad throughout all things. But because our minde (such is the grossenesse of it,) could not otherwise conceiue his vspeakable glory, it is signified to vs by the heauen, than which there can nothing come vnder our sight more ample or fuller of maiestic. Sith therefore wheresoeuer our senses comprehend any thing, there they vse to fasten it: God is set out of all place, that when we will seeke him we should be raised vp above all sense both of body and soule. Again by this maner of speaking he is lifted vp above all chauce of corruption and change: finally it is signified that he comprehendeth and containeth the whole world and gouerneth it with his power. Wherefore this is all one as if he had been called of infinite greatnes or height, of incomprehensible substance, of vnmearurable power, of euerlasting immortalitie. But while we haue this, we must lift vp our minde higher when God is spoken of, that we dreame not any earthly or fleshy thing of him, that we measure him not by our small proportions, nor draw his will to the rule of our affections. And therewithal is to be raised vp our affiance in him, by whose prouidence and power we vnderstand heauen and earth to be governed. Let this be the summe, that vnder the name of Father is set before 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 stablish affiance, but also aualeth to hold fast our mindes that they be not drawn to doubtfull or fained Gods, but should from the onely begotten sonne climbe vp to the onely Father of Angels and of the Church: then, that because his seate is placed in heauen, we are by the gouernance of the world put in

The conceiuing of praier in common is no hindrance to the priuate and particular commending of our owne or our brethers necessities vnto God.

1. Tim. 2. 8.

How God is said to be in heauen, and a triple vse which this doctine hath.
1. King. 8. 37.
Esa. 66. 1.
Act. 7. 49. &
17. 24.

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minde that not without cause we come to him which with present care conuinceth of his owne will to meete vs. Who so come to God (saith the Apostle) they must first beleuee that there is a God, then that he is a rewarder to al them that seeke him. Both these things Christ affirmeth to be proper to his father, that our faith may be staid in him: then, that we may be certainly perswaded that he is not careles of our faultie: because he vouchsafeth euen to vs to extend his providence. With which introductions Paul preparerth vs to pray rightly. For before that he biddeth our petitions to be opened before God, he saith thus. Be ye careful for nothing, the Lord is at hand. Wherby appeareth that they doubtfull and with perplexitie tosse their prayers in their minde which haue not this well setled in them, that the eie of God is vpon the righteous.

Heb. 11. 6.

Phil. 4. 6.

The hallowing of the name of God which is the first petition both in that which he receiues and that which he worketh, earnestly to be longed for and craved in prayer.
Psal. 33. 18.
Psal. 48. 11.

41 The first petition is, That the name of God be hallowed, the neede whereof is ioyned with our great shame. For what is more shamefull than that the glorie of God should be partly by our vnthankfulnesse, partly by our maliciousnes darkened: and (so much as in it lieth) by our boldnes & furious stubbornnes, vterly blotted out? Though all the wicked would burst themselues with their wilfulnes full of sacriledge, yet the holinesse 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 all the ends of the earth. For wheresoever the name of God is knowne, it cannot be but that his strengths, power, goodnes, wisdom, righteousnes, mercy, and truth must shew forth themselues, which may draw vs into admiration of him, and stire vs vp to publish his praise. Sith therefore the holinesse of God is so shamefully taken from him in earth, if we be not able to rescue it, we be at the least commaunded to take care of it in our prayers. The summe is, that we with the honour to be giuen to God which he is worthe to haue, that men neuer speake or thinke of him without most high reuerence: whereunto is contrarie the vnholly abusing, which hath alway bene too common in the worlde, as at this day also it rangeth abroad. And hereupon commeth the necessitie of this petition, which if there liued in vs any godlines, though it were but a litle, ought to haue bene superfluous. But if the name of God haue his holinesse safe, when being seuered from all other, it breatheth out nothing but glorie, here we are commaunded not onely to pray that God will deliuer that holy name from all contempt and dishonour, but also that he will subdue all mankinde to the reuerence of it. Now whereas God discloseth himselfe to vs, partly by doctrine, and partly by works, he is no otherwise sanctified of vs, than if we giue to him in both behalves that which is his, and so embrace whatsoeuer shall come from him: and that his seueritie haue no lesse praise among vs than his mercifulnesse, for as much as he hath in the manifold diuerstie of his works imprinted markes of his glorie which may worthily draw out of all tongues a confession of his praise. So shall it come to passe that the Scripture shall haue full authoritie with vs, and that no good successse shall hinder the blessing which God deserueth in the whole course of the gouerning of the world. Againe, the petition also tendeth to this purpose, that all vngodlinesse which defileth this holy name, may bee destroyed and taken away: that whatsoeuer things doe darken and diminish this sanctifying, as well slanders as mockings, may bee driuen awaie: and when God subdueth all sacriledges, his glorie may thereby more and more thine abroad.

The vares and proesse of the kingdome of God amongst men: which is the second petition.

42 The second petition is, that The kingdome of God may come: which although it containe no new thing, is yet not without cause seuered from the first: because if we consider our owne drownes in a thing greater of all other, it is profitable that the thing which ought of it selfe to haue bene most well known, bee with many words oft beaten into vs. Therefore after that we haue bene commaunded to pray to God to bring into subiection, and at length vterly to destroy whatsoeuer spoileth his holy name: now is added a like and in a manner the same request, that his kingdome come. But although wee haue already set forth the definition of

his

his kingdome, yet I now breefly rehearse, that God reigneth when men as well with forsaking of themselves as with despising of the world & of the earthly life, do so yeeld themselves to his righteousness, that they aspire to the heauenly life. Therefore there are two parts of this kingdome: the one that God correct with the power of his Spirit all corrupt desires of the flesh, which do by multitudes make warre against him: the other, that he frame all our senses to the obedience of his government. Therefore none doe keepe right order in this prayer, but they which begin at themselves, that is to saie, that they be cleansed from all corruptions which trouble the quiet state of the kingdome of God, and infect the purenesse thereof. Now because the word of God is like a kingly scepter, we are heere commanded to pray hee will subdue the mindes and hartes of all men to willing obedience of it. Which is done, when with the secret instinct of his Spirit he vttereth the effectual force of his worde, that it may be aduanced in such degree as it is woorthie. Afterward wee must come downe to the wicked which do obstinately and with desperate rage resist his authority. God therefore setteth vp his kingdome by humbling the whole worlde: but that in diuerse maners: because he tareth the wantonnesse of some, and of other some he breaketh the vntamed pride. This is daily to be wished that it be done, that it may please God to gather to himselfe Churches out of all the coastes of the world: to enlarge and encrease them in number, to enrich them with his gifts, to stablish right order in them: on the other side to ouerthrow all the enemies of pure doctrine and religion, to scatter abroad their counsels, to cast downe their enterprises. Whereby appeereth that the endeouour of daily proceeding is not in vaine commaunded vs: because the matters of men, are neere in so good case, that filthinesse being shaken away and cleansed, full purenesse flourisheth and is in lively force. But the fulnesse of it is deferred vnto the last coming of Christ, when *Paul* teacheth that God shall be all in all. And so this prayer ought to withdrawe vs from all the corrupt ones of the worlde, which doe seuer vs from God that his kingdome shoulde not flourish in vs, and also to kinde our endeouour to mortifie the flesh, finally to instruct vs to the bearing of the crosse: forasmuch as God will in this wise haue his kingdome spread abroad. Neither ought we to take it discontentedly that the outwarde man be destroyed, so that the inward man be renewed. For this is the nature of the kingdome of God, when wee submit our selues to the righteousness thereof, to make vs partakers of his glorie. This is done when brightly setting forth his light and truth with alway newe encreases, whereby the darknesse and lies of Satan and his kingdome may vanish away, be destroyed and perish, he defendeth them that be his, with the helpe of his Spirit, directeth them to vprightnesse, and strengtheneth them to continuance: but ouerthroweth the wicked conspiracies of his enemies, shaketh abroad their treasons and deceits, preuenteth their malice, and beateth downe their stubbornnesse, till at length hee kill Antichrist with the Spirit of his mouth and destroy all vngodlines with the brightnes of his coming.

1. Cor. 15: 28.

43 The third petition is, That the will of God be done in earth, as it is in heauen. Which although it hangeth vpon his kingdome, and cannot be seuered from it, is not in vaine added seuerally, for our grossnes, which doth not easily or by and by conceiue what it is that God reigneth in the world. It shall therefore be no absurditie if this be taken by way of playner exposition: that God shall then be king in the world when all things shall submit themselves to his will. Nowe heere is not meant of his secret will whereby he governeth all things and directeth them to their ende. For though Satan and men are troublesomely carried against him, yet hee can by his incomprehensible counsell not onely turne aside their violent motions, but also driue them into order that hee may doe by them that which hee hath purposed. But heere is spoken of another will of God, namely that, whereunto answereth willing obedience: and therefore the heauen is by name compared with the earth: because the Angels,

Our requesting in the thirde petition that the will of god may be obeyed is a renouncing of our owne carnall wills and desires.

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Pfal. 103. 20.

as it is said in the Psalme, do willingly obey God and are diligently bent to doe his commandements. We are therefore commanded to wish that as in heauen nothing is done but by the becke of God, and the Angels are quietly framed to all vprightnesse: so the earth, all stubbornnesse and peruersnesse being quenched, may be subiect to such gouernement. And when we require this, we renounce the desires of our owne flesh: because whosoever doth not resigne and yeeld his affections to God, he doth as much as in him lieth set himselfe against him, forasmuch as nothing cometh out of vs but faultie. And we are againe by this praier framed to the forsaking of our selues, that God may governe vs after his will: and not that only, but that he may also create in vs new minds, and new hearts, our old being brought to nought: that we may feele in our selues none other motion of desire than a meere cōsent with his will: summarily that we may will nothing of our selues, but that his Spirit may governe our hearts, by whom inwardly teaching vs we may learne to loue those things that please him, and to hate those things that displease him. Whereupon this also followeth, that whatsoeuer affections fight against his will, he may make them vaine and void. Loe here be the first three chiefe points of this praier, in asking whereof we ought to haue the onelie glorie of God before our eies, leauing the respect of our selues, and hauing no regard to any of our owne profit, which although it come hereof largely vnto vs, yet we ought not here to seeke it. But albeit all these things, though we neither thinke of them, nor wish them, nor aske them, must neuertheless come to passe in their due time, yet we must wish them and require them. And this to do is no small profit for our trauaile, that we may so testifie and professe our selues to be the seruants and children of God, as much as in vs lieth endeuouring and being truelie and throughly giuen to set forth his honour, which is due to him being both a Lord and a Father. Who so therefore do not with affection and zeale of auaucing the glorie of God, pray that the name of God be hallowed, that his kingdome come, that his will be done: they are not to be accounted among the children and seruants of God: and as all these things shall be done against their willes, so they shall turne to their confusion and destruction.

The sense of the fourth petition wherein our corporall & earthlie necessities are commended vnto God.
1. Cor. 10. 31.

44 Now followeth the second part of the prayer, in which we come downe to our owne commodities: not that bidding farewell to the glorie of God (which as Paul witnesseth, is to be regarded euen in meate and drinke) we should seeke onelie what is profitable for our selues: but we haue alreadye giuen warning that there is this difference, that God peculiarly claiming three petitions to himselfe doth drawe vs to himselfe wholly, that he may in this wise prouoe our godlines. Then he grauneth vs also to haue an eye to our owne commodities, but with this condition, that we aske nothing for our selues but to this end that whatsoeuer benefits he bestoweth vpon vs, they may set forth his glory: forasmuch as nothing is more rightfull than that we liue and die to him. But in this petition we aske of God generally all things which the vse of the bodie needeth vnder the elements 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 eate our bread in peace. By which prayer breefly we yeeld our selues into his care, and commit vs to his prouidence, that he may feede, cherish, and preferre vs. For the most good Father disdaineth not to receiue also our bodie into his faithfull safegard and keeping, so exercise our Faith in these small things, when we looke for all things at his hands euen to a crumme of bread and a drop of water. For whereas it is come to passe I wote not how by our iniquitie, that we be moued and vexed with greater care of the flesh than of the soule: many which dare trust to God for their soule, are yet carefull for their flesh, are yet in doubt what they shall eate, and wherewith they shall be clothed: and if they haue not plentie of wine, wheate, and oile aforeshand, they tremble for feare. So much more do we esteeme the shadow of this life which lasteth but a moment, than that cuerlasting immortallitie,

lize. But who so trusting to God haue once cast away that carefulnesse for the provision of the flesh, do also by and by looke for saluation and everlasting life at his hand, which are greater things. It is therefore no small exercise of Faith, to hope for those things of God, which otherwise do so much holde vs in care: and we haue not finally profited, when we haue put off this vnbeleeuings which sticketh fast within the bones almost of all men. As for that which some do heere teach of transubstantial bread, it seemeth but small to agree with the meaning of Christ: yea but if we did not euen in this fraile life giue to God the office of a nourishing Father, our praier should be vnperfect. The reason which they bring is too much prophane: that it is not meete that the children of God, which ought to be spirituall, should not onely cast their minde to earthly cares, but also wrap God therein with them. As though his blessing and fatherlie fauour doth not also appeare in the sustenance of our life, or as though it were written in vaine that godlinesse hath promisenesse not onelie of the life to come, but also of this present life. But although the forgiveness of sinnes is of much greater value than the sustentances of the body, yet Christ hath set the inferior thing in the first place, to the intent to lift vs vp by degrees to the other two petitions which do properly belong to the heauenlie life, wherein he had regard to our grossenesse. We are commaunded to aske Our bread, that we should be content with the quantity which our heauenly father vouchsafeth to giue to vs, and should not seeke for gaine by vnlawfull crafty meanes. In the meane time we must learne that it is made Ours by Title of gift, because neither our diligence, nor our trauaile, nor our hands (as it is sayde in *Moses*) doe by them selues get vs any thing, vnlesse the blessing of God be present: yea the plenty of bread should nothing at all profite vs, vnlesse it were by God turned into nourishment. And therefore this liberalitie of God is no lesse necessarie for the rich than for the poore: because hauing their cellars and their barnes full, they should yet faint for drinesse and emptinesse, vnlesse they did by his grace enjoy their bread. The word *This Day*, or euery day as it is in the other Euangelist, and also the adiectiue *Dailie*, do bridle the too much greedines of fraile things, wherewith we are wont to burne out of measure, and whereunto are ioyned other euils: sith if we haue plentifull abundance, we do gloriously powre it out vpon pleasure, delights, boasting, and other kinds of riotous excessse. Therefore we are commaunded to aske only so much as is enough for our necessity, and as it were from day to day, with this assiance, that when our heauenly Father hath fed vs this day, he will also not faile vs to morrow. Therefore how great plenty of things soeuer do flowe vnto vs, yea when our barnes be stuffed and our cellars full: yet we ought alway to aske our dayly bread: because we must certainlie beleue that all substance is nothing, but insomuch as the Lord doth by powring out of his blessing with continuall increase make it fruitfull: and that the very same substance that is in our hand, is not our owne, but insomuch as he doth euerie houre giue vs a portion and graunt vs the vse of it. This whereas the pride of men doth most hardlie suffer it selfe to be perswaded: the Lord testifieth that he hath shewed a singular example thereof for all ages, when he fed his people with *Manna* in the wildernesse, to teach vs that man liueth not in bread onlie, but rather in the word that commeth out of his mouth. Whereby is declared, that it is his power alone by which our life & strengths are sustained, although he do minister it vnto vs vnder bodilie instruments. As he is wont also to teach vs by the contrarie example, when he so oft as he will, breaketh the strength and (as he calleth it) the staffe of bread, that men eating may pine with hunger, and drinking may be dried vp with thirst. But who so not being contented with daily bread, but with vnbridled greedinesse are gaping for endless store, or who so being full with their abundance, and carelesse by reason of the heape of their riches, doe neuerthelessse sue to God with this prayer, they doe nothing else but mocke him. For, the first sort of such men aske that which they would

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not obtaine, yea that which they most of all abhorre, that is, to haue onely daily bread, and so much as in them lieth they dissemblingly hide from God the affection of their couetousnesse: whereas true praiere ought to powre out before him the very whole minde it selfe, and whatsoeuer inwardly lieth hidden. But the other sort doe aske that which they looke not for at his hande, namely that which they thinke that they haue with themselves. In this that it is called *Ours* the bountifullnesse of God (as we haue saide) so much more appeereth, which maketh that ours that is by no right due to vs. Yet that exposition is not to be reiected which I haue also touched, that by our bread is meant that which is earned with rightfull and harmelesse trauell, and not gotten with deceits and extortions: because that is alway other mens which we get to our selves with any ill doing. Whereas we pray that it be giuen vs, thereby is signified that it is the onely and free gift of God, from whence soeuer it cometh to vs, yea when it shall most of all seeme to be gotten by our owne policie and trauell, and earned with our owne hands: for as much as it cometh to passe by his onely blessing that our labours prosper well.

The first petition wherein our sins are confessed to be detts, our imperfections, acknowledged during the terme of this present life, a profession made of our owne willingness so voule out our hearts of all reuengeful cogitations towards them that haue privately injured vs, Iere. 31. 33. and 33. 8. Rom. 3. 29.

45 Now followeth. Forgiue vs our detts: in which petition and the next following, Christ hath briefly contained whatsoeuer maketh for the heavenly life: as in these two partes standeth the spirituall couenant which God hath made for the saluation of his Church, I will write my lawes in their hearts, and I will be mercifull to their iniquitie. Here Christ beginneth the forgiuenesse of finnes: after this, he will by and by adioyne the second grace, that God defende vs with the power of his Spirit, and sustaine vs with his helpe, that we may stand vnouercome against all tentations. And finnes he calleth detts, because we are detbound to pay the penaltie of them, and were by no meanes able to satisfie it, vnlesse wee were acquitted by this forgiuenesse. Which pardon is of his free mercie, when he himselfe liberally wipeth out these detts, taking no payment of vs, but with his owne mercie satisfying himselfe in Christ, which hath once giuen himselfe for recompence. Therefore who so trust that God shall be satisfied by their owne or other mens merites, and that with such satisfactions the forgiuenesse of finnes is recompenced and redeemed, they haue no part of communicating of this free forgiuenesse: and when they call vpon God in this manner, they doe nothing but subscribe to their owne accusation, yea and seale their owne condemnation with their owne witnesse. For they confesse themselves detters, vnlesse they be acquitted by the benefite of forgiuenesse, which yet they doe not receiue, but rather refuse, when they thrust vnto God their owne merites and satisfactions. For, so they doe not beseech his mercie, but doe appeale to his iudgement. As for them that dreame of a perfection in themselves, which taketh away neede to craue pardon, let them haue such disciples whome the itching of their eares driueth to errors: so that it be certaine that so many disciples as they get, are taken away from Christ: for as much as he instructing all to confesse their guiltinesse, receiue none but sinners: not for that he cherisheth finnes with flatterings, but because hee knew that the faithfull are neuer throughly vnclodded of the vices of their flesh, but that they alway remaine subiect to the iudgement of God. It is in deed to be wished, yea and to be earnestly enuouered, that we hauing performed all the partes of our dutie may truly reioice before God that we are cleane from all spot: but for as much as it pleaseth God by little and little to make againe his image in vs, that there alway remaineth some infection in our flesh, the remedie ought not to haue been despised. If Christ by the authoritie giuen to him of his Father, commaundeth vs throughout the whole course of our life, to flee to crauing of pardon of our guiltinesse: who shall be able to suffer these new masters, which goe about with this imagined ghost of perfect innocencie to dazle the eies of the simple, to make the to trust that they may be made free from all fault? Which, as *Iohn* witnesseth, is nothing else but to make God a lier. And with all one worke these lewd men by cancelling one article do teare in sunder

and

and by that meane do weaken fro the verie foundation the whole couenant of God, wherein we haue shewed that our saluation is contined: so as they be not only robbers of God, because they seuer those things so conioyned, but also wicked and cruell because they ouerwhelme poore soules with despaire: and traitours to themselves and other, that be like them, because they bring themselves into a slothfulnesse directly contrarie to the mercie of God. But whereas, some obiect, that in wishing the comming of the kingdome of God, we do also aske the putting away of sinne: that is too childish, because in the first table of this praiser is set forth vnto vs most high perfection, but in this part is set forth our weaknesse. So these two things do fitly agree together, that in a spring toward the marke we despire not the remedies which our necessities requireth. Finally, we pray that we may be forgiven as we our selues do forgive our debtors, that is, as we do forgive and pardon all of whome soeuer we haue bene in any thing offended, either vniuently handled in deede, or reprochfully vsed in word. Not that it lyeth in vs to pardon the guiltines of the fault and offence which pertaineth to God alone: but this is our forgiving, of our owne willingnesse to lay away out of our mind wrath, hatred, and desire of reuengement, and with voluntarie forgetfulnesse to treade vnder foote the remembrance of iniuries. Wherefore we may not aske forgiveness of sinnes at the hand of God, if we do not also forgive their offences toward vs which either do or haue done vs wrong. But if we keepe any hatreds in our hearts, and purpose any reuengements, and imagine by what occasion we may hurt, yea, and if we do not endeouour to come into fauour againe with our enemies, and to deserue well of them with all kinde of friendly doings, and to winne them vnto vs: we do by this prayer beseech God that he do not forgive vs. For we require that he graunt to vs the same forgiveness which we graunt to other. But this is to pray that he graunt it not to vs, vnlesse we graunt it to them. Who so therefore be such, what doe they obtaine by their prayer but a more grieuous iudgement? Last of all it is to be noted, that this condition that he forgive vs as we forgive our debtors, is not therefore added for that we deserue his forgiveness by the forgiveness which we graunt to other, as if that cause of forgiveness to vs were there expressed: but by this word partly the Lords will was to conisort the weaknesse of our Faith, for he added this as a signe whereby we may be assured that he hath as surely graunted to vs forgiveness of our sinnes, as we surely know in our conscience that we haue graunted the same to other, if our mind be void and cleansed of all hatred, enuie, and reuengement, and partly by this as it were by a marke, he wipeth them out of the number of his children that they may not be bold to call vpon him as their Father, which being headlong hasty to reuenge, and hardly entreated to pardon, do vse stiffely continuing enmities, and do cherish in themselves the same displeasure toward other which they pray to be turned from themselves. Which is also in *Luke* expressly spoken in the words of Christ.

E say. 43. 29.

46 The sixt petition (as we haue said) answereth to the promise of engrauing the lawe of God in our hearts. But because we do not without continuall warfaie and hard and great strivings obey to God, we do here pray to be furnished with such weapons and defended with such succor, that we may be able to get the victorie: whereby we are warned that we stand in neede not onelic of the grace of the Spirit, which may soften, bow, and direct our hearts to the obedience of God, but also of his helpe, whereby he may make vs invincible against both all the traitorous entrapings and violent conflicts of Satan. But now of tentations there are manie and diuerse sorts. For, both the peruerse thoughts of minde prouoking vs to trespassing against the lawe, which either our owne lust doth minister vnto vs, or the deuill stirreth vp, are tentations: and also those things which of their owne nature are not euill, yet by the craft of the deuill are made tentations, when they are so set before our eyes, that by the occasion of them we be drawne away or do swaue from God.

The sixt petition of aide & succour against the power of those meanes which prouoking vnto euill we are not able of our selues to withstand.

Iam. 1. 2. & 14. Math. 4. 1. & 3.

And

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2. Theſ. 3. 5.

And theſe tentations are either on the right hand or on the left. On the right hand, as riches, power, honours, which commonly doe with their glistering and ſhewe of good ſo daſel the ſight of men, and catch them with the baited hooke of their flattering, that being entrappd with ſuch deceites, or dronke with ſuch ſweetenes, they may forget their God. On the left hand, as pouertie, reproches, deſpifings, troubles, and ſuch other; that they being grieued with the biternes and hardnes thereof may be viterly diſcouraged, caſt away Faith and hope, and finally be altogether eſtraunged from God. To theſe tentations of both ſortes, which fight with vs either being kindled in vs by our owne luſt, or being ſet againſt vs by the craft of Satan, we pray to our heavenly Father that he ſuffer vs not to yeelde: but rather that hee vphold vs and raiſe vs vp with his hand, that being ſtrong by his ſtrength, we may ſtande faſt againſt all the aſſaultes of the malicious enemy, whatſoever thoughtes he put into our minde: then, that whatſoever is ſet before vs on either ſide, we may turne it to good, that we neither be puffd vp with proſperitie, nor throwne downe with aduerſitie. Neither yet doe we heere require that we may feele no tentations at all, with which we haue great neede to be ſtirred vp, pricked, and pinched, leaſt by too much reſt we grow dull. For not in vaine did *Dauid* wiſh to be tempted: and not without cauſe the Lord dayly tempteth his elect, chaſtiſing them by ſhame, pouertie, trouble, and other kindes of Croſſe. But God tempteth after one manner, and Satan after another: Satan, to deſtroy, damne, confound, and throwe downe headlong: but God, that by proouing them that be his he may haue a triall of their vnfaignedneſſe, and by exerciſing them may confirme their ſtrength, to mortifie, purge by fire, and ſcare their fleſh, which vnleſſe it were in this wiſe reſtrained, would waxe wanton, and would wildly outrage aboue meaſure. Morcour Sathan aſſaileth men vnarmed and vnreadie, that hee may oppreſſe them vnware: God euery with tempting worketh the effect, that they which be his may patiently beare whatſoever he ſendeth vpon them. By the name of the *Euill*, whether we vnderſtand the Deuill or ſinne, it maketh little matter. Satan in deede himſelfe is the enimic that lieth in waite for our life: but with ſinne he is armed to deſtroy vs. This therefore is our requeſt, that we may not be overcome or ouerwhelmed with any tentations, but may by the power of the Lord ſtand ſtrong againſt all contrarie powers wherewith we are aſſailed: which is, not to yeelde vs vanquiſhed to tentations, that being receiued into his keeping and charge, and being ſafe by his protection: we may endure vnouercome ouer ſinne, death, the gates of hell, and the whole kingdome of the deuill: which is to be deliuered from euill. Where it is alſo to be diligently marked, that it is aboute our ſtrength to matche with the deuill ſo great a warriour, and to beare his force and violence. Otherwiſe we ſhould but vainely or as it wer in in mockage aſke that which we had alreadie in our ſelues. Surely, they which prepare them to ſuch a battel with truſt of them ſelues, doe not ſufficiently vnderſtand with how ſteere and well armed an enimy they haue to doe. Now we pray to be deliuered from his power, as out of the mouth of a mad & raging lion, wheras we ſhould be torn in peeces with his teeth & pawes, and ſwallowed with his throte, vnles the Lord do deliuer vs out of the middeſt of death: yet therewithall knowing this that if the Lord ſhall ſtand by vs, and fight for vs when we are ouerthrowne, we ſhall in his ſtrength ſhew ſtrength. Let other truſt as they liſt to their owne abilities and ſtrengths of freewill, which they thinke that they haue of them ſelues: but let it ſuffice vs that we ſtand and are ſtrong by the onely ſtrength of God. But this prayer conteineth more than at the firſt ſight it beareth in ſhew. For if the Spirit of God be our ſtrength to fight out our combat with Satan, we ſhall not be able to get the victorie vntill we being filled with that Spirit ſhall haue put off all the weakenesse of our fleſh. When therefore we pray to be deliuered from Satan and the Deuill, we pray to be from time to time enriched with new encreaſes of the grace of God, till being fully ſtuffed with them,

Pſal. 26. 2.

Gen. 22. 1.

Deut. 8. 2. & 13. 3.

2. Cor. 10. 13.

2. Pet. 2. 9.

1. Pet. 5. 8.

Pſal. 60. 14.

we may triumph ouer all euill. It seemeth hard and rough to some, that we craue of God that he leade vs not into tentation, for as much as it is contrarie to his nature to tempt, as *Iames* witnesseth. But this question is already partly afoiold, where wee saide that our owne lust is properly the cause of all the tentations wherewith we are ouercome, and therefore woorthily beareth the blame thereof. Neither doeth *Iames* meane any thing else, but that the faultes are without cause and wrongfully laide vpon God, which we are driuen to impute to our selues, because we knowe our selues in our conscience guiltie of them. But this withstandeth not but that God may when it pleaseth him make vs bond to satan, cast vs away into a reprobate sence, and to filthie lustes, and so leade vs into tentation by his iudgement which is righteous in deed but yet oftentimes secret: for as much as the cause of it is often hid from men, which is yet certainly known with him. Whereupon is gathered that this is no vnfit manner of speaking, if we be perswaded that he doth not without cause so oft threaten, that when the reprobate shall be stricken with blindness and hardening of hart, these shall be sure tokens of his vengeance.

Iam. 1. 13.

47 These three petitions, wherewith we doe peculiarly commend vs and our things to God, doe evidently shew this which we haue before said, that the prayers of Christians ought to be common and to tend to the common edifying of the church, and to the encrease of the communion of the faithfull. For there doth not euery man pray to haue any thing priuately giuen, but all in common together doe pray for Our bread, for forgiuenesse of sinnes, that we may not be led into tentation, that we may be deliuered from euill. There is furthermore adioyned a cause why we haue both so great boldnesse to aske, and so great trust to obtaine: which although it be not in the latine copies, yet it agreeth more fitly in this place than that it should seeme woorthy to be omitted, namely that his is the kingdome, and the power and the glory for euer. This is the perfect and quiet rest of our soule. For if our prayers were to be commended to God by their owne woorthines, who should be so bound, as once to open his mouth before him? Now how soeuer we be most miserable, how soeuer most vnwoorthie of all men, how soeuer void of all commendation: yet wee shall neuer want cause to praie, and neuer be destitute of confidence: forasmuch as our father cannot haue his kingdom, power, & glorie taken away from him. At the end is added Amen, whereby is expressed our feruentnesse of desire to obtaine those things that wee haue asked of God; and our hope is confirmed that all such things are already obtained and shal surely be giuen vs because they are promised by God, which cannot deceiue. And this agreeth with that manner of prayer which we haue here before rehearsed, Do it Lord for thy names sake, not for our sakes or our righteousnesse: whereby the holie ones do not onely expresse the end of their prayers, but also confesse that they are vnwoorthy to obtaine vniuerselle God fetch the cause from himselfe, and that their trust to speed commeth of the onely nature of God.

That which is added in the Lordes prayer, concerning his kingdom, power and glorie to whom we pray, giueth vs both boldnesse to aske and great trust to obtaine that we pray for.

48 Thus haue we whatsoever we ought yea or in any wise may aske of God, set forth in this form & as it were a rule of praying taught by the best schoolmaster Christ, whom the Lord hath set ouer vs to be our teacher, and whom alone he hath willed to be harkened vnto. For he both alway hath bene his eternall wisdome, and being made man is giuen to men the angell of great counsel. And this prayer is in all points, so fully perfect, that whatsoever forreine or strange thing is added which cannot bee referred to it, it is vngodlike and vnwoorthie to be allowed of God. For in this summe he hath set fourth, what is meete for him, what is pleasing to him, what is necessarie for vs: finally what he will grant. Wherefore who so dare go further, and to aske any thing of God beside these, first they will adde of their owne to the wisdome of God (which cannot be done without mad blasphemie) then they holde not themselves vnder the will of God, but despising it doe with greedinesse wander further: finally they shall neuer obtaine any thing, forasmuch as they praie without faith.

The perfection of the Lordes prayer, and the danger of presuming to craue things vniuerselle the compass thereof.
Matth. 17. 5.
Esa. 11. 2.
See August. Of prayer to Proba.

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faith. And there is no doubt that all such prayers are made without faith, because here wanteth the worde of God, vpon which vnlesse faith bee grounded, can in no wise stand. But they which forsaking the maisters rule, do follow their owne desires, are not onely without the worde of God, but also so much as they be able with their whole endeavour are against it. Therefore *Tertullian* no lesse sely than truly hath called this a lawfull prayer, secretly signifying that all other are lawlesse and vnlawfull.

*De fuga in per-
secuta.*

*Our requestes
when we pray are
not tied to the
words & syllables,
but to those things
which are conten-
ned within the
compasse of the
Lords prayer.*

49 We would not haue these things so taken as though we were so bound with this forme of prayer, that we may not change a worde or a syllable. For there are eche where read many prayers in the Scripture, farre differing from this in wordes, yet written by the same Spirit, and which are at this day profitable to be vsed of vs. Many are continually put into the mouthes of the faithfull by the same Spirit, which in likenes of wordes do not so much agree. This onely is our meaning in so teaching, that no man should seeke, looke for, or aske any other thing at all than that which is summarily comprehended in this prayer, and which though it most differ in wordes, yet differeth not in sense. Like as it is certaine that all the prayers which are found in the Scriptures, and which doe come out of godly harts, are applied to this, so venlie none can any where be found, which may match, much lesse passe, the perfectnes of this praier. Here is nothing left out, that might be thought vpon to the praises of God, nothing that ought to come into the minde of man for his owne profits: & the same so fully that all hope is woorthily taken away from all men to attempt to make anie better. In a sum, let vs remember that this is the doctrine of the wisdom of God, which hath taught what he willed, and willed what was needfull.

*The necessitie of
prayer and of set
times for that pur-
pose.*

50 But although we haue aboue said, that we ought alway to breath vward with mindes lifted vp to God, and pray without ceasing: yet forasmuch as such is our weakenes, as needeth to be vpholden with many helpes: such is our dulnesse, as needeth to be pricked forward with many spurs: it is good that euery one of vs appoint to himselfe priuately certaine houres which may not passe away without praier, and which may haue the whole affections of our minde thoroughly busied to that purpose: as, when we rise in the morning, before that we go to our daies worke, when we sit downe to meate, when we haue been fed by the blessing of God, when we take vs to rest. Onely let this not be a superstitious obseruing of houres, by which, as praying a taske to God, we may think our selues discharged for the other houres: but a training of our weakenesse, whereby it may so be exercised and from time to time stirred vp. Specially we ought carefully to look that so oft as either we our selues are in distresse, or we see other to be in distresse with any hardnes of aduersitie, we run straight way to him, not with secte but with harts: then, that we suffer not any prosperitie of our owne or other mens, to passe but that we reuise that we acknowledge it to bee his with praise and thankesgiuing. Finally, this is diligently to be obserued in all prayer, that we go not about to bind God to certaine circumstances, nor to appoint to him, what he shall do, at what time, in what place, and in what manner: as by this prayer we are taught to make to him no lawe, nor to appoint to him any condition, but to leaue to his will that those things which he will do, he may doe in what manner, at what time, and in what place it pleaseth him. Wherefore ere we make any praier for our selues, we first pray that his will be done: where we doe already submit our will to his: with which when it is restrained as with a bridle put vpon it, it may not presume to bring God into rule, but make him the iudge and gournour of all her desires.

*Constancie and
patience in prayer
needfull.*

51 If we do with mindes framed to this obedience, suffer our selues to bee ruled with the lawes of Gods prouidence, we shal easily learne to continue in praier, and with longing desires patiently to waite for the Lord: being assured that although he appeere not, yet he is alway present with vs, and will when he seeth his time declare howe not deafe eares he gaue to the praier, which in the eyes of men seemed to be despised.

despised. And this shall be a most present comfort, that we faint not and fall downe by despaire, if at any time God doe not answer at our first requestes. Like as they are wont to doe, which while they are carried with their sudden heate, doe so call vpon God, that if he come not to them at their first brunts and bring them present helpe, they by and by imagine him to be angry and hatefully bent against them, and casting away all hope of obtaining doe cease to call vpon him. But rather deferring our hope with a well tempered tennesse of minde, let vs goe forward in that perseuerance which is so much commended to vs in Scriptures. For in the Psalmes we may oftentimes see how *Dauid* and other faithfull men, when they seeme in a manner wearied with praying, did beate the aire, because they threw away their words to God that heard them not, and yet they cease not from praying: because the worde of God hath not his full authoritie maintained, vnlesse the credit thereof be set aboue all successe of things. Moreouer let vs not tempt God and prouoke him against vs being wearied with our importunacie, which many vse to doe, which doe nothing but indent with God vpon a certaine condition, and binde him to the lawes of their couenanting, as though he were seruant to their desires: which if he doe not presently obey, they disdain, they chafe, they carpe against him, they murmur, they turmoile. Therefore to such oftentimes in his furor he being angry granteth that, which to other in his mercy he being fauorable denieth. An example hereof are the children of *Israel*, for whom it had bene better not to haue bin heard of the Lord, than with flesh to eate vp his wrath.

Num. 11. 18.

52 But if yet at length after long looking for it our sense do not perceiue what we haue preuailed with praying, and seeleth no fruit thereof: yet our faith shall assure vs of that, which cannot bee perceived by sense, namely that we haue obtained that which was expedient for vs, for as much as the Lord doth so oft and so certainly take vpon him that he will haue care of our grieues, after that they haue been once laide in his bosome. And so he will make vs to possesse abundance in pouertie, comfort in affliction. For howsoeuer al other things do faile vs, yet God wil neuer faile vs, which suffereth the waiting and patience of them that be his to be disappointed. He alone shall suffice vs in steed of all things, for as much as he containeth in himselfe all good things, which he shall one day disclose vnto vs at the day of iudgement when he shall plainly shew forth his kingdome. Beside this although God grant to vs, yet he doth not alway answer according to the expresse forme of our request, but holding vs after outward seeming in suspence, yet by a meane vnknown he sheweth that our prayers were not vaine. This is meant by the wordes of *Iohn*, If we knowe that hee heareth vs when we ask any thing of him, we know that we haue the petitions which we aske of him. This seemeth a weake superfluosnesse of words: but it is a singularly profitable declaration, namely that God euen when he doth not follow our desires, is yet gentle and fauourable to our prayers, that the hope which resteth vpon his worde may neuer disappoint vs. But with this patience the faithfull doe so farre neede to be sustained, that they should not long stand vnlesse they did stay vpon it. For the Lord doth by no light trials prouee them that be his, and not tenderly doth exercise them: but oftentimes driueth them into the greatest extremities, and when they are driuen thither he suffereth them long to sticke fast in the mire, ere he giue them any taste of his sweetnesse: and, as *Hanna* saith, he slaieth, and quickeneth: he leadeh downe to the hels, and bringeth backe againe. What could they here doe but be discouraged, and fall headlong into despaire: vnlesse when they are in distresse and desolate and alreadie vse dead, this thought did raise them vp, that God doth looke vpon them, and that there shall be at hande an ende of their euils? But howsoeuer they stande fast vpon the assurednesse of that hope, they cease not in the meane time to pray: because if there be not in praiere a stedfastnesse of continuance, we nothing preuaile with praying.

Our prayers nor fruitlesse though the fruit thereof be not alwayes sensible.

1. Iohn. 5. 15.

1. Sam. 2. 6.

The xxj. Chapter.

Of the eternall Election, whereby God hath predestinate some to saluation, and other some to destruction.

The necessitie of knowing the truth in the question of predestination that God may be glorified, our mindes both humbled and confirmed, and the danger of curious wading therein beyond the bounds of scripture.

BVt now whereas the covenant of life is not equally preached to all men, and with them to whome it is preached it doth not either equally or continually finde like place: in this diuersitie the woonderous depth of the iudgement of God appeereth. For neither is it any doubt 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 freely offered to some, and other some are debarred from comming to it: here by and by arise great and hard questions which cannot otherwise be discussed, than if the godly mindes haue that certainly stablished which they ought to holde concerning election & Predestination. This is (as many thinke) a comber some question: because they thinke nothing to bee lesse reasonable than of the common multitude of men some be foreordained to saluation, other some to destruction. But how they wrongfully encumber themselves, shall afterwarde be euident by the framing of the matter together. Beside that in the very same darknesse which maketh men afraid, not onely the profitableness of this doctrine, but also the most sweete fruite sheweth forth it selfe. We shall neuer be cleerely perswaded as we ought to be, that our saluation floweth out of the fountaine of the free mercie of God, till his eternall election bee known to vs, which by this comparison brightly setteth forth the grace of God, that he doth not without difference adopte into the hope of saluation, but giueth to some that which he denieth to other. How much the ignorance of this principle diminisheth of the glorie of God, how much it withdraweth from the true humilitie, it is plaine to see. But *Paul* denieth that that which is so necessarie to bee known, is possible to bee known, vnlesse God leauing altogether the respect of workes doe choose them whome he hath determined with himselfe. In this time (saith hee) the remnants were saued according to the free election, If by grace, then not of workes: for as much as grace shoulde then not be grace. If of workes, then not of grace: for as much as worke should now not be worke. If we must be brought backe to the beginning of election, that it may be certaine that saluation commeth to vs from no other where than from the mere liberalitie of God: they which will haue this principle quenched, doe niggardly so much as in them lieth darken that which ought gloriously and with full mouth to haue bene published, and they plucke vp the very roote of humilitie. *Paul*, where the saluation of the remnant of the people is ascribed to free election, cleerely testifieth that onely then it is known that God doth by his mere good pleasure saue whome he will, and not render rewarde which cannot be done. They which shut the gates, that none may be bolde to come to the tasting of this doctrine, doe no lesse wrong to men than to God: because neither shall any other thing suffice to humble vs as we ought to be, neither shall wee otherwise feele from our hart how much we are bound to God. Neither yet is there any other where the vpholding staie of sounde affiance, as *Christ* himselfe teacheth, which to deliuer vs from all feare, and to make vs vnacquishable among so many dangers, ambusies, and deadly battels, promiseth that whatsoeuer he hath receiued of his father to keepe, shall be safe. Whereof we gather that they shall with continuall trembling be miserable, whosoever they bee that knowe not themselves to bee the proper possession of God: and therefore that they doe very ill provide both for themselves and for all the faithfull, which being blind at these three profits which we haue touched, would wish the whole foundation of our saluation to be quite taken from among vs. Moreover, hereby the Church appeereth vnto vs, which otherwise (as *Bernard* rightly teacheth)

Rom. 11. 5.

Icho. 10. 25.

See. in Cant. 78.

were not possible to be found, nor to be known among creatures: because both waies in manerlious wise it lieth hidden within the bosome of blessed predestination, and within the Masse of miserable damnation. But ere I enter into the matter it selfe, I must before hand in two sorts speake to two sortes of men. That the intreating of predestination, whereas of it selfe it is somewhat cumbersome, is made verie doubtfull yea and dangerous, the curiosnesse of men is the cause: which can by no stops bee restrained from wandering into forbidden compasses, & climbing vp on high: which, if it may, will leaue to God no secret which it wil not search and turne ouer. Into this boldnes and importunacie forasmuch as wee commonly see many to run headlong, and among those some that are otherwise not euill men: here is fit occasion to warne them what is in this behalfe the due measure of their dutie. First therefore let them remember, that when they enquire vpon Predestination, they pearce into the secret closets of the wisdome of God: wherinto if any man do carelesly and boldly break in, he shall both not attaine wherewith to satisfie his curiosnesse, and hee shall enter into a maze whereof he shall finde no way to get out againe. For neither is it meete that man shoulde freely search those things which God hath willed to be hidden in himselfe, and to turne ouer from verie eternitie the height of wisdome, which he willed to be honored and not be conceiued, that by it also he might be manerlious vnto vs. Those secrets of his will which he hath determined to be opened vnto vs, he hath disclosed in his word: and he hath determined, so farre as he foresaw to pertaine to vs and to be profitable for vs.

2 We are come (saith *Augustine*) into the way of Faith, let vs stedfastly holde it, It bringeth into the Kings chamber, in which all the treasures of knowledge & wisdom are hidden. For, the Lord himselfe Christ did not enuie his excellent and most chosen disciples, when he saide, I haue many things to be saide to you, but yee cannot beare them now. We must walk, we must profit, we must encrease, that our harts may be able to conceiue those things which now we cannot conceiue. If the last day find vs profiting, there we shall learne that which here we could not. If this thought be of force with vs, that the word of the Lord is the onely way, that may leade vs to search whatsoever is lawfull to be learned of him, that it is the onely light, which may giue vs light to see whatsoever we ought to see of him: it shall easilie hold back & restraime vs from all rashnes. For we shall know that so soone as we be gone out of the bounds of the worlde we runne out of the way, and in darknes, in which race we must needs oftentimes straie, slippe, and stumble. First therefore let this bee before our eies, that to couet any other knowledge of Predestination than that which is set foorth by the worde of God, is a point of no lesse madnesse than if a man haue a will to go by an vnpassable waie, or to see in darknesse. Neither let vs be ashamed, to be ignorant of somewhat in it wherein there is some learned ignorance. But rather let vs willingly abstaine from the searching of that knowledge, whereof the excessiue coueting is both foolish and perillous, yea and deadly. But if the wantonnes of wit prouoke vs, it shall bee profitable alwaie to set this against it, whereby it may be beaten backe, that astoo much of honie is not good, so the searching of glorie doth not turne vnto glorie to the curious. For there is good cause why wee shoulde bee frayed away from that boldnes, which can do nothing but throwe vs downe headlong into ruine.

3 There be other which when they haue a will to remedie this euill, doe command all mention of Predestination to be in a manner buried, at the least they teach men to flee from euery maner of questioning thereof as from a rocke. Although the moderation of these men be herein woorthily to be praised that they iudge that mysteries shoulde be tasted of with such sobrietie: yet because they descend too much beneath the meane: they little preuaile with the wit of man, which doth not lightlie suffer it selfe to be restrained. Therefore, that in this behalfe also wee may keepe a

Gods worde the onely safe waie to walke in, and the lights to direct our walking in matters of so great hardnesse as this is.
Hom. in Ioh. 35.
Ioh. 8. 16.

Pro. 25. 27.

The doctrine of predestination not vsery to be skuned and buried in silence.

Cap. 21. . . Of the maner how to receiue

right ende; we must returne to the word of the Lord, in which we haue a sure rule of vnderstanding. For the Scripture is the schoole of the holy Ghost, in which as nothing is left out which is both necessarie and profitable to be knowne, so nothing is taught but that which is behoouefull to learne. Whatsoeuer therefore is vttered in the scripture concerning predestination, we must beware that we debar not the faithful from it, least we should seeme either enuiously to defraude them of the benefit of their God, or to blame and accuse the holy Ghost who hath published those things which it is in any wise profitable to be suppressed. Let vs (I say) giue leane to a christian man; to open his mind and his eares to all the sayings of God which are directed to him, so that it be done with this temperance; that so soone as the Lord hath closed his holy mouth, he may also foreclose to himselfe all the way to inquire further. This shall be the best bond of sobriety, if not only in learning we may follow the Lord going before vs, but also when he maketh an end of teaching, we cease to will to learne. Neither is the danger which they feare of so great importance, that we ought therefore to turne away our minds from the oracles of God. Notable is the saying of *Salomon*, that the glorie of God is to conceale a word. But such both godlines & common reason teacheth that this is not generally meant of euery thing, we must seeke a difference, least brutish ignorance should please vs vnder colour of modestie and sobriety. That difference is in few words plainly set out by Moses, To the Lord our God (saith he) belong his secrets: but to vs and to our children hee hath disclosed these things. For we see how he commendeth to the people the studie of the doctrine of the law, only by reason of the decree of God; because it pleased God to publish it: And how he withholdeth the people within those bounds, by this only reason, because it is not lawfull for mortall men to thrust themselves into the secrets of God.

4. Phohane men (I mean) do in the matter of Predestination suddenly catch hold of some what which they may escape, or caull, or barke, or scoffe at. But if their wardnes do fray vs away from it, the chiefe articles of the faith must be kept secret, of which there is almost none which they or such as they be do leaue vntouched with blasphemie. A froward wit will no lesse proudly outrage when he heareth that in the essence of God there are three persons, than if he heareth that God foresawe what should become of man when he created him. Neither will they abstaine from laughing, when they shall vnderstand that there is little more than five thousand yeers passed since the creation of the world: for they will aske why the power of God was so long idle and a sleepe. Finally there can be nothing brought forth, which they will not scoffe at. For the restraining of these sacrileges, must wee hold our peace of the Godhead of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost? or must we passe ouer in silence the creation of the world? Yea but the truth of God is both in this behalfe and euerie where mightier than that it need to feare the cuill speaking of the wicked: as *Augustine* strongly maintaineth in his worke of the good of Perseuerance. For we see that the falsie Apostles could not by defaming and slanderung the true doctrine of *Paul*, make him to be ashamed of it. But whereas they say that this whole disputation is perillous also for godly mindes, because it maketh against exhortations, because it shaketh faith, because it troubleth the hart it selfe: this is vaine. *Augustine* sticketh not to confesse that for these causes he was wont to be blamed, for that he did too freely preach Predestination: but, as he had in readines wherewithall, he largely confuteth them. But we, because many & diuers absurdities are thrust into this place, had rather to referue euery one to be wiped away in place fit for it. Only this I desire generally to obtaine of them, that those things which the Lord hath laid vp in secret, we may not search: those things which he hath brought openly abroad, we may not neglect: least either on the one part we be condemned of vaine curiosity, or on the other part, of vnthankfulnes. For, this also is verie well saide of *Augustine*, that we may safely follow the scripture, which as with a motherly pace goeth stoupingly, least it should forsake our

Pro. 23. 2.

Deut. 29. 26.

Predestination not therefore to be concealed because phohane men can see or scoffe at it, as they doe also at other parts of christians doctrine which are not for that cause to be vntoucht.

Cap. 15. vsque ad 20.

De bono perseuer. cap. 14.

Lib. 5. de Gen. ad lit.

our weakenes. But who so are so ware and so fearefull that they would haue Predetermination to be buried, least it should trouble weake soules : with what colour, I beseech you, will they couer their arrogancie, when they indirectly accuse God of foolish vnadvisednes, as though he foresawe not the danger, which they thinke themselves to haue wisely met with? Whosoever therefore trauctheth to bring the doctrine of Predetermination into mistaking, he openly saith euill of God: as though somewhat had vnadvisedly slipped from him which is hurtfull to the Church.

5 Predetermination whereby God adopteth some into the hope of life, and iudgeth some to eternall death, no man that would be accounted godly dare simply denie: But they wrap it vp with many cauillations, specially they which make foreknowledge the cause of it. We in deede doe say that they be both in God, but we say that the one is wrongfully made subiect to the other. When we giue foreknowledge to God, we meane that all things alway haue bene and perpetually doe remaine vnder his eyes, so that to his knowledge there is nothing to come or past, but all things are present, and so present that he doeth not imagine onely by conceiued formes (as those things are present to vs, whereof our mind holdeth fast the remembrance) but he truly beholdeth and seeth them as set before him. And this foreknowledge extendeth to the whole compassse of the world and to all creatures. Predetermination we call the eternall decree of God, whereby he had it determined with himselfe what he willed to become of euery man. For all are not created to like estate: but to some eternall life, and to some eternall damnation is fore-appointed. Therefore as euery man is created to the one or other end, so we say that he is predestinate either to life or to death. But this Predetermination God hath not onely testified in euery seuerall peison, but hath shewed an example thereof in the whole issue of *Abraham*, whereby might plainly appeare that it lyeth in his will what shall be the estate of euery nation. When the Highest deuided the nations, and scuered the children of *Adam*, his part was the people of *Israel*, the cord of his inheritanc. The separation is before the eyes of all men: in the person of *Abraham* as in a drie stocke one people is peculiarly chosen, all other being refused: but the cause appeareth not, sauing that *Moses*, to cut off all occasion of glorying fro posteritie, teacheth that they excell onely by the free loue of God. For he assigneth this to be the cause of their deliuerance, for that God loued the Fathers, and chose their seed after them. More plainly in another Chapter: He was pleased in you to choose you, not because you passed other nations in number, but because he loued you. The same admonition is often repeated with him, Behold, to the Lord thy God belongeth the heauen, the earth, & whatsoever things are in it: and he hath pleased himselfe only in your Fathers, & hath loued them, and hath chosen you their seed. Again in another place sanctification is commanded them, because they are chosen to be a peculiar people. And again in another place, Loue is affirmed to be the cause of protection. Which also the Faithfull doe declare with one voice, saying: He hath choicn for vs our inheritance, the glory of *Israhel*, whom he hath loued. For they doe all impute to free loue all the gistes wherewith they were garnished of God: not onely because they knew that they themselues had obtained them by no desertings, but also that euen the holy Patriarch was not endued with such vertue, that he could purchase to himselfe and his posteritie so great a prerogatiue of honor. And, the more strongly to tread downe all pride, he vbraided them that they haue deserued no such thing, forasmuch as they are a stubborne and hard-necked people. And oftentimes the Prophetes doe hatefully and as by way of reproch cast the *Jewes* in the teeth, with this election, because they had sowly departed from it. Whatsoeuer it be, now let them come forth which will bind the election of God either to the worthines of men, or to the merites of workes. When they see one nation to be preferred before all other, and when they heare that God is as led with no respect to be more fauourably bent to a few and vnnoble, yea and froward and disobedient men: will they quarrell

The doctrine of Predetermination obscured by such as make Gods foreknowledge, the cause thereof, what knowledge is and what predetermination, examples of both.

Deut. 32. 8.

Deut. 4. 37.

Deut. 7. 8.

Deut. 10. 13.

Deut. 23. 5.

Psal. 47. 5.

Deut. 9. 6.

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with him, because his will was to shew such an example of mercie? But they shall neither with their prating voices hinder his worke, nor with throwing stones of taunts into heauen shall hit or hurt his righteoufnesse, but rather they fall backe vpon their owne heads. Moreouer the Israelites are called backe to this principle of the free couenant, when either thanks are to be giuen to God, or their hope to be raised vp against the time to come. He made vs, and not we our selues (saith the Prophet) his people and the sheepe of his pastures. The negatine is not superfluous, which is added to excludewe, that they may know that of all the good things wherewith they excell, God is not onely the author, but fetched the cause thereof from himselfe, because there was nothing in them worthis of so great honour. Also he biddeth them to be contented with the meere good pleasure of God, in these words. The seede of *Abraham* are his seruants: the children of *Iacob* his elect. And after that he hath rehearsed the continuall benefits of God as fruits of the election, at length he concluded, that he dealt so liberally because he remembered his couenant. With which doctrine agreeth the song of the whole Church, Thy right hand and the light of thy countenance gaue the land to our Fathers, because thou wast pleased in them. But it is to be noted, that where mention is made of the lande, it is a visible signe of the secret seuering wherein the adoption is contained. To the same thankfulness *David* in another place exhortheth the people, saying, Blessed is the nation whose God the Lord is, the people which he hath chosen for an inheritance to himselfe. And *Samuel* encourageth them to good hope, saying, The Lord will not forsake you, for his owne great names sake, because it pleased him to create you for a people to himselfe. Likewise *David* when his faith is assailed, armeth himselfe to fight, saying, Blessed is he whom thou hast chosen, hee shall dwell in thy courts. But for as much as the election hidden in God was stablished as well by the first deliuerance as by the second, and other mean benefits: in *Esaie* the word of Electing is transferred to this, God shall haue mercie on *Iacob*; and he shall yet choose out of Israel: because he signifying the time to come, saith that the gathering together of the remnant of the people which hee seemed to haue forsaken, shall be a signe of the stable and steadfast election, which once seemed to haue bene fallen away. When also it is said in another place, I haue chosen thee and haue not cast thee away: he setteth out the continuall course of the notable liberality of his fatherly good will. And yet more plainly the Angell saith in *Zacharie*, God shall yet chooſe *Jerusalem*: as though in hardly chastning it, he had reiected it: or as though the exile were an interrupting of the election: which yet remaineth inuio- lable, although the signes thereof do not alway appeare.

6 There is to be added a second degree more narrowly restrained, or in which was seene a more speciall grace of God: when of the same kindred of *Abraham* God refused some, and other some by nourishing them in the church he shewed that he retained among his children. *Ismael* had at the beginning obtained egall degree with his brother *Isaac*, because the spirituall couenant had bene no lesse sealed in him by the signe of Circumcision. He is cut off, and then *Esau*: at the last an innumerable multitude and almost Israel. In *Isaac* was the seede called: the same calling endured in *Iacob*. A like example God shewed in reiecting *Saul*: which thing is also gloriously set forth in the Psalm. He hath put back the tribe of *Ioseph*, & the tribe of *Ephraim* he hath not chosen; but hee hath chosen the tribe of *Juda*. Which the holy history diuers times repeateth, that the wonderful secret of the graces may the better appeare in this change. *Ismael*, *Esau*, and such other, (I graunt) fell from the adoption by their own fault and guiltines: because there was a condition adioyned, that they should faithfully keepe the couenant of God, which they falsly brake. But this was yet a singular benefit of God, that he vouchsaued to prefer them above the other Gentiles: as it is said in the Psalm, He hath not so done to other nations, nor hath opened his iudgements to them. But here I haue not without cause said that there be two degrees to be noted;

Psal. 105. 6.

Psal. 44. 4.

Psal. 33. 12.
1. Sam. 20. 22.

Psal. 65. 5.

Esaie. 14. 2.

Esa. 41. 9.
Zach. 2. 12.

Of election and
Predestination
both general and
speciall.

Psal. 78. 69.

Psal. 47. 20.

noted : because now in the choosing of the whole nation God shewed that he is in his owne mere liberalitie bound to no lawes : but he is free, so that equall portion of grace is not to be required at his hand : the vnequalitie whereof sheweth that it is truly of free gift. Therefore *Malachie* amplifieth the vntthankfulness of *Israel*, because they being not onely chosen out of all mankinde, but also seuered out of a holy house to be a peculiar people, doe vnfaithfully and wickedly despise God so beneficial a Father. Was not *Esau* the brother of *Jacob* ? (saith he) and yet *Jacob* I loued, but *Esau* I hated. For, God taketh it for confessed, that when either of them was borne of a holy Father, and successeur of the covenant, finally a branch of the holy roote : now the children of *Jacob* were more than commonly bond, which were taken into that dignitie. But when *Esau* the first begotten being refused, their Father which was by nature inferior was made the heire, he proueth them doubly vnthankfull, and complaineth that they were not bolden with that double bond.

7 Although it be already sufficiently euident, that God doth by his secret counsell freely choose whom he will, reiecting other, yet his free election is hitherto but haife shewed, till we come to all particular persons, to whom God not onely offereth saluation, but so assigneth it, that the certaintie of the effect thereof is not in suspence or doubtfull. For, these are accounted in that onely seede, whereof *Paul* maketh mention. For although the adoption was left in the hand of *Abraham*, yet because many of his posteritie were cut off as rotten members : that the election may be effectually and truly stedfast, we must needs ascend to the head, in whom the heavenly Father hath bound together his elect one with another, and hath knit them to himselfe with a knot impossible to be loosed. So in the adoption of the kinred of *Abraham*, shined the liberall fauour of God, which he denied to other men : yet in the members of Christ, appeareth a much more excellent strength of grace, because they being grafted into their head doe neuer fall away from saluation. Therefore *Paul* doth sily reason out of the place of *Malachie* which I euen now alleaged : that where God with making a covenant of eternall life calleth any people to himselfe, there is in part a special maner of election, that he doth not choose all effectually with common grace. Whereas it is said, I haue loued *Jacob*, this pertaineth to the whole issue of the Patriarch, which the Prophet there setteth in comparison against the posteritie of *Esau*. Yet this withstandeth not but that in the person of one man was set foorth to vs an example of the election, which cannot slip away, but must come to the marke that it tendeth to. These *Paul* doth not vainely note to be called remnants : because experience teacheth that of a great multitude many slide and vanish away, so that oftentimes there remaineth but a small portion. But why the generall election of a people is not alway firme and stedfast, there is a reason offering it selfe in readines : because with whom God couenanteth he doth not by and by giue to them the spirite of regeneration, by the power whereof they may continue in the covenant to the ende : but the outward changing without the inward effectualnes of grace, which might be of force to hold them in, is a certaine meane thing betweene the forsaking of whole mankinde, and the election of a small number of the godly. The whole people of *Israel* was called the inheritance of God, of whom yet there were many strangers. But because God had not for nothing made covenant with them that he would be their Father and Redeemer, he rather hath respect to his owne free fauour than to the vnfaithfull falling away of many : by whom also his truth was not abolished : because where he reserued any remnant, it appeared that his calling was without Repentance. For whereas God did from time to time choose vnto himselfe a Church rather out of the children of *Abraham*, than out of the prophane nations, he had regard to his covenant, which being broken of the whole multitude he restrained to a few, that it should not vtterly fall away. Finally the common adoption of the seede of *Abraham* was a certaine visible image of a greater benefite, which God hath

Election outward and inward, in the generall body of men outwardly elected sundry, which inwardly are not elected, as the Spirite.

vouchsafed to graunt to fewe out of many. This is the reason why *Paul* so diligently purteth difference betweene the children of *Abraham* according to the flesh, and his spirituall children which were called after the example of *Isaac*. Not that it was a vaine and vnfruitfull thing simply to be the childe of *Abraham* (which might not bee said without dishonor of the covenent) but bicause the vchangeable counsell of God, whereby he hath predestinate whom he would, is by it selfe effectually onely to this latter sorte vnto saluation. But I warne the readers that they bring not a fore conceiued iudgement: on either side, till it appeare by the places of scripture brought foorth what is to be thought. That therefore which the scripture cleerely sheweth, we say that God by eternall and vchangeable counsell hath once appointed whom in time to come he would take to saluation, and on the other side whom hee would condemne to destruction. This counsell as touching the elect, we say to be grounded vpon his free mercie without any respect of the worthines of man, but whom hee appointeth to damnation, to them by his iust in deed and irreprehensible, but also incomprehensible iudgement, the entry of life is foreclosed. Now in the elect we set vocation, to be the testimonie of election: and then iustification to be another signe of the manifest shewing of it, till they come to glory wherein is the fulfilling of it. But as by vocation and election God maketh his elect: so by shutting out the reprobate either from the knowledge of his name or from the sanctification of his spirit, he doth as it were by these markes open what iudgement abideth for them. I will here passe ouer many tained inuentions, which foolish men haue forged to ouerthrow predestination. For they need no confutation, which so soone as they are brought forth, do largely bewray their owne falsenesse. I will tary only vpon those, which either are in controuersie among the learned, or which may bring any hardnes to the simple, or which vngodlines with faire seeming shew pretendeth, to scoffe at the righteousnes of God.

The xxij. Chapter.

A confirmation of this doctrine by testimonies of the Scripture.

God was not moued with the foresight of mans merits to predestinate, neither is to be grudged as for preferring some, and passing by others, whom particularly and freely he hath aboscu.

AL these things which we haue set are not without controuersie among many, especially the free election of the faithfull: which yet cannot be weakened. For the common sort doe thinke that God, as he foreseeeth that euerie mans deserving shall be, so maketh difference betweene men: that therefore whom he foreknoweth that they shall be not vnworthy of his grace, them he adopteth into place of children: and whose natures hee espieth that they will bee bent to wickednesse and vngodlinesse, them he appointeth to the damnation of death. So by cloaking it with the veile of foreknowledge they do no onely darken election, but fame that it hath beginning from elsewhere. And this opinton receiued of the common sort is not the opinion of the common sort alone: for in all ages it hath had great maintainers. Which I do plainly confesse, to the entent that no man should trust that it shall much hurt our cause if their names be objected against vs. For, the truth of GOD herein is more certaine, than that it may be shaken: more cleare, than that it may bee darkened with the authoritie of men. But some other neither exercised in the scripture, nor woorthie of any voice, doe raile at this doctrine with greater maliciousnesse, than that their forward pride ought to be suffered. Because God choosing some after his owne will, leaueth other some, they picke a quarrell against him. But if the thing it selfe be knowne for true, what shall they preuaile with brawling against God? We teach nothing but that which is approoued by experience, that it was alway at liberue for GOD, to bestow his grace to whom he will. I will not enquire whereby the posteritie of *Abraham* excelled other, but by that vouchsafing, whereof there is founde no cause elswhere than in GOD. Let them aunswere
why

why they be men rather then oxen or asses. When it was in the hand of God to make them dogs, he fashioned them after his owne image. Will they giue leaue to brute beasts to quarrell with God for their estate, as though the difference were vnrighteous? Truly it is no more righteous, that they should enioy the prerogatiue which they haue obtained by no deseruings, than for God diuersly to deale abroad his benefits according to the measure of his owne iudgement. If they skip ouer to persons, where the inequality is more hatefull to them, at the least at the example of Christ, they ought to be afraid to prate so boldly of so high a myserie. He is conceived of the seed of *Dauid*, a mortall man: by what vertues will they say that hee deserued to be in the very wombe made the head of angels, the onely begotten sonne of God, the image & glory of the Father, the light, righteousness, & saluation of the world? This thing *Augustine* wisely noted, that in the very head of the church is a most cleer mirror of free election, least it should trouble vs in the members: and that he was not by rightously liuing made the sonne of God, but that he had so great honour freely giuen him, that he might afterward make other partakers of his gifts. Heere if any man aske why other were not the same that he was, or why all we are so farr distant from him, why all we be corrupt and he purenesse: such a man shall bewray not onely his madnesse, but therewithall also his shamelesnesse. But if they go forward to labour to take from God the free power to chooise and refuse, let them also take awaie that which is giuen to Christ. Now it is woorth the trouble to consider what the scripture pronounceth of euery one. *Paul* verily, when he teacheth that wee were chosen in Christ, taketh away all respect of our owne worthines. For it is all one as if hee had said: because in the whole seed of *Adam* the heauenly father found nothing worthy of his election, he turned his eyes vnto his Christ, to chooise as it were members out of his body them whom he would take into the fellowship of life. Let this reason then be of force among the faithfull, that we were therefore adopted in Christ into the heauenly inheritance, because in our selues we are not able to receive so great excellencie. Which also he touched in another place, when he exhorteth the *Colossians* to giuing of thanks, for this that they were by God made fit to be partakers of the estate of the holie. If election goe before this grace of God that wee be made fit to obtaine the glorie of the life to come: what shall God himselfe now finde in vs whereby he may be moued to elect vs? My meaning shall yet be more openly expressed by another saying of his. He hath chosen vs (saith he) ere the foundations of the worlde were laid, according to the good pleasure of his will, that we might be holy, and vnspotted, and vnreprovable in his sight: where hee setteth the good pleasure of God against all our deseruings whatsoeuer they be.

2 That the prooffe may be more strong, it is woorth the labour to note all the parts of that place, which being coupled together do leaue no doubt. Where hee nameth the elect, it is no doubt that he speaketh to the faithfull, as he also by and by afterward affirmeth. Wherefore they do with too foule a glose abuse that name, which wrest it to the age wherein the Gospell was first published. Where hee saith that they were elect before the beginning of the world, he taketh away all respect of worthines. For what reason of difference is there betweene them which yet were not, and those which afterward should in *Adam* be egall? Now if they be elect in Christ, it followeth that not onely euery man is seuered without himselfe, but also one of them from another, forasmuch as we see that not all are the members of Christ. That which is added, that they were elect that they might be holy, plainly confuteth the error which denieth election from foreknowledge, forasmuch as *Paul* crieth out against it & saith that whatsoeuer vertue appeereth in men, it is the effect of election. Now if a higher cause be sought, *Paul* answereth that God hath so predestinate, yea and that according to the good pleasure of his will. In which wordes he ouerthroweth whatsoeuer meanes of their election men doe imagine in themselves. For hee also teacheth

De correpti. & gratia Valent. c. 15. De bono perie. ca. vii. De ver. Apo. scr. 8

Eph. 1.4.

Col. 1.12.

Eph. 1.4.

Speciall and free election without respect of merites going before or following, as, demonstrated out of S Pauls wordes in the Ephesians.

cheth that whatsoever things God giueth toward spirituall life, they flow out of this one fountaine, because God hath chosen whom he would, and ere they were borne he had seuerally laid vp for them the grace which he vouchsafed to giue them.

3 But wheresoever this pleasure of God reigneth, there no workes come to be considered. He doth not here in deede pursue the compaiison of contraries, but it is to be vnderstanded such as he himselfe declareth. He hath called vs (saith he) with a holy calling, not according to our workes, but according to his purpose and the grace which is giuen of Christ before the times of the world. And we haue already shewed that all doubt is taken away in this which followeth, that we might be holy and vnspotted. For if thou say, because he foresaw that we should be holy, therefore he chose vs, thou shalt peruert the order of *Paul*. Thus therefore thou maist safely gather. If he chose vs that we might be holy: then he chose vs, not because he foreawe that we would be such. For these two things are contrarie the one to the other: that the godly haue it of election that they be holy, and that they come to it by meane of workes. Neither is their cauillation here any thing worth to which they commonly flee, that the Lord doth not render the grace of election to any works going before, but yet grauntheth it to works to come. For when it is said that the faithfull were chosen, that they might be holy: therewithall is signified that the holinesse which was to come in them tooke beginning at election. And how shall this saying agree together, that those things which are deriued from election gaue cause to election? The same thing which he said he seemeth afterward to confirme more strongly, where he saith, According to the purpose of his will which he had purposed in himselfe. For, to say that God purposed in himselfe, is as much in effect as if it had bene said, that without himselfe he considered nothing whereof he had any regard in decreeing. Therefore he by and by addeth, that the whole summe of our election tendeth to this end, that we should be to the prayse of the grace of God. Truly the grace of God deserueth not to be praised alone in our election, vnlesse our election be free. But since it shall not be, if God in electing his, do consider what shall be the workes of euerie one. Therefore we find that that which Christ said to his disciples, hath place vniuersally among all the faithfull, Ye haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you. Where he not onely excludeth deseruings past, but also signifieth that they had nothing in themselves why they should be choien, if he had not preuented them with his mercie. Like as this saying of *Paul* is also to be vnderstoode: Who first gaue to him, and shall receiue recompence? For he meaneth to shew that the goodnesse of God so preuenteth men, that it findeth nothing in them neyther past nor to come, whereby he may be wonne to be fauourable to them.

4 Now to the *Remanes*, where he fetcheth this question further off, and followeth it more largely, he denieth that all they are Israelites, which are issued of Israel: because although by right of inheritance they were all blessed, yet the succession did not egally passe to them all. The beginning of this disputation proceeded of the pride and deceitfull glorying of the Iewish people. For when they claimed to themselves the name of the Church, they would haue the credit of the Gospell to hang vpon their will: as the Papists at this day would gladly with this fained colour thrust themselves into the place of God. *Paul*, although he grant that the offspring of *Abraham* is holy by reason of the couenant, yet affirmeth that the most part of them are strangers in it: and that not only because they swarue out of kinde, so that of lawfull children they become bastards, but because the speciall election of God standeth abroad and reigneth in the highest top, which alone maketh the adoption there of sure. If their owne godlinesse stablished some in the hope of saluation, and their owne falling away alone diherited other some: *Paul* verily should both fondly and vnconuenientlie list vp the readers euen to the secret election. Now if the will of God (the cause whereof neither appeareth nor is to be sought, without himselfe) maketh the

Our sanctification
the end whereon
so, not the cause
wherefore we were
chosen.

2. Tim. 1.9.

Ephc. 1.5.

Iohn. 15. 16.

Rom. 11. 35.

Speciall and free
election proued
out of Sams Paul
to the Romanes,
Rom. 9. 6.

one sort differing from the other, so that not all the children of Israel be true Israelites, it is vainly fained that euery mans estate hath beginning in himselfe. Then he further followeth the matter vnder the example of *Iacob* and *Esau*. For when they both were the sonnes of *Abraham*, both together enclosed in one mothers wombe, it was a monsterlike change that the honour of first birth was remoued to *Iacob*, by which 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, which the teachers of foreknowledge will haue to be set out in the vertues, and vices of men. For this is an easy short way with them, that God shewed in the person of *Iacob*, that he chooseth the worthy of his grace: and in the person of *Esau*, he refuseth them whom he foreseeeth to be vnworthy. Thus they say boldly. But what saith *Paul*? when they were not yet borne, and had not done any good or euill, that according to election the purpose of God might abide, not of workes, but of him that calleth, it is said: The elder shall serue the yonger: as it is written, *Iacob* I haue loued, but *Esau* I haue hated. If foreknowledge were of any force in this difference of the brethren, then verily mention were vsidlie made of the time. Let vs graunt that *Iacob* was chosen, because he had worthines gotten by workes to come: to what purpose should *Paul* say that he was not yet borne? And this now should be vnaduisedlie added, that he had yet done no good: because this shal be a readie answere, that nothing is hidden from God, and that so the godlines of *Iacob* was present before him. If workes do win grace, they should then worthily haue had their price before that *Iacob* was borne as if he had bene growne to full age. But the Apostle goeth forward in vndoing this knot, and teacheth that the adoption of *Iacob* was not made of workes, but of the calling of God. In workes he enterlaceth not the time to come or time past: and then he directly setteth them against the calling of God, meaning by stablishing of the one expressly to ouerthrow the other: as if he had said that it is to be considered what hath pleased God, not what men haue brought of themselues. Last of all it is certaine that by the words of election and Purpose, all causes whatsoever men are wont to faine elsewhere than in the secret counsell of God, are quite remoued from this matter.

Rom. 9. 11.

5 What colour will they bring to darken these things, who in election assigne some place to workes either past or to come? For this is vterlie to mocke out that which the Apostle affirmeth, that the difference of the brethren hangeth not vpon any consideration of workes, but vpon the mere calling of God, because it was put betweene them when they were not yet borne. Neither had he bene ignorant of this their sutletie, if it had had any soundnes in it: but because he very well knew, that God can foresee no goodnes in man, but that which he hath first determined by the benefit of his election to giue him: he sleeth not to that vnorderlie order, to set good workes before the cause of themselues. Thus haue we by the words of the Apostle, that the saluation of the faithfull is founded vpon the will of the onely election of God: and that the same fauour is not gotten by workes, but commeth of free calling. We haue also as it were an image of that thing set before vs. *Esau* and *Iacob* are brethren, issuing both of the same parents, enclosed yet both in one wombe, not yet brought out into the world. In them all things are egall, yet of them the iudgement of God is diuers. For he taketh the one and forsaketh the other. There was nothing but the onelie first birth, by right whereof the one excelled the other. But this also being passed ouer, that thing is giuen to the yonger which is denied in the elder. Yea, and in other also God seemeth alway as of set purpose to haue despised first birth, to cut off from the flesh all matter of glorying, Refusing *Ismael*, he cast his minde to *Isaac*. Plucking backe *Manasse*, he more honoured *Ephraim*.

The doctrine is so cleare and the example so plaine which S. Paule produceth, that there is no place as all left to cauil.

6 If any man interrupt me with saying, that we must not by these inferiour and small benefites determine of the summe of the life to come, that he which hath bin advanced to the honor of the first birth, should therefore be reckoned to be adopted

Their election whome S. Paule speaketh of, was not onely to an earthly inheritance but an heauenlie.

into

into the inheritance of heauen: (for there be some which spare not *Paul* himselfe, as though in alleaging these testimonies he had wrested the scripture to a strange sense.) I answer as I haue done here before, that the Apostle neither slipped by vndaduise-nesse, nor wilfully abused the testimonies of the Scripture. But he sawe (which they cannot abide to consider) that God minded by an earthly signe to declare the spirituall election of *Jacob*, which otherwise was hidden in his inaccessible throne. For vnlesse we referre the first birth graunted to him vnto the world to come, it should be a vaine and fond forme of blessing whereby he obtained nothing but manifold miseries, disc commodities, grieifeful banishment, and many bitternesse of sorow and cares. Therefore when *Paul* saw without doubting, that God by outward blessing testified the blessing which he had in his kingdome prepared spirituall and neuer decaying for his seruant: he doubted not for prooffe of this spirituall blessing, to fetch an argument from that outward blessing. This also we must remember that to the lande of Canaan was adioyned the pledge of the heavenly dwelling: so that it ought not at all to be doubted that *Jacob* was grafted with the Angels into the bodie of Christ, that he might be partaker of the same life. *Jacob* therefore is chosen, when *Esau* is reiect- ed: and by the predestination of God is made different from him from whome he differed not in any deseruings. If you aske a cause, the Apostle rendreth this, because it is said to *Moses*, I will haue mercie vpon whom I wil haue mercie, and I will vouch- safe to graunt mercie to whom soeuer I will vouchsafe to graunt mercie. And what I beseech you meaneth this? Verily, the Lord himselfe most plainly pronounceth that men haue in themselves no cause why he should do good to them, but he fetcheth the cause from his owne mercie onely: and therefore that the saluation of his is his owne worke. When God setteth thy saluation in himselfe alone, why wilt thou de- scend to thy selfe? When he appointeth to thee his mercie alone, why wilt thou run to thine owne deseruings? When he holdeth thy thought wholly in his mercifulnesse alone, why wilt thou turne part to the beholding of thine owne works? Therefore we must needs come to that lesser people, which *Paul* in another place said to haue been foreknowen to God: not in such sort as these men imagin, to foreknow out of an idle watchtoure the things that he worketh not: but in such sense as it is oft read. For truly when *Peter* saith in *Luke*, that Christ was by the determinate counsel and foreknow- ledge of God appointed to death: he doth nor bring God as a looker on but the author of our saluation. So the same *Peter* also, whic he saith that the faithfull to whom he wrote were chosen according to the foreknowledge of God, properly expresth that secret predestinatiõ wherby God hath marked for his children whom he would. And the word Purpose, which he ioyneth for a diuers word, expressing all one thing, for as much as it doth euery where signifie a stedfast determination as they common- ly call it, vndoubtedly teacheth that God when he is author of our saluation goeth not out of himselfe. In which sense he saith in the same Chapter that Christ was the lamb foreknowen before the creation of the world. For what is more fond or trising, than to say that God from on high did stand looking whence saluation should come to mankind? Therefore in *Paul* the foreknowen people is as much as a small portion mingled with the multitude which falsely pretendeth the name of God. In another place also *Paul* to beat down their boasting which being but couered with a visor, do take vpon themselves the chiefe preeminence among the godly before the world, saith that God knoweth who be his. Finally by that saying *Paul* pointeth vnto vs two sortes of people: the one, of the whole kindred of *Abraham*: the other, severally chosen out of it, and which being laid vp vnder the eies of God, is hidden from the sight of men. And it is no doubt that he tooke this out of *Moses*, which affirmeth that God will be mercifull to whom he will (although he there spake of the elect people, whose estate in outward seeming was equal) as if he should haue said, that in the com- mon adoptiõ is included with him a speciall grace toward soim, as it were a more holy treasure:

Rom. 9. 15.

Rom. 11. 2.

Act. 2. 23.

1. Pet. 1. 2.

2. Tim. 2. 19.

treasure: and that the common covenant withstandeth not but that the same small number may be exempt in degree: and he willing to make himselfe the free disposer and ruler of this thing, precisely denieth that he will be mercifull to one rather than to another, for any other reason, but for that it so pleaseth him: because when mercy cometh to him that seeketh it, though he in deede suffer not a deniall, yet he either preventeth or partly getteth to himselfe the fauour whereof God claimeth to himselfe the prayse.

7 Now let the soueraigne Iudge and master pronounce of the whole matter. When he saw so great hardnes in his hearers, that he did in a maner wast his words without fruit among the multitude: to remedy this offence, he cryeth out, Whatsoeuer my Father giueth me, it shall come to me. For this is the will of my Father, that whatsoeuer my Father hath giuen me, I shall not loofe any thing of it. Note that the beginning is taken at the Fathers gift, that we may be deliuered into the faithfull keeping and defence of Christ. Here some man peradventure will turne a circle about, and will take exception, saying that they only are accounted in the proper possession of the Father, whose yeelding hath bene voluntary by faith. But Christ standeth onely vpon that point, that although the fallings away of great multitudes do shake the whole world, yet the counsell of God shall be stedfast and stand faster than the heauens themselves, that his election may neuer faile. They are said to haue bene the elect of the Father, before that he gaue to them his only begotten Sonne. They aske whether it were by nature: yea rather, them which were strangers he made his owne by drawing them to him. There is a greater cleerenesse in the words of Christ than can by blushing be couered with any darkenesse. No man (saith he) can come to me, vnlesse my Father drawe him. But who so hath heard and learned of my Father, he cometh to me. If all generally without difference should bow their knee before Christ, then the election were common: but now in the fewnesse of the beleeuers appeareth a manifest diuersitie. Therefore after that Christ had affirmed that the disciples which were giuen him, were the peculiar possession of God the Father, within a litle after he added, I pray not for the world, but for those whom thou hast giuen me, because they are thine. Whereby is proued that the whole world belongeth not to the Creator of it, sauing that grace deliuereth a few from the wrath of God, and from eternall death, which otherwise should haue perished: but the world it selfe is left in his owne destruction to which it was appointed. In the meane time although Christ put himselfe meane betweene, yet he claimeth to himselfe the power of choosing in common with the Father. I speake not (saith he) of all: I know whom I haue chosen. If any man aske from whence he hath chosen them, he answereth in an other place, Out of the world, which he excludeth out of his prayers whē he commendeth 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 kinde of men: then, that the same speciall sort is made to differ not by the qualitie of their owne vertues, but by the heauenly decree. Whereupon followeth that many excell by their owne force or diligence, when Christ maketh himselfe the author of election. For when in another place he reckoneth *Iudas* among the elect, whereas he was a deull, this is referred only to the office of Apostleship which although it be a cleere mirroure of the fauour of God (as *Paul* so oftentimes acknowledged in his owne person,) yet it contemeth not in it selfe the hope of eternall saluation. *Iudas* therefore, when he did vnfaithfully beare the office of an Apostle, might be worse than the deull: but of those whome Christ hath once graffed into his bodie, he will suffer none to perish: because in prefering their saluation he will performe that which he hath promised, that is, he will stretch forth the power of God which is greater then all. For whereas he sayth in another place Father, of those whom thou hast giuen mee, I haue lost none but the sonne of perdition: although it be an abusive.

Speciall and free election proued by the wordes of Christ in S. Iohn.

Iohn. 6. 37.

Iohn. 6. 44.

Iohn. 17.

Iohn. 13. 18.

Iohn. 15. 19.

Iohn. 10. 29.

Cap. 22. Of the maner how to receiue

abusie speech by figure, yet it hath no doubtfull meaning. The summe is that God maketh them his children by free adoption whom he will haue to be his children: and that the inward cause thereof is in himselfe: because he is content with his own secret good pleasure.

The opinion of
ancient Fathers
touching the cause
of election.
Retract. li. i. cap. 2.
Epi. ad Sixt. 106.

8 But *Ambrose*, *Origene*, and *Hierome* thought that GOD distributeth his grace among men, as he foreseeth that euery man will vse it well: Yea and *Augustine* was once in the same opinion. But when he had better profited in knowledge of the Scripture, he not onely reuoked it as euidently false, but also strongly confuted it: yea and after his reuoking of it, in reproofing the *Pelagians* for that they continued in the same error, saith: who cannot maruell that the Apostle knew not this most futtle sense? For when he had set out a thing to be wondrous at of these brethren, while they were not yet borne, and afterward objected a question against himselfe, saying: what then? Is there vniustice with God? Here was fit place for him to answer, that God foresaw the merites of them both: yet he saith not this, but fieth to the iudgements and mercy of God. And in another place, when he had taken away all merites before election, Here (saith he) is confuted their vaine reasoning which defend the foreknowledge of God against the grace of God, and therefore say that we are chosen before the making of the world because God foreknew that we would be good, not that he himselfe would make vs good. He saith not this, which saith, Ye haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you. For if he had therefore chosen vs, because he foreknew that we would be good: he should therewithall also haue foreknown that we would choose him: & so forth as followeth to that effect. Let the testimonie of *Augustine* be of force among them that willingly rest in the authoritie of the Fathers. Howbeit *Augustine* suffreth not himselfe to be seuered from the rest: but by cleere testimonies sheweth that this disageement is false with the malice whereof the *Pelagians* burdened him. For in the xix. Chapter of his booke of the predestination of Saints, he alleageth out of *Ambrose*, Christ calleth whom he hath mercy on. Againe, if he had willed, of the vndeout he might haue made deuout. But God calleth whom he vouchsafeth, and whom he will he maketh religious. If I listed to knit together a whole volume out of *Augustine*, I could readily shew to the readers that I neede no other words but his: But I will not load them with tediousnes. But go to, let vs imagine that they speake not at all: but let vs giue heede to the matter it selfe. A hard question was moued, whether God did righteously in this that he vouchsafed to grant his grace but to some: Of which question *Paul* might haue vncombred himselfe with one word if he had alleaged the respect of workes. Why therefore doth he it not, but rather continueth on a discourse which abideth in the same hardnesse? Why, but because he ought not? For the Holy Ghost which spake by his mouth, had not the disease of forgetfulness. Therefore without any circumstances he answereth, that God therefore fauoureth his elect, because he will: therefore hath mercy, because he will. For this Oracle of God, I will haue mercie vpon whom I will haue mercie, and I will shew mercy to whom I will shew mercie, is as much in effect as if it had bene said, that God is moued to mercy by no other reason but because he will haue mercy. Therefore this saying of *Augustine* remaineth true, that the grace of God doth not find men fit to be chosen, but maketh them.

Homil. in Ioh. 8.

Ioh. 15. 16.

De predest.
sancto. cap. 19.

Exod. 33. 15.

The shift which
Thomas vsesh in
soluing this questi-
on, resisted.

9 Neither doe we any thing passe vpon the futtleie of *Thomas*, that the fore-knowing of deseruings, is not in deede the cause of Predestination on the behalfe of the act of him that doth predestinate, but on our behalfe it may after a certaine maner be so called, that is, according to the particular weying of Predestination: as when it is said that God predestinath glory to man by deseruings, because he hath decreed to giue to him grace by which he may deserue glory. For sith the Lord will in election haue vs to looke vnto nothing but his meere goodnesse, if any man shall couet here to see any more, it shall be a wrongfull greedinesse. If we lusted

to striue in subtletie, we want not wherewith to beate backe this silly subtletie of *Thomas*. He affirmeth that to the elect glorie is after a certaine manner predestinate by deseruings, because the Lord doth after a certaine manner predestinate to them the grace, by which they may deserue glorie. What if I answere on the contrarie side and say that predestination vnto grace, serueth election vnto life, and is as it were a waiting maide after it? that grace is predestinate to them, to whom the possession of glorie hath bene long agoe appointed: because it pleaseth the .Lorde to bring his children from election into iustification? For thereupon it shall follow that the predestination of glorie was rather the cause of the predestination of grace, than contrariwise. But away with these striuings as things superfluous for such as shall thinke that there is wisdom enough for them in the word of God. For this was in olde time truly written of an Ecclesiasticall writer, that they which assigne the election of God to merits are more wise than they ought to be.

Ambrose vocat gent. lib. 1. cap. 1.

10 Some doe obiect that God should be contrarie to himselfe if he should vniuersally call all men to him, and receiue but a few elect. So by their opinion the vniuersalnesse of the promise taketh away the difference of speciall grace. And thus certaine sober men speake, not so much to oppresse the truth, as to debarre crabbed questions, and to bridle the curiositie of many. Their will is praise woorthie, but their counsell is not to be allowed: because dallying by shiftes is neuer excusable. But their obiecting of it which doe more railingly inueigh against it, is verily too sonde a cauillation, or too shamefull an error. How the Scripture maketh these two to agree together, that by outward preaching all men are called to repentance and faith, and yet not to all men is given the Spirit of repentance and faith, I haue in another place already declared, and by and by somewhat of it must be repeated againe. Now that which they require I denie to them, sith it is two waies false. For, he that threateneth that while it rameth vpon one citie, there shall be drougt vpon another: Hee that pronounceth that there shall in another place be famine of doctrine, bindeth not himselfe with a certaine lawe to call all men egallie. And he which forbiddeth *Paul* to speake in *Asia*, and turning him from *Bithinia* draweth him into *Macedonia*, sheweth that it is in his owne power to distribute this treasure to whosoever it shall please him. Yet more plainly he sheweth by *Esaie*, how he peculiarly directeth to the elect the promises of saluation: for he saith of them only, and not of all mankind indifferently, that they shall be his Disciples. Whereby it is certaine that the doctrine of saluation is wrongfully set open in common to all men to profite effectually, which is saide to be severally laide vp onely for the children of the Church. Let this suffice at this present, that although the voice of the Gospell speake generally to all, yet the gift of faith is rare. *Esaie* assigneth the cause, for that the arme of the Lorde is not open to all men, If he had saide that the Gospell is maliciously and forwardly despised, because many do stubbornely refuse to heare: peraduenture this colour touching vniuersall calling should preuaile. Neither is it the purpose of the Prophet to diminish the fault of men, when hee teacheth that the fountaine of blindnesse is, that God vouchsafeth not to open his arme to them: onely hee giueth warning, that because faith is a singular gift, the eares are beaten in vaine with outward doctrine. But I would faine knowe of these doctors, whether onely preaching, or faith, make the children of God. Certainly when it is saide in the first Chapter of *Iohn*, Whosoever beleue in the onely begotten Sonne of God, are themselves also made the children of God, there is not in that place a confused heapeumbled vp together: but a speciall order is giuen to the faithfull, which are borne not of blood, not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. But (saie they) there is a mutuall consent of faith with the worde, namely whosoever is faith. But it is no new thing that seed fall among thornes or in stonie places: not onely because the greater part appeereth indeed obstinate against God, but also because not all men haue eies &

There is no repugnancie betweene Gods calling of all and calling effectually his chosen onely.

Amos. 4. 7. & 8. 11. A. 2. 16. 6.

Esa. 8. 16.

Esa. 53. 1.

Ioh. 1. 12.

Cap. 2. 2. Of the maner how to receiue

De verb. Apost.
ser. 11.

Eph. 1. 3.

Tit. 1. 1.

Ad Tho. prepof.
Beruel. Epl. 1007.

Ioh. 6. 46.

Ioh. 10. 4.

Rom. 9. 13.

The ground of re-
probation the will
of God receiued &
not mens deserting
to be reiected.

eares. How then shall it agree that God calleth to him them whom hee knoweth will not come? Let *Augustine* answer for me. Wilt thou dispute with me? Maruaile with me, and crie out, O depth, Let vs both agree in feare, least we perish in error. Moreouer if election (as *Paul* witnesseth) be the mother of faith, I turne backe the argument vpon their own head, that faith is therefore not general, because election is special. For by the orderly hanging together of causes and effectes, it is easily gathered that where *Paul* saith, that we are full of all spirituall blessing, as God had chosen vs before the creation of the world: therefore these riches are not common to al, because God hath chosen onely whom he woulde. This is the reason why in another place hee commenderth the faith of the elect, least it shoulde be thought that any man doth by his owne motion get faith to himselfe: but that this glorie may remaine with God, that they are freely enlightned of him, whom hee had chosen before. For *Bernard* saith rightly, Friends do severally heare, to whom he also saith, Feare not thou smal flocke: for to you it is giuen to know the mysterie of the kingdome of heauen. Who be these? euen they whom he hath foreknowen and predestinate to be fashioned like to the image of his Sonne. A great and secret counsell is made knowen. The Lorde knewe who be his: but that which was knowen to God is made manifest to men: neither doth he vouchsafe to make any other partakers of so great a mysterie, but those selfe same men whom he hath foreknowen and predestinate to bee his. A litle after hee concludeth. The mercy of God is from eternitie euen to eternitie vpon them that feare him: from eternitie, by reason of predestination: to eternitie, by reason of blessed making: the one without beginning, the other without ending. But what neede I to cite *Bernard* for witness, when we heare of the masters owne mouth, that none do see but they which are of God? By which words he signifieth, that al they which are not begotten againe of God, do dazell at the brightnes of his countenance. And to election saith indeed is fitly ioyned, so that it keepe the second degree. Which order the words of Christ do cleerely expresse in another place, This is the will of my Father, that I loose not that which he hath giuen. For this is his will, that whosoever beleueth in the Sonne, shall not perish. If he would haue all saued, he would appoint ouer them his Sonne to be their keeper, and would graffe them all into his body with the holy bond of faith. Now it is certaine that faith is a singular pledge of his fatherly loue, laid vp for his children whom he hath adopted. Therefore Christ in another place saith that the sheepe followe the shepheard, because they know his voice: but they follow not a stranger, because they know not the voice of strangers. Whence commeth this difference, but because their eares are boared by God? For no man maketh himselfe a sheepe: but hee is made one by the heauenly grace. For which cause also the Lorde teacheth that our safetie shall alway be certaine and free from danger, because it is kept by the invincible power of God. Wherefore he concludeth that the vnbeleeuers are not of his sheepe: namely because they are not of the number of them, whom God hath promised by *Esay* that they shall be his disciples. Now because in the testimonies which I haue alleaged is exprest peruerance, they do therewithall testifie the vnmouable stedfastnes of election.

II Now let vs speake of the reprobate, whom the apostle ioyneth there together. For as *Iacob*, hauing yet with good workes deserued nothing, is taken into grace: so *Esau*, being yet defiled with no wicked doing, is hated. If we turne our eies to workes, we do wrong to the Apostle, as though he sawe not the same thing which we cleerely see. It is prooued that he sawe it not, forasmuch as he expressly enforceth this point, that when they had not yet done any good or euil, the one was chosen, and the other refused, to prooue that the foundation of the predestination of God is not in workes. Again when he moued the obiection, whether God be vnrighteous, hee alleageth not that which had been the most certaine and plaine defence of his righteousnesse, namely that God reduced to *Esau* according to his euilnesse: but he was

content with another solution, that the reprobate are stirred vp to this ende, that the glorie of God may be set forth by them. Last of all he adioyneth a concluding sentence, that God hath mercie vpon whom he will, and hardeneth whom he will. See you not how he imputeth both to the onely will of God? Therefore if we cannot declare a reason why he vouchsafeth to grant mercie to them that be his, but because it so pleaseth him: neither also shall we haue any other cause in reiecting of other, than his owne will. For when it is said that God hardeneth, or sheweth mercie to whom he will, men are there by warned to seeke no cause elsewhere than in his will.

The xxij. Chapter.

A Confutation of the slanders wherewith this doctrine hath alway beene wrong fully burdened.

BVt when the wit of man heareth these things, the frowardnesse thereof cannot be restrained, but that by and by as at the bloudie blast of a trumpet sounding to battell, it diuersly and excessiueyly turmoileth. And many in dede, as though they would driue away the malice from God, doe so grant election, that they denie that any man is reprobate: but they doe too ignorantly and childishly: for as much as election it selfe could not stande vnlesse it were set contrarie to reprobation: God is said to seuer them whom he adopteth vnto saluation: it should be more than foolishly said that other do either by chance or by their owne endeuor obtaine that which onely election giueth 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 doth predestinate to his children. Neither is the waiwardnesse of men tolerable, if it suffer not it selfe to be bridled with the word of God, where the incomprehensible counsell of God is intreated of, which the Angels themselves doe worship. But we haue already heard, that hardening is no lesse in the hande and will of God than mercie. Neither doth *Paul* (as these men doe that I haue spoken of) busily labour to excuse God with a lying defence: but onely he teacheth that it is not lawfull for the thing formed to quarrell with him that formed it. Now who so do not admit that any are reiectd of God, how will they vncumber themselves from that saying of Christ, Every tree which my father hath not planted, shall be plucked vp by the roote? They plainly heare that all they are adiudged and auowed to destruction, whom the heauenly Father hath not vouchsafed to plant as holy trees in his ground. If they denie this to be a signe of reprobation, then is there nothing so cleere that it may be prooued to them. But if they cease not to wrangle, let the sobriety of faith be contented with this admonition of *Paul*, that there is no cause to quarrell with God, if he willing on the one side to shew his wrath and to make his power knowen do with dum sufferance, and lenitie beare with the vessels of wrath prepared to destruction: and on the other side he make knowen the riches of his glorie toward the vessels of mercie which he hath prepared to glorie. Let the Readers marke, how *Paul* to cut off occasion from whisperings and backbitings, giueth the chiefe rule to the wrath and power of God: because it is vnjust that those deepe iudgements which swallow vp all our senses, should be made subiect to our determination. Our aduersaries answer is very trifling, that God doth not viterly reiect them whom he suffereth in lenitie, but abideth with a mind hanging in suspense toward them, if peraduenture they may repent. As though *Paul* giueth to God a patience, to looke for their turning, whom he saith to be made to destruction. For *Augustine* saith 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 saide that the vessels of wrath are prepared to destruction: but, that God hath prepared the vessels of mercie: because

Election granted by some who notwithstanding deny reprobation.

Rom. 9. 20

Matt. 15. 13.

Rom. 9. 21.

Lib. 5. contra Iul. cap. 5.

by

Cap. 23. Of the maner how to receiue

by this meane he ascribeth and challengeth the praise of saluation to God, but the blame of destruction he casteth vpon them which by their owne will doe bring it vpon themselves. But although I graunt to them that *Paul* by the diuers manner of speaking did soften the roughness of the first part of the sentence, yet is it not meete to assigne the preparing vnto destruction to any other thing than to the secret counsell of God: which also is affirmed a litle before in the rest of the text. That God stirred vp *Pharao*: Then that he hardeneth whom he will. Whereupon followeth that the hidden counsell of God is the cause of hardening. This at the least I get which *Augustine* saith, that when God of woollues maketh the cepe, hee doth with a mightier grace reforme them, that their hardness may be tamed: and therefore God for his cause doth not conuert the obstinate, because he doth not shew forth in them the mightier grace, which he wanteth not if he would shew it forth.

2 These sayings in deede should be sufficient for the godly and sober, and them which remember themselves to be men. But for as much as these venomous dogs doe cast vp not onely one sort of venome against God, we will as the matter shall serue, answer to euery one particularly. Foolish men doe diuers wies quarrell with God, as though they had him subiect to their accusations. First therefore they aske, by what right the Lord is angrie with his creatures, of whom he hath not been first prouoked by any offence: for to condemne to destruction whom he will, agreeth rather with the wilfulness of a tyrant, than the lawfull sentence of a iudge. Therefore they say that there is cause why men should charge God, if by his bare wil, without their owne deseruing, they be predestinate to eternall death. If such thoughts doe at any time come into the minde of the godly, to breake their violent assaults they shall be sufficiently armed with this, although they had no more, if they consider how great wickednesse it is, euen so much as to inquire of the causes of the will of God: sith of all things that are, it is the cause, and worthily so ought to be. For if it haue any cause, then somewhat must go before it, whereto it must be as it were bound: which it is vnlawfull once to imagine. For, the will of God is so the highest rule of righteousness, that whatsoever he willeth, euen for this that he willeth it, it ought to be taken for righteous. When therefore it is asked, why the Lord did it: it is to be answered, because he willed it, But if thou go further in asking why he willed it, thou askest some greater & higher thing than the will of God: which cannot be found. Let therefore the rashnesse of man restrain it selfe, and not seeke that which is not, least peraduenture it may not finde that which is. With this bridle (I say) he shall be well withholden whosoeuer he be that will dispute of the secrets of God with reuerence. As for the boldnesse of the wicked, which dread not openly to speake cuill of God: against it the Lord with his owne righteousness, without any our defence shall sufficiently defend himselfe, when he shall take all shifting from their consciences, and hold them fast conuined, & condemne them. Neither doe we yet thrust in the fained deuise of absolute power, which as it is prophane, so woorthily ought to be abhorred of vs. We faine not God lawlesse, who is a law to himselfe: because (as *Plato* saith) men stand in neede of lawes, who are troubled with vnlawfull lustes: but the will of God is not onely pure from all fault, but also is the highest rule of perfection, yea and the lawe of all lawes. But we denie that he is subiect to yeeld account. - We denie also that we are meete iudges, which would pronounce of this cause after our owne sense. Wherefore if we attempt further than we lawfully may, let that threatning of the Psalmes bring vs in feare, that God shall overcome so oft as he is iudged of any mortall man.

3 So can God in keeping silence, put his enemies to silence. But, that we may not suffer them freely to scorne his holy name, he deliuereth to vs out of his word weapons against them. Wherefore if any man assaile vs with such words: why God hath from the beginning predestinate some to death, which when they were not, could not yet deserue the iudgement of death: wee in steede of answere may againe on our

side

Lib. 1. de pre-
dicat. sanct. c. 2.

There is no stri-
uing against God
in this cause.

This is taken out
of Augustin. lib. 1.
de Gent contra
Manic. cap. 3.

Psal. 51. 6.
The crush hath
sufficient to stop
their mouths,
who aske why
God should fore-
appoint some vnto
death when they
was being could not
deserue the death
whereunto they
were appointed.

side aske of them, what they thinke that God oweth to man, if hee will iudge him by his owne nature. In such sort as we be all corrupted with sin, we cannot but be hateful to God: and that not by tyrannous crueltie, but by most vpright reason of iustice. If all they whom the Lord doth predestinate to death, are by the estate of nature subiect to the iudgement of death: of what vniustice against themselves, I beseech you, may they complain? Let all the sonnes of *Adam* come: Let them strue and dispute with their creator, for that by his eternall prouidence they were before their generation condemned to euerlasting miserie. What shall they be able once to mutter against this defence, when God on the other side shall call them, to reknowldging of themselves? If they be all taken out of a corrupt masse, it is no maruaile if they be subiect to damnation. Let them not therefore accuse God of vniustice, if by his eternall iudgement they be appointed to death, to which they themselves do feele whether they will or no, that they are willingly led of their owne nature. Whereby appeereth how wrongfull is the desire of their murmuring, because they doe of set purpose hide the cause of damnation which they are compelled to acknowledge in themselves, that the laying of the blame vpon God may acquite them. But though I doe a hundred times confesse, as it is most true that God is the author of it, yet they do not by and by wipe away the guiltines which being engrauen in their consciences from time with oft recourse, presenteth it selfe to their eies.

4 Again they except and say: were they not before predestinate by the ordinance of God to the same corruption which is now alleaged for the cause of damnation? When therefore they perish in their corruption, they do nothing but suffer the punishment of that miserie into which by his predestination *Adam* fell and drew his posteritie headlong with him. Is not he therefore vniust, which doth so cruelly mock his creatures? I grant indeed that all the children of *Adam* fell by the will of God into that miserie of state wherein they be nowe bound: and this is it that I saide at the beginning, that at length we must alway returne to the determination of the will of God, the cause whereof is hidden in himselfe. But it followeth not by and by that God is subiect to this slander. For we will with *Paul* answer them in this manner, O man, what art thou that contendest with God? doth the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou formed me so? Hath not the potter power to make of the same lump one vessell to honour, and another to dishonour? They will saie that the righteousnesse of God is so not truly defended, but that we seeke a shift, such as they are wont to haue that want a iust excuse. For what else seemeth here to be said, than that God hath a power which cannot be hindred from doing any thing whatsoever it be as he will himselfe? But it is sure otherwise. For, what stronger reason can be brought than when we are commanded to thinke what a one God is? For how should he commit any vniustice, which is iudge of the world? If it properly pertaine to the nature of God to doe iudgement, then he naturally loueth righteousnesse, and abhorreth vnrightheousnesse. Wherefore the Apostle did not, as though hee were ouertaken, looke about for holes to hide him: but shewed that the reason of the righteousnesse of God is higher than that either it is to bee measured by the measure of man, or may be comprehended by the slender capacite of the wit of man. The Apostle indeed confesseth that there is such depth in the iudgements of God, wherewith the mindes of men should be swallowed, if they endeoured to pearce into it. But he teacheth also how hainous wrong it is, to binde the workes of God to such a law, that so soone as we vnderstand not the reason of them, we may be bolde to disallow them. It is a knowen saying of *Salomon* (which yet few do rightly vnderstande) The

God not vniust though man be condemned for that corruption wherunto they were foreappointed.

Rom. 9. 19.

Pro. 26. 10.

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nable, subiect to the small measure of their reason. The Angels which stood still in their vprightnes, *Paul* calleth elect. If their steadfastnes was grounded vpon the good pleasure of God, the falling away of the other proueth that they were forsaken: Of which thing there can no other cause be alleaged than reprobation, which is hidden in the secret counsell of God.

2. Tim. 5. 22.

A reason of the wil of God in re- iection of the wicked, we neither can finde neither should search.

5 Go to: let there now be present some Munichee, or Celestine, a slanderer of the prouidence of God: I say with *Paul* that there ought no reason to be rendered thereof: because with the greatnes of it, farre surmounterth our vnderstanding. What manuaile? or what absurditie is it? Would he haue the power of God so limited, that it might be able to work no more, than his mind is able to conceiue? I say with *Augustine*, that they are created of the Lord, whom he without doubting foreknew that they should go into destruction: and that it was so done because he so willed: but why he willed, it is not our part to ask a reason of it, who cannot comprehend it: neither is it meet that the will of God should come down into contouerie among vs, of which so oft as mention is made, vnder the name of it is named the highest rule of rightcousnes. Why therefore is any question moued of vnrighteousnes where righteousnes clearly appeareth? Neither let vs be ashamed, after the example of *Paul*, to stop the mouthes of the wicked, and from time to time to oft as they shall be bold to barke against it, to repeat this, Who be ye miserable men, that lay an accusation to Gods charge and doe therefore lay it to his charge, because he doth not temper the greatnes of his workes to your dulnesse? As though they were therefore wrongfull, because they are hidden from flesh. The vnmeasurablenes of the iudgements of God is by cleere experiences knowne vnto you. Yee know that they are called the deepe bottomlesse depth. Now aske of the narrowe capacities of your witte, whether they comprehend that which God hath decreed with himselfe. What good doth it you therefore with mad searching to plunge your selues into the bottomlesse depth, which reason it selfe teacheth you that it shall be to your destruction? Why are ye not at the least restrained with some feare of the which both that hystorie of *Iob* and the booke of the Prophets do report of the incomprehensible wisedome, and terrible power of God? If thy minde be vnquieted, let it not greewe thee to embrace the counsell of *Augustine*. Thou being a man lookest for an aunswere at my hande: and I also am a man. Therefore let vs both heare him that sayeth: O man, what art thou? Better is a faithfull ignorance than rash knowledge. Seeke merits: thou shalt finde nothing but paine. O depth, *Peter* denieth: The Theeefe beleueth. O depth: Seekest thou a reason? I wil tremble at the depth. Reason thou, I will wonder, dispute thou, I will beleue: I see depth, but I reach not the bottome. *Paul* rested, because he found wondering. He calleth the iudgements of God vnsearchable: and art thou come to search them? Hee saith that his waies are impossible to be traced out: and doest thou trace them? with proceeding further we shall nothing profit: For neither we shall satisfie their way wanton curiosities, neither doth the Lord neede any other defence, than which he hath vsed by his spirit, which spake by the mouth of *Paul*: and we forget to speake well, when we cease to speake with God.

Psal. 36.

Aug de verb. apo. serm. 20.

Necessitie of sin- ning neuer excu- seth the sinner, nor chargeth God iustly with ini- stice for condem- ning them that so sinne.

6. Their other obiection also ariseth out of vngodlinesse, which yet tendeth not so directly to the accusing of God as to the excusing of the sinner. Howbeit the sinner which is condemned of God cannot be iustified without dishonour of the iudge. Thus therefore prophane toongs do barke against God, saying: why should God impute those things for sinne to men, whereof he hath by his predestination layde necessitie vpon men? For, what should they do? Should they wraastle with his decrees? But so should they do it in vaine, sith they cannot do it at all. Therefore they are not rightfully punished for those things, whereof the chiefe cause is in Gods predestination. Heere I will abstaine from that defence, whereunto the Ecclesiasticall writers do commonly flee, namely that the foreknowledge of God withstandeth not
but

but that man may be accounted the sinner: because God foreseeeth the evils of man, not his owne. For so the caullation would not stay here, but will rather presse vs further with saying that God might if he had would, haue prouided remedie for those evils which he foresaw: & that sith he hath not so done, he hath of determined purpose created men to that end that he should so behaue himselfe in earth: and if by the prouidence of God, man was created to this condition, that he should doe all those things that he doth: then he is not to be blamed for that which he cannot auoid, and which he enterprised by the will of God. Therefore let vs see how this knot ought to be well loosed. First of all this ought to bee holden certaine among all men which *Salomon* saith, that God hath created all things for himselfe, and the wicked man to an euill day. Behold, when the disposing of all things is in the hand of God, when in his power remaineth the rule of safetie and death: he so ordereth them by his counsell and becke, that among men there are borne some adiudged euil from their mothers wombe to death, which with their destruction may glorifie his name. If any man answer, that there is no necessitie laid vpon them by the prouidence of God, but rather that he created them in such estate, because he foresaw their peruerfnes to come: he neither saith nothing at all, nor altogether. The old writers are wont in deed sometimes to vse this solution: but as it were doubtfully. But the Schoole men rest vpon it, as though nothing could be objected against it. In deed I will willingly graunt, that foreknowledge alone bringeth no necessitie to creatures, although all men doe not so agree: for there be some that will haue it also to be the cause of things. But it seemeth to me that *Vala*, a man otherwise not much practised in holy writings, sawe both more deeply and more wisely, which shewed that this contention is superfluous: because both life and death are rather the dooings of Gods will than of his foreknowledge. If God did but foresee the successes of men, and did not also dispose and order them by his will, then this question should not without cause be moued, whether his foreseeing any thing auailed to the necessitie of them. But sith he doth none otherwise foresee the things that shall come to passe, than because he hath decreed that they should so come to passe: it is vaine to moue controuersie about foreknowledge, where it is certaine that all things doe happen rather by ordinance and commandement.

Pro. 16. 4.

7 They say that this is not written in expresse words, that it was decreed of God, that *Adam* should perish by his falling away. As though the same God, whom the Scripture reporteth to doe whatsoever he will, created the noblest of all his creatures to an vncertaine end. They say he had freewill, that he might shape to himselfe his owne fortune: and that God decreed nothing, but to handle him according to his deseruing. If so colde a deuse be receiued, where shall be that almightinesse of God, whereby he governeth all things according to his secret counsell, which hangeth vpon none other thing than it selfe? But Predestination, whether they will or no, sheweth himselfe in *Adams* posteritie. For it came not to passe naturally that all men should loose saluation by the fault of one Parent. What hindreth them to confesse of one man, that which against their wils they confesse of all mankind? For why should they loose their labor with dallying shifts? The Scripture crieth out that all men were in the person of one man made bound to eternall death. Sith this cannot be imputed to nature, it is plaine that it proceeded from the wondrous counsell of God. But it is too much absurditie that these good Patrones of the righteousness of God doe so stumble at a straw, and leape ouer great beames. Again I aske: how came it to passe, that the fall of *Adam* did wrap vp in eternall death so many rations with their children being infantes without remedie, but because it so pleased God? Here their tooings which are otherwise so prating, must of necessitie be dumbe. It is a terrible decree, I graunt: yet no man shall be able to deny, but that God foreknew what end man should haue, ere he created him, and therefore foreknew it because he

God did not onely foresee, but dispose the fall of man, and in him the ruine of his posteritie.

had so ordained by his decree. If any man here inueigh against the foreknowledge of God, he rashly and vndiscreetly stumbleth. For, what matter is there, I beseech you, why the heavenly iudge should be accused for that he was not ignorant of that which was to come? Therefore if there be any either iust or colourable complaint, it toucheth predestination. Neither ought it to seeme an absurditie which I say, that God foresawe not onely the fall of the first man, and 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 things that shall be: so it longeth to his power, to rule and gouerne all things with his hande. And this question *Augustine* verie well discusseth, as he doth other, saying. We most wholesomely confesse that which we most rightly beleewe, that the God and Lord of all things, which created all things very good, and forekew that euil things should spring out of good, and knew that it more pertained to his almightie goodnes euen of euil things do wel, than not to suffer them to be euill: that he so ordered the life of Angels and men, that in it he might first shew what free will cou'd do, and then what the benefit of his grace and iudgement of iustice could do.

Enchir. ad
Laurent.

*The wicked do sin
and perish not by
Gods permission
only, but by his will
and appointment.
De Gen. ad litte.
lib. 6. cap. 15.*

8 Here they runne to the distinction of will and permission, by which they will haue it graunted that the wicked do perish, God onely permitting but not willing it. But why should we say that he permitte it, but because he so willeth? Howbeit it is not likely that man by himselfe, by the onely permission of God, without any his ordinance, brought destruction to himselfe: as though God appointed not, of what condition he would haue the chiefe of his creatures to be. I therefore will not doubt to confesse simply with *Augustine*, that the will of God is a necessitie of things, & that what he willeth, it must of necessitie come to passe: as those things shall truly come to passe which he hath foreseene. Now if for excuse of themselves and of the vngodly, either the *Pelagians*, or *Manichees*, or *Anabaptists*, or *Epicurians* (for with these fower sects we haue to do in this question) shall obiect against vs necessitie wherewith they be bound by the predestination of God: they bring nothing fit to the purpose. For if predestination be nothing else but a dispensation of righteousness of God, which is hidden indeed, but yet without fault: Forasmuch as it is certaine that they were not vnworthy to be predestinate to that estate, it is also as certaine that the destruction is most righteous which they enter into by predestination. Moreouer their destruction so hangeth vpon the predestination of God, that both cause and matter thereof is found in themselves. For the first man fell, because the Lord so iudged it to be expedient: why he so iudged, is vnknownen to vs: yet it is certaine that he so iudged for no other reason but because he saw that thereby the glorie of his name should be worthily set forth. When thou hearest mention of the glorie of God, there thinke of his righteousness: for it must be righteous that deserueth praise. Man therefore falleth, the prouidence of God so ordaining it: but he falleth by his own fault. The Lord had a litle before pronounced, that all the things which he had made were very good. Whence therefore cometh that peruerfnes 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 himselfe. Therefore by his owne euilnes he corrupted the nature which he had receiued pure of the Lord, and by his fall he drew his whole posteritie with him into destruction. Wherefore let vs rather behold an euident cause of damnation in the corrupted nature of mankind, which is neerer to vs, than search for a hidden and vterly incomprehensible cause thereof in the predestination of GOD. Neither let it grieue vs so far to submit our wit to the vnumerable wisdom of God, that it may yeeld in many secrets of his. For, of those things which it is neither granted nor lawful to know, the ignorance is wel learned: the coueting of knowledge is a kind of madnes.

Gen. 1. 31.

9 Some man perhaps will say, that I haue not yet brought ynough to subdue that

that wicked excuse. But I verily confesse that it can neuer be brought to passe, but that vngodlinesse will alway grudge and murmure against it: yet I thinke that I haue spoken so much as might iustice to take away not onely all reason but also all colour of gaine saying. The reprobate would be thought excusable in sinning, because they cannot escape the necessitie of sinning: specially such such necessity is cast vpon them by the ordinance of God. But we deny that they are thereby well excused, because the ordinance of God, by which they complaine that they are destinate to destruction, hath his righteousnesse, vnknown in deede to vs, but yet most certaine. Wherevpon we conclude, that they beare no euill which is not laide vpon them by the most righteous iudgement of God. Then, we teach that they doe ouerthwartly, which to seeke out the beginning of their damnation, doe bend their eies to the secret closetts of the counsell of God, and winke at the corruption of nature, from whence their damnation springeth. And thus withstandeth that they cannot impure it to God, for that he witnesseth of his owne creation. For although man is create by the eternall prouidence of God to that calamitie, whereunto he is subiect: yet the matter therof he tooke of himselfe, not of God, for in much as he is by no other meane so lost, but because he went out of kinde from the pure creation of God into a corrupt and vnpure peruerities.

The iudgement of God in punishing men for their sinnes of he hath laide a necessity vpon the v righteous, but the reason how it is righteous is vnknown to vs: who should rather be wale in quire in our selues, than seeke the cause thereof in God.

10 Now the aduersaries of Gods Predestination doe slander it also with a third absurditie. For when we impute it to nothing else but to the choise of the will of God, that they are made free from the vnuertall destruction, whom he maketh heires of his kingdome, thereby they gather that there is with him accepting of persons, which the Scripture euery where denieth: and therefore, that either the Scripture disagreeeth with it selfe, or that in the election of God there is respect of desertings. First, the Scripture in another sense denieth, that God is an accepter of persons, than as they iudge it. For by the name of person, it signifieth not a man, but those thinges which being seene with eies in man are wont to procure either fauour, grace, and dignitie, or hatred, contempt, and shame: as riches, wealth, power, nobilitie, office, countrey, excellencie of beautie, and such other: on the other side, pouertie, neede, basenesse, vilenesse, contempt, and such other. So *Peter* and *Paul* doe teach that the Lord is not an accepter of persons, because he putteth not difference betweene the *Iew* and the *Grecian*, to refuse the one and embrace the other for onely respect of nation. So *James* vseth the same words when he mindeth to affirme, that God in his iudgement nothing regardeth riches. But *Paul* in another place speaketh thus of God, that in iudging he hath no consideration of freedome or bondage. Wherefore there shall be no contrarietie if we shall say that God according to the will of his good pleasure without any deseruing chooseth to his Sonnes whom he will, reiecting and refusing other. But the matter may thus be opened, that men may be more fully satisfied. They aske how it commeth to passe, that of two betweene whom no deseruing putteth any difference, God in his electing passeth ouer the one and taketh the other. I on the other side doe aske them, whether they thinke that in him that is taken there is any thing that may make the minde of God to encline toward him. If they confesse (as they needes must) that there is nothing, it shall follow that God looketh not vpon man, but from his owne goodnesse fetcheth a cause why to doe good to him. Whereas therefore God chooseth one man, refusing an other, this commeth not of respect of man, but of his mercie alone, which ought to haue libertie to shew forth and vter it selfe where and when it pleaseth him. For we haue in another place also shewed, that there were not from the beginning many called noble, or wise, or honorable, that God might humble the pride of flesh: so farre is it off, that his fauour was bound to persons.

God not to be charged as a partiall accepter of persons.

Act. 10. 14.
Rom. 2. 10.
Gal. 3. 28.
Iam. 2. 5.
Col. 3. 25.
Eph. 6. 9.

Aug. ad Bon. lib. 1. cap. 7.
1. Cor. 1. 26.

11 Wherefore many do faully and wickedly accuse God of partiall vnrighthousnes, for that he doth not in his Predestination keepe one selfe course toward all men.

God finding all guiltie is not partiall in condemnation.

Cap. 23. Of the maner how to receiue

*ning any but in fa-
using some mer-
ciful.*

If (say they) he finde all guiltie, let him equally punish all: if he finde them vnguiltie, let him withhold the rigor of his iudgement from all. But so they deale with him, as if either mercie were forbidden him, or when he would haue mercie he be compelled altogether to giue ouer his iudgement. What is it that they require? if all be guilty, that all may together suffer all one paine. We graunt the guiltines to be common, but we say that the mercie of God helpeth some. Let it helpe all, say they. But we answere, that it is rightfull that hee should also in punishing shew himselfe a rightfull iudge. When they suffer not this: what do they else but either go about to spoile God of his power to haue mercie, or at least to grant it him vpon this condition, that he vtterly giue ouer his iudgement. Wherefore these sayings of *Augustine* do very well agree together. Sith in the first man the whole masse of mankind fell into condemnation, these vessels that are made of it to honor, are not the vessels of their owne righteousnes, but of the mercie of God: and whereas other are made to dishonour, the same is not to be imputed to vnrighteousnes but to iudgement, &c. That to those whom he refuseth, God rendreth due paine: to those whom he calleth, he giueth vnderferued grace: that they are deliuered from all accusation, after the maner of a creditour, in whose power it is, to forgite to the one, and aske of the other. Therefore the Lord also may giue grace to whom he will, because he is mercifull: and giue it not to all, because he is a iust iudge. He may by giuing to some that which they do not deserue, shew his free grace: and by not giuing to all, declare what all deserue. For whereas *Paul* writeth that God enclosed all vnder sinne, that he might haue mercie vpon all, it is therewithall to be added that he is debter to no man: because no man first gaue to him, that he may require like of him.

*Epi. 106. de prez-
dest. & grat.*

*De bon. perseu.
cap. 12.*

Rom. 11. 31.

*Predestination 12.
kech not away the
sare of well doing.*

12 This also they often say, to ouerthrow predestination, that while it standeth, all carefullnesse and endeour of well dooing falleth away. For who (say they) shall heare that either life or death is certainly appointed for him by the eternal decree of God, but that it will by and by come into his minde that it maketh no matter how he behaue himselfe, sith the predestination of God can by his worke be nothing hindered or furthered? So shall all men dissolutely throwe forth themselves, and after a desperate maner runne headlong whither their lust shall carrie them. And verily they say not altogether falsely, for there be many swine, which with filthie blasphemies defile the doctrine of predestination: and by this pretence also do mock out all admonishments and rebukings, saying, God knoweth what he hath once determined to do with vs: if he haue decreed our saluation, he will bring vs to it at the time appointed: if he haue predestinate our death, we should trauell in vaine to the contrary. But the scripture, when it teacheth with how much greater reuerence and rehgiousnes we ought to thinke of so great a mysterie, doth both instruct the godly to farre other sense, and well confute these mens outrage. For it doth not speake of predestination to this end, that we should be encouraged to boldnes, and with vnlawful rashnesse attempt to search the vnattained secrets of God: but rather that being humbled and abased we should learne to tremble at his iudgement, and reuerently to look vp to his mercie. To this mark the faithfull will leuell themselves. As for that filthie groaning of swine, it is well confuted of *Paul*. They say that they go carelesly forward in vices: because if they be of the number of the elect, their vices shall nothing hinder them, but that they shall at length be brought to life. But *Paul* telleth that wee be to this ende, that we should leade a holy and faultlesse life. If the marke that election is directed vnto be holines of life, it ought more to awake and stirre vs vp cheerefully to practise that holinesse, than to serue for a cloaking of slothfulness. For howe greatly doe these things differ the one from the other? to cease from wel doing, because election sufficeth to saluation: and that the appointed end of election is that we should apply our selues to the endeour of good doings. Away therefore with such sacrileges which do wrongfully misturne the whole order of election. Where they

Ephc. 1. 4.

stretch

stretch their blasphemies further, when they say that he which is reprobate of God, shall loose his labour if he go about to make himselfe allowable to him with innocencie and honestie of life: therein they are taken with a most shamelesse lie. For, whence could such endeour come but of election? For whosoeuer be of the number of the reprobate, as they are vessels made to dishonour, so they cease not with continual wicked doings to prouoke the wrath of God against themselues, and by euident tokens to confirme the iudgement of God which is already pronounced vpon them: so faire be they from struing with him in vaine.

13 But other do maliciouslie and shamefully slander this doctrine, as though it did ouerthrow all exhortations to godly liuing. For which matter in old time *Augustine* was burdened with a great malice. Which hee wiped away with his booke of correction and grace written to *Valentine*, the reading whereof will appease all godly and tractable men: yet I will touch a fewe things, which (as I trust) shall satisfie them that be honest and not contentious. Wee haue already seene how open and loude a preacher of the free election *Paul* was: was he therefore colde in admonishing and exhorting? Let these good zealous men compare their earnestnesse with his, and it shall be found in them in comparison of his incredible heate. And truly this principle taketh away all doubts, that we are not called to vnclannesse, but that euerie man should possesse his vessell in honor, &c. Againe, that we are the handie worke of God created to good workes, which he hath prepared that we should walke in them. Summarily, they that are euen but meanly exercised in *Paul*, shall without long declaration easily perceiue how fitly he maketh these things to agree, which they saine to disagree. Christ commandeth that men beleue in him: Yet is his definitiue sentence neither false nor contrarie to his commandement, where hee saith: No man can come to me, but he to whom it is giuen of my father. Let preaching therefore haue his course, which may bring men to faith, and with continuall profiting hold them fast in perseuerance. Neither yet let the knowledge of predestination bee hindered, that they which obey may not be proud as of their owne, but may glory in the Lord. Christ not for nothing saith: Who so hath eares of hearing, let him heare. Therefore when we exhort and preach, they that haue eares do willingly obey: but who so lacke eares, in them is fulfilled that which is written, That hearing they heare not. But why (saith *Augustine*) shoulde some haue, and other some not haue? Who hath knowen the minde of the Lorde? Must that therefore be denied which is open, because that cannot be comprehended which is hidden? These sayings I haue faithfully reported out of *Augustine*: but because peradventure his wordes shall haue more authoritie than mine, go to, let vs bring forth the very wordes that are read in himselfe. If when this is heard, many are turned into dulnes and sluggithnes, and being inclined from labour to lust do go after their desires: ought that therefore to be accounted false which is spoken of the foreknowledge of God? If God haue foreknown that they shall be good, shall they not be good, in how great euilnes fouer they now liue? and if he haue foreknown that they will be euill, shall they not be euill in how great goodnesse fouer they be nowe seene? shall therefore those things which are truly spoken of the foreknowledge of God, be for such causes either to be denied or to be left vnspoken of? namely then when if they be not spoken of, men go into errors? The rule (saith he) to keepe truth vnspoken of, is one thing, and the necessitie to speake truth is another. As for the cause of leauing truth vnspoken, it were long to search them out all: of which yet this is one, that they be not made worse which vnderstande it not, while we meane to make them more learned that vnderstande it, who when we speake any such thing are indeed not made more 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 cannot conceiue it: and when we speake it not, he is made worse that can conceiue it: what thinke we now to be done? Is not the truth rather to be spoken

It doth not overthrow exhortations vnto vertue and godlinesse.

1. The. 4. 7.

Eph. 2. 10.

Ioh. 6. 61.

Matth. 13. 9.
Esay 6. 9.

Lib. de bono
Persec. c. 13.

Cap. 16.

that he may conceiue it, that can conceiue it: than to keepe it vnspoken, that not onely neither of them may conceiue it, but also he that more vnderstandeth may be the worse? whereas if he did heare and conceiue it, by him also many should learne. And we will not say that which, as the Scripture witnesseth, we lawfully might haue spoken. For we feare forsooth least when we speake, he be offended that can not conceiue it: but we feare not least while we hold our peace, he that can conceiue truth be deceiued with fallshoode. Which sentence he at the last shortly knitting vp, more plainly also confirmeth. Wherefore if the Apostles, and they which followed them, the doctors of the Church did both, namely both godlily preach of the eternall election of God, and hold the faithfull in awe vnder the discipline of godly life: why do these our aduerfaries being confuted with inuincible violence of truth, thinke that they say well in saying that that which is spoken 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 hath not receiued them from him that promisseth that he will giue them? Truly let him that receiue them not, refuse it: so that yet he which receiue them, do take and drinke, do drinke and liue. For as godlines is to be preached, that God may be rightly worshipped: so is also predestination, that he which hath eares to heare of the grace of God, may glorie in God and not in himselfe.

Cap. 20.

*Vndiscreepe deli-
uering of the do-
ctrine which con-
cerneth predesti-
nation.*

14 And yet that holy man, as he had a singular desire to edifie, so tempereth the manner of teaching the truth, that offence be wisely auoyded so farr as it lawfully may be. For he sheweth that those things which are truly said, may also be conueniently sayd. If any man do thus preach to the people. If ye beleue not, the cause is for that ye are already predestinate of God to destruction: such a man doth not only cherish slothfulnes, but also maintaine wickednes. If any man also stretch his saying to the time to come, and say that they which heare shall not beleue, because they are reprobate: this shalbe rather a curling than a teaching. Such therefore *Augustine* not vnworthily biddeth to depart from the Church, as foolish teachers, and vn lucky and ill prophesyng Prophets. In an other place he truly affirmeth that it is to be holden that a man then profiteth with rebuking, when he hath mercy and helpeth which maketh to profite whom he will, euen without rebuking. But why some thus and some other wise? God forbid that, that we should say that the power of iudging belongeth rather to the clay than to the potter. Againe afterward. When men by rebuking either come or returne into the way of righteousnes, who worketh saluation in their hearts, but he, which when any whosoeuer he be planteth and watereth, giueth the increase, whom when he will saue, no freewill of man resisteth? It is therefore not to be doubted that the wils of men cannot resist the will of God (which both in heauen and earth hath done whatfoeuer he would, and which hath also done those things that are to come) but that he may do what he will, forasmuch as euen of the verie wils of men he doeth what he will. Againe, when he will leade men to him, doth he binde them with corporall bonds? He inwardly worketh, inwardly holdeth hearts, inwardly moueth hearts, and draweth them with their wils which he himselfe hath made in them. But, that which he by and by addeth ought in no wise to be omitted: that because we know not who 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 whomsoeuer we find, we shall trauell to make him partaker of peace. But our peace shall rest vpon the children of peace. Therefore for our part, we must applie holsome and sharpe rebuking to all men like a medicine, that they perish not, nor destroy other, but it shalbe the worke of God to make it profitable to them whom he hath foreknowen and predestinate.

The xxiiiij. Chapter.

That election is stablished by the calling of God, but that the reprobate doe bring vpon themselves the iust destruction wherunto they are appointed.

B V T, that the matter may more plainly appeare, we must intreate both 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 ertour, which thinke that the generalnesse of the promises extendeth egally to all mankind. But this election which otherwise God hath hidden with himselfe he doeth not without choise at length disclose by his calling, which a man may therefore call the testifying of it. For, whome he hath foreknown, them he hath also foreappointed to be fashioned like the image of his sonne: whom he hath foreappointed, them he hath also called: whome he hath called, them he hath also justified, that in time to come he may glorie them. When the Lord hath by electing already adopted his into the number of his children: yet we see how they enter not into possession of so great a benefite, but when they be called: on the other side, how being called they do now enioy a certaine communicating of his election. For which reason *Paul* calleth the spirit which they receiue, both the spirit of adoption, and the seale, and earnest of the inheritance to come: namely because it doeth with the testimonie thereof stablish & seale to their hearts the assurednes of the adoption to come. For though the preaching of the Gospell spring out of the fountaine of election: yet because it is also common to the reprobate, therefore it could not by it selte be a sure prooffe thereof. But God effectually teacheth his elect, that he may bring them to faith: as we haue before alleadged out of the words of Christ, Who so is of God, he and none other seeth the Father. Again, I haue shewed thy name to the men whome thou hast giuen me: Whereas he saith in another place, no man can come to me, vnlesse my Father draw him. Which place *Augustine* wisely weyeth, whose words are these. If (as Truth saith) every one that hath learned, commeth: whosoeuer commeth not, certainly neither hath he learned. It doth not therefore follow that he which can come, also commeth, vnlesse he haue both willed and done it. But every one that hath learned of the Father, not only can come, but also commeth, whe now there is present both the profite of comming, and the affection of willing, and the effect of doing. Also in another place more plainly. What is this else, Every one that hath heard of the father, & hath learned, cometh to me, but there is none that heareth and learneth of the father and commeth not to me? For if every one which hath heard of the father and learned, commeth: truly every one that cometh not, hath not heard of the father, nor learned: for if he had heard and learned, he would come. This schoole is farr from the senses of the flesh, in which schoole the father is heard and teacheth, that men may come to the sonne. And a little after. This grace which is secretly giuen to the hearts of men, is receiued of no hard heart: for it is therefore giuen, that the hardness of the heart may first be taken away. When therefore the father is heard within, he taketh away the stonie heart, and giueth a fleshy heart. For so he maketh the children of promise and vessels of mercy, which he hath prepared to glorie. Why therefore doth he not teach all, that they may come to Christ, but because all whom he teacheth, by mercie he teacheth: whom he doth not teach, by iudgement he doth not teach? because he hath mercie vpon whom he will, and hardeneth whom he will. Therefore God assigneth them for children to himselfe, and appointeth himselfe father to them, whom he hath chosen. Now by calling he bringeth them into the houshold, and vnieth himselfe to them, that they may be one together. But, when calling is ioyned to election, in that manner the Scripture sufficiently signifieth that in it nothing is to

Gods effectuall and inward calling of some whose election is thereby sealed.

Rom. 8. 29.

Rom. 8. 25.

Eph. 1. 13.

Iohn. 6. 46.

Iohn. 17. 6.

Iohn. 6. 44.

Lib. de Grat.

Christ. contra

Pela. & Cal. ca.

14. & 31.

De prædest. sanct. cap. 8.

bee required but the mercie of God. For if wee aske, whome hee calleth and for what reason : hee aunswereth; whome he had elected. But when we come once to election, there the onely mercie of God appeereth on euery side. And here that saying of *Paul* truly hath place, It is not of him that willet, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie. Neither yet that same so as they commonly take it, which part it betweene the grace of God, and the willing and running of man. For they expoune it, that the desire and induour of man haue in deede no force of themselves, 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 obtaining saluation. Whose cauillation I had rather confute with *Augustines* wordes than mine owne : If the Apostle meant nothing else but that it is not of him onely that willet or runneth, vnlesse the Lord be there present mercifull: we may coutrariwise turne it against them and say that it is not of onely mercie, vnlesse there be present willing and running. But if this be openly wicked, let vs not doubt that the Apostle giueth all to the mercie of the Lorde, and leauech nothing to our wils or endeuours. To this effect speaketh that holy man. And I fet not a strawe by that nice suttletie, that they say that *Paul* would not haue so said vnlesse there had bene some induour and some will in vs. For he did not consider what was in man: but when he saw that some did assigne part of saluation to the endeuour of men, he simply condemned their error in the first part of the sentence, and in the second he challenged the whole summe of saluation to the mercie of God. And what other things doe the Prophets trauell about but continually to preach the free calling of God?

2 Moreouer the very nature also and dispensation of calling doth cleerely shew it, which consisteth not in the onely preaching of the worde, but also in the inlightening of the Spirit. To whome God offereth his worde, is shewed vs in the Prophet : I am found of them that sought me not : I haue openly appeared to them that did not aske for me. To a people which hath not called vpon my name I haue said, Loe I am present. And least the Iewes shoulde thinke that this kindnesse belonged onely to the Gentiles, he doth also put them in remembrance from whence he tooke their father *Abraham*, when he vouchsafed to ioine him to himselfe, namely from meere idolatry, in which he was drowned with all his. When he first thineth with the light of his worde to men not deseruing it, he therein sheweth an example plaine enough of his free goodnesse. Here therefore the vnumerable goodnesse of God sheweth foorth it selfe, but not vnto saluation to all : because for the reprobate there abideth a more greuous iudgement, for that they refuse the testimonie of the will of God. And God also, to set foorth his glorie, withdraweth from them the effectuall force of his Spirit. Therefore this inward calling is a pledge of saluation, which cannot deceiue vs. For which purpose maketh that saying of *John*. Thereby wee knowe that we are his children, by the spirite which he hath giuen vs. And least flesh shoulde glorie, that it did at the least answere to him when he called and of his owne will offered himselfe, hee affirmeth that it hath no eares to heare, no eyes to see, but which he hath made : and that hee maketh them, not according to euery mans thankfulnessse, but according to his owne election. Of which thing you haue a notable example in *Luke*, where both Iewes and Gentiles in common together heard the preaching of *Paul* and *Barnabas*. Whereas they were at that time all taught with one selfesame word, it is saide that they beleued which were ordained to euerlasting life. With what face may we denie that the calling is free, in which euen to the very last part election reigneth alone?

3 But here we must beware of two errors, because many make man a worker together with God, that he by his consent may 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 teach, that it is onely giuen vs that we may beleuee, and not rather faith it selfe.

Rom.9.16.

Eschir. ad Laur. cap. 31.

It is of Gods most free and vnderseeded favour, that we are effectually called to saluation. Eschir. 65. 1.

10sh. 4. 23.

1. Iohn. 5. 24.

Ad. 13. 14.

We are not workers with God of our owne election, neither doth it hang in suspence vpon our faith.

selfe. Other some, although they do not so weaken the grace of the holy Ghost: yet being led by I wot not what reason, hang election vpon faith as though it were doubtfull, yea and vnessectuall vntill 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 counsell of God beginneth to shine out, which was before hidden: so that by this word you vnderstand nothing else, than that it is approued which was vnknown, and is as it were sealed with a seale. But it is falsely said, that election is then and not till then effectually, whē we haue embraced the gospell, and that therof it taketh liuely strength. We must in deede from thence fetch the certaintie of it: Because if we attempt to reach vnto the eternall ordinance of God, that deepe bottomlesse depth wil swallow vs vp. But when God hath opened it vnto vs, we must climbe vp higher, least the effect should drownē the cause. For what greater absurditie or shamefull vniustice is there; than that when the Scripture teacheth that we are enlightened as God hath chosen vs, our eyes should be so daseled with this light, that they should refuse to looke vpon election? Yet in the meane time I deny not, that to the end we may be certaine of our saluation, we must begin at the word, and that our affiance ought therewith to be contented, that we may call vpon God by the name of Father. For some quite contrary to right order, that they may be certified of the counsell of God (which is neere vnto vs, in our mouth and in our heart) do couet to flie about the cloudes: Therefore that rascallie is to be restrained with sobrietie of faith, that it may suffice vs that God in his outward word is a witnessse of his hidden grace: to that the conduit pipe out of which there floweth water largely for vs to drinke, do not hinder but that the springhead may haue his due honour.

Deut. 30. 14.

4 Therefore as they do wrongfully, which hang the strength of election vpon the faith of the gospell, by which faith we feele that election pertaineth to vs: so we shall keepe the best order, if in seeking the certaintie of our election, we sticke fast in these latter signes, which are sure witnessings of it: Satan doth with no tentation either more greuously, or more dangerously astonish the faithfull, than when disquieting them with doubt: of their election, he doth also moue them with a peruerse desire to seeke it out of the waie. I call it seeking out of the way, when a wretched man enterpriseth to breake into the hidden secrets of the wisdom of God, and to peare euen to the highest eternity to vnderstand what is determined of himselfe at the iudgement seate of God. For then he throweth himselfe headlong to be swallowed vp into the depth of the vmeasurable deuouring pit: then he wrappeth himself with innumerable snares and such as he cannot winde out of: then he ouerwhelmeth himselfe with the bottomlesse depth of blinde darknesse. For so is it rightfull that the foolishnesse of the wit of man be punished with so horrible ruine, when he attempteth of his owne force to rise vp to the height of the wisdom of God. And so much more deadly is this tentation, as there is none to which we are commonly all more bent. For there is most rarely any man to be found, whose mind is not sometime stricken with this thought. Whence hast thou saluation, but of the election of God? And of Election what reuelation hast thou? which thought, if it haue once taken place in any man, either perpetually vexeth the miserable man with terrible torments, or vterly dismayeth him. Truly I would haue no surer argument than this! experience to prooue, how wrongfully such men imagine of predestination. For the minde can be infected with no error more pestilent, than that which plucketh downe, and thrusteth the conscience from her peace and quietnesse toward God. Therefore if we feare shipwracke, we must diligently beware of this rocke, which is neuer stricken vpon without destruction. And though the disputing of predestination be esteemed like a dangerous sea, yet in passing through it there is found a safe and quiet yea & pleasant sayling, vnlesse a man do wilfully couet to be in daunger. For as they doe drowne themselves in the deadly bottomlesse depth, which to be certified of their election

The certaintie of our election to be searched not in the bosome of God but in our selues according to that light which hee hath giuen vs in his word.

Cap. 24. Of the maner how to receiue

doe enquire of the secret Counsell of God without his word : so they which do rightly and orderly search it in such sort as it is contained in the word, receiue thereof a singular fruite of comfort. Let this therefore be our way to search it, that we begin at the calling of God, and end in the same. Howbeit this withstandeth not, but that the Faithfull may thinke that the benefits which they dayly receiue at the hand of GOD, doe descende from that secret adoption : as they say in *Esaie*, Thou hast done maruels, thy thoughtes are olde, true, and faithfull : forasmuch as by that adoption as by a token, the Lords wil is to cōfirme so much as is lawfull to be knowne of his counsell. But least any man should thinke this a weake testimonie, let vs consider how much both clearenesse and certaintie it bringeth vs. Of which thing *Bernarde* speaketh fitly. For after that he had spoken of the reprobate, he saith : The purpose of God standeth, the sentence of peace standeth vpon them that feare him, both couering their euils, and rewarding their good things : so as to them after a marucilous manner not only good things, but also euill doe worke together vnto good. Who shall accuse the elect of God ? It sufficeth me to all righteouines, to haue him alone mercifull, to whom a lone I haue sinned. All that he hath decreed not to impute to me, is so as if it neuer had beene. And a little after: O place of true rest, & to which not vnworthily I may giue the name of a bed chamber, in which God is seene not as troubled with wrath, not as withholden with care : but his will is proued in him good, and well pleasing, and perfect. This sight doth not make afraide, but calmeth : doth not stirre vp vnquiet curiosities, but appeaseth it : doth not wearie the senses, but quieteth them : Here is quiet truely taken, God being appeased, appeaseth all things : and to behold him quiet, is to be quiet.

5 First, if we seeke a fatherly kindnesse and fauourable minde of God, we must turne our eies to Christ, in whome alone the soule of the father resteth. If we seeke saluation, life, and the immortalitie of the heauenly kingdome, we must then also flie to no other : forasmuch as he alone is both the fountaine of life, and Author of saluation, and heire of the kingdome of Heauen. Now whereto serueth election, but that being adopted of the heauenly Father into the degree of children, we may by his fauour obtaine saluation and immortalitie ? Howsoever in seeking thou tosse it and shake it, yet thou shalt find that the vttermost marke of it extendeth no further. Therefore whom God hath taken to his children, it is not said that he hath chosen them in themselves, but in his Christ : because he could not loue them but in him, nor giue them the honor of the inheritance of his kingdome, vnlesse they had first beene made partakers of him. If we be chosen in him, we shall not finde in our selues the certainty of our election : no, nor yet in God the Father, if we imagine him naked without the Sonne. Christ therefore is the mirror, in whom we both must, and without deceite may behold our election. For sith it is he into whose body the Father hath appointed to graffe all them whom from eternitie he hath willed to be his, that he may take for his children so many as he reknowledgeth among his members: we haue a witnes plaine and sure inough, that we are written in the booke of life, if we communicate with Christ. And that sure communion of himselfe he gaue vs, when by the preaching of the Gospell he testified that he was giuen to vs of the Father, that he with all his good things should be ours. We are said to put on him, and to growe together into him, that we may liue : because he liueth. So oft is this doctrine repeated, The Father spared not his onely begotten Sonne, that whosoeuer beleueth in him, may not perish : But he that beleueth in him, is said to haue passed from death into life. In which sense he calleth himselfe the Bread of life, which whose eateth, he shall not die for euer. He (I say) hath beene a witness to vs, that they shall be receiued of the heauenly Father in place of his children, of whom he hath beene receiued by Faith. If we conct any more than to be accepted among the children and heires of God, then we may climbe aboue Christ. If this be our vttermost marke: how

much

Esa. 25.

*Being chosen in
Christ in him we
must behold our
choosing ascertai-
ned.*

Mat. 3.17.

Eph. 1.4.

Rom. 8 31.

Iohn 3.15.
Iohn 5.24.
Iohn 6.35.

much be wee mad in seeking without him that which we haue already obtained in him, and which may be founde in him alone? Moreouer sith he is the eternall wisdom, the vnchangeable truth, and fast setled counsell of the father: it is not to be feared least that which he declareth to vs in his worde, should varie any thing be it neuer so little from that will of the Father which we seeke: but rather he faithfully openeth it vnto vs, such as it was from the beginning, and euer shall be. The practise of this doctrine ought also to be in v're prayers. For though the faith of election doth incourage vs to call vpon God: yet when we make our prayers, it were vnorderly 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 willet vs to be content with his promises, and no where else to seeke whether he will be intreatable to vs or no. This wisdom shall deliuer vs from many snares, if we can skill to apply that to a right vse which hath bene rightly written: but let vs not vndiscreetely draw hither and thither that which ought to haue been restrained.

6 There is also for stablishing of our affiance another stay of election, which we haue saide to be ioyned with our calling. For, whom Christ taketh being enlightened with the knowledge of his name into the bosome of his Church, them he is saide to receiue into the faith and protection. And whome soeuer he receiuet, they are saide to be committed to him of the Father, and deliuered to his trust, that they may be kept into eternall life. What meane we? Christ crieth out with a lowd voice, that so many as the Father willet to be saued, he hath deliuered them into his protection. Therefore if we list to know whether God hath care of our safetie, let vs seeke whether he hath committed vs to Christ, whom he hath made the onely Sauour of al his. Now if we doubt whether we be receiued of Christ into his faith and keeping, he preuenteth our doubting, when he voluntarily offereth himselfe to be our shepheard, and pronounceth that we shall be in the number of his sheepe if we heare his voice. Let vs therefore embrace Christ, being liberally set open for vs, and comming to meet vs, he shall number vs in his flo. ke, and shall keepe vs inclosed within his folde. But there entreteth into vs a carefullnesse of our state to come. For as *Paul* teacheth that they are called, which were before chosen: so Christ sheweth that manie are called, but fewe are chosen. Yea and also *Paul* himselfe in another place dihorteth vs from carefullnesse: Let him that standeth (saith he) looke that he fall not. Againe, Art thou grassed into the people of God? Be not proud, but feare: for God is able to cut thee off againe that he may grassie other. Finally we are sufficiently taught by experience it selfe, that calling and faith are of small value, vnlesse there be adioyned continuance which happeneth not all men. But Christ hath deliuered vs from this care: for verilie these promises haue respect to the time to come. All that my father giueth me shall come to me: and him that shall come to me, I will not cast him out of doores. Againe, this is the will of him that sent mee, the Father, that I looke nothing of all things that he hath giuen me, but may raise them vp againe in the last daie. Againe, My sheepe heare my voice, and they followe mee: I knowe them, and I giue them eternall life, and they shall nor perish for euer, neither shall any man take them out of my hande. The father which gaue them to mee, is greater than all: and no man can take them out of the hand of my father. Nowe when he pronounceth, every tree which my father hath not planted, shall be plucked vp by the roote: hee signifieth on the contrarie side, that they can neuer be plucked from saluation, which haue roote in God. Wherewith agreeth that saying of *Iohn*, If they had bene of vs, they had not at all gone out from vs. Herevpon also commeth that noble glorying of *Paul* against life and death, present things and things to come: which glorying must needes bee grounded vpon the gifte of continuance. Neither is it any doubt that he directeth this saying to all the faithfull. In another place the same *Paul* saith, He that hath begun in you a good worke, shall ende it euen vntill the daie of Christ.

Our election being found established in Christ, our hearts must needes bee thereby confirmed with steadfast trust and affiance of persisting in the state of grace and of saluation to the end.

Ioh. 6. 37. & 17. 6.

Iohn. 10. 3.

Rom. 8. 30.

Math. 22. 14.

1. Cor. 10. 12.

Ioh. 6. 37. & 40.

Ioh. 10. 17.

Math. 15. 13.

1. Ioh. 2. 19.

Rom. 8. 38.

Phil. 1. 16.

As

Pfal. 138. 8.

As also *David*, when his faith fainted, leaned vpon this stay: Thou shalt not forsake the worke of thy hands. And now neither is this doubtfull, that *Christ* when he prayeth for all the faithfull, asketh the same thing for them which he asketh for *Peter*, that their faith may neuer faint. Whereby we gather, that they are out of danger of falling away, because the sonne of God, asking stedfast continuance for their godlinesse, suffered no demall. What would *Christ* haue vs to learne heereby, but that we shoulde trust that we shall perpetually be safe, because we are once made his?

Luk. 22. 32.

They which fall from Christ were in truth neuer Christians in who a modest, humble, and religious feare of falling doth not take away assurednes of continuing his.

Ioh. 16. 12.

I. Ioh. 2. 19.

Ioh. 3. 16. & 6. 39.

7 But it daily happeneth, that they which seemed to be *Christes*, doe againe revolt from him and fall. Yea and in the very same place where he affirmeth that none had perished of them which were giuen him of the Father, yet he excepteth the son of perdition. That is true indeed: but this is also as certain, that such did neuer cleaue to *Christ* with that affiance of hart with which I say that the assurednes of our electiō is established. They went out frō vs (saith *Iohn*) but they were not of vs. For if they had bene of vs, they had still tarried with vs. Neither doe I denie that they haue like signes of calling as the elect haue: but I doe not grant that they haue that sure establishment of election which I bid the faithfull to fetch out of the word of the Gospel. Wherefore let not such examples moue vs but that we quietly rest vpon the promise of the Lord, where he pronounceth, that all they are giuen to him of the father, which receiue him with true faith, of whom sith he is their keeper and Pastor, none shall perish. Of *Iudas* we shall speake heereafter. *Paul* doth not counsell Christians from assurednes altogether, but from carelesse and loose assurednesse of the flesh, which draweth with it, pride, presumption, and disdain of other, and quenchech humilitie and the reuerence of God, and bringeth forgetfulnesse of grace receiued. For he speaketh to the Gentiles, whom he teacheth, that they ought not proudly and vn- gently to reproch the Iewes for this, that the Iewes being disherited, they were sit in their stead. Feare also he requireth not wherewith they should be dismayed and stagger, but with framing vs to the receiuing of the grace of God, shoulde abate nothing of the affiance thereof, as we haue said in another place. Beside that he doth not there speake to every man particularly: but to the sects themselves generally. For when the Church was diuided into two parts, and enuie bred dissention, *Paul* putteth the Gentiles in minde that their being supplied into the place of the peculiar and holie people ought to be to them a cause of feare and modestie. And among them there were manie puffed vp with glorie, whose vaine boasting it was profitable to beate downe. But we haue in another place shewed, that our hope is extended to the time to come euen beyond death, and that nothing is more contrarie to the nature of it, than to doubt what shall become of vs.

Calling generall and speciall.

8 That saying of *Christ*, of many being called but fewe chosen, is verie ill taken after that maner. There shall be nothing doubtfull if wee holde fast that which ought to be cleare by the things aboue spoken, that there are two sorts of calling. For there is an vniuersall calling wherby through the outward preaching of the word, God calleth altogether to him, euen them also to whom he setteth it forth vnto the fauour of death, and vnto matter of more grieuous condemnation. The other is a speciall calling which for the most part he vouchsafeth to giue onely to the faithfull, when by the inward enlightening of his spirite he maketh that the worde preached is settled in their harts. Yet somtime he maketh them also partakers of it whom hee enlighteneth but for a time, and afterward by the deseruing of their vnthankfulnes forsaketh them, and striketh them with greater blindness. Now when the Lord saw the Gospel to be published farre and wide, and to be despised of many, but to bee had in due price of fewe: he describeth to vs God vnder the person of a king, which preparing a solemne feast sendeth his messengers round about to bid a great multitude to be his guesstes, and yet can get but a fewe, because euerie one alleageth lets for his excuse, so that at length he is compelled vpon their refusall, to call out of the high waies euerie one

Matth. 22.

one that he meete. Hitherto every man seeth that the parable must be vnderstood of the outward calling. He addeth afterward that God doth like a good maker of a feast, which goeth about the tables, to cheere his guesstes. If he finde any not clothed with a wedding garment, he will not suffer him with his vncleannesse to dishonour the solemnitie of the feast. This part of the parable, I graunt, is to be vnderstood of them which enter into the church by the profession of faith, but are not clothed with the sanctification of Christ. Such dishonour and as it were borches of his Church, the Lord will not suffer for euer: but, as their filthinesse deserueth he will cast them out. Therefore few are chosen out of a great number of them that are called, but yet not with that calling by which we say that the faithfull ought to iudge their election. For, that generall calling is also common to the wicked: but this speciall calling bringeth with it the spirit of regeneration, which is the earnest and seale of the inheritance to come, wherwith our hearts are sealed vp against the day of the Lord. In a summe sith hypocrites boast of godlinesse as well as the true worshippers of God, Christ pronounceth that at length they shall be cast out of the place which they wrongfully possesse: as it is said in the Psalme, Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle? The innocent in hands, and a man of a pure hart. Againe, in another place. This is the generation of them that seeke God, of them that seeke the face of the God of Jacob. And so doth the Spirit exhort the faithfull to sufferance, that they take it not greeduously that the Israelites bee mingled with them in the Church: for at length their visor shall be plucked from them and they shall be cast out without shame.

Ephc. 1. 13.
Psal. 15. 1.

Psal. 22. 2.

9. The same reason is of the exception euen now allaged, where Christ saith that none perished but the sonne of perdition. It is in deede an vnproper speeche, but yet not darke. For he was not accounted among the sheepe of Christ, for that he was one in deede, but because he kept the place of one. And where in another place the Lord affirmeth that he was chosen with the Apostles, that is spoken onely in respect of the ministerie. Twelue (saith he) haue I chosen, and one of them is a Diuell: that is, he had chosen him to the office of an Apostle. But when he speaketh of choosing to saluation, hee denieth him farre away from the number of the chosen, saying: I speake not of all: I knowe whom I haue chosen. If a man doe in both places confound the word of Choosing, he shall miserably entangle himselfe: if he make difference, nothing is more plaine. Therefore *Gregorie* teacheth very ill and pestilently when he saith that we knowe onely our calling, but are vncertaine of our election: whereby he moueth all men to feare and trembling: vsing also this reason, but because we knowe what we be to day, but what we shall be we knowe not. But in that place he sufficiently declareth, how he stumbled at this blocke. For, because he hangd election vpon the merites of works, he had matter enough, and more to discourage the mindes of men: but he could not strengthen them, which did not remouee them from themselves to the assistance of the goodnesse of God. Hereof the faithfull haue some taste of that which we haue determined at the beginning that predestination if it be rightly thought vpon, bringeth not a shaking of faith, but rather the best strengthening of it. And yet I denie not, that the holy Ghost framed his talke to the small measure of our sense. As when he saith, In the secret of my people they shall not be, and in the roule of my seruants they shall not be written. As though God did begin to write in the booke of life, them whome he reckoneth in the number of his: whereas yet we know, euen by the witness of Christ, that the names of the children of God are from the beginning written in the booke of life. But in these words is only expressed the casting away of them which seemed the chiefe among the elect: as it is saide in the Psalme. Let them be blotted out of the booke of life, and let them not be written with the righteous.

The fall of Iudas, and the error of Gregorie about the certaintie of our election.

Iohn. 17. 12.
Iohn. 4. 73.
Iohn. 13.

Iohn. 13. 18.

Hom. 38.

Ezec. 13. 9.

Phil. 4. 3.

Psal. 69. 29.

No difference before vocation, betwene the elect of God and others.

10. But the elect are neither immediately from the wombe, nor all at one time, by calling gathered together into the flocke of Christ, but as it pleaseth God to distribute

but

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bute his grace to them. But ere they bee gathered together to that chiefe shepheard, they are scattered abroad and stray in the common desert, and disier nothing from other, sauing that they be defended by the singular mercie of God, from falling into the extreme headlong downe-fall of death. Therefore if you looke vpon themselves, you shall see the offspring of *Adam*, which sauoureth of the common corruption of the whole masse. That they be not carried into extreme and despaired vngodlinesse, this cometh not to passe by any goodnesse naturally planted in them, but because the cie of God watcheth, and his hande is stretched out to their saluation. For they that dreame that from their very natiuitie there is planted in their hearts, I wote not what seede of election, by the vertue whereof they are alway inclined to godlinesse and to the feare of God, they both are not holpen to prooue it by the authoritie of Scripture, and also are confuted by experience it selfe. They doe in deede bring forth a few examples to prooue that the elect euen before their enlightening, were not vterly strangers from religion: that *Paul* in his being a Pharisee liued vnreproouable, that *Cornelius* was by almes and prayers accepted of God: and such other. Of *Paul*, we graunt to them: of *Cornelius*, we say that they are deceiued. For it appeereth that hee was then already enlightened and regenerate, so that hee wanted nothing but the cleere reuealing of the Gospell. But what will they wring out by these few examples? that all the elect are alway endued with the spirite of godlinesse? No more than if a man by shewing the vprightnesse of *Aristides*, *Socrates*, *Zenocrates*, *Scipio*, *Curius*, *Camillus*, and other, should thereof gather that all they that are left in blindness of idolatrie, were desirous followers of holines and honestie. Yea and the Scripture in more places than one, openly crieth out against them. For, the state which *Paul* describeth of the Ephesians before their regeneration, sheweth not one graine of this seede. Yee were (saith he) dead with defaultes and sinnes, in which yee walked according to the time of this worlde, according to the prince of the aire, which now worketh in the obstinate children: among whom we all also were sometime conuerfant in the lustes of our flesh, doing those things that liked our flesh and minde. And wee were by nature the children of wrath, as other also were. Againe, remember that yee were sometime without hope, and lacked God in the worlde; Againe, Ye were sometime darknesse: but now ye are light in the Lorde, walke as the children of light. But peraduenture they will haue these things to be referred to the ignorance of the true God, wherewith they deny not that the elect are holden, before that they be called. Albeit this were a shamelesse cauilling, sith he thereof conclude:h, that they ought now no more either to lie or to steale: yet what will they answer to other places? as is that place to the Corinthians, where when he had pronounced that neither whooremongers, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor weckelings, nor buggerers, nor theecus, nor couetous men, shall be heires of the kingdome of God: he by and by adde:h that they were wrapped in the same hainous offences before that they knew Christ: but now that they are both washed by his blood and made free by his spirit. Againe another place to the Romanes. As ye haue giuen your members bond to vncleannesse, and to iniquitie vnto iniquitie, now yelde them in bondage to righteousness. For what fruit had you of these things in which ye are now woorthily ashamed, &c.

II What manner of seede of election, I pray you, did then bud in them, which being manifoldly defiled in all their life, as it were with desperate wickednesse, wallowed in the most abhominable and acursed sinne of all? If he would haue spoken after their opinion, he should haue shewed how much they were bond to the foulfulness of God, by which they had bene preferred from sliding into so great blithnesse. So *Peter* also shoulde haue exhorted his to thankfulness for the perpetuall seede of election. But he contrariwise putteth them in minde that the time past sufficed to make an end of the lusts of the Gentiles. What if we come to examples? what

bud

Phil. 3. 5.
A. 2. 10. 2.

Eph. 2. 2.

Eph. 5. 8.
Eph. 4. 23.

I. Cor. 6. 9.

Rom. 6. 19.

In men before
God call them,
there is no bud
of righteousness,
formed by some
the seede of ele-
ction.

1. Pet. 4. 3.

bud of righteousness was there in *Rahab* the harlot, before saith? in *Manasse*, when *Hierusalem* was dipped and in a manner drowned in the blood of the Prophets? in the *Theefe*, which among his last gaspings began to thinke of repentaunce? Awake therefore with these arguments, which silly curious men doe rashly deuise to themselves without the Scripture. But let that abide certaine with vs, which the Scripture hath, that all haue strayed like lost sheepe, euerie one hath swarued into his own way, that is, perdition. Out of this gulfe of perdition; whom the Lorde hath determined once to plucke forth, them he deferrereth till his fit time: onely hee preferueth them, that they fall not vnto vnparadonable blasphemie.

Io. 2. 1.
2. King. 12. 17.
Luk 22. 16.
Esa. 53. 6.

12 As the Lord by the effectualnes of his calling towards the elect maketh perfect the saluation, whereunto he had by eternall counsell appointed them: so he hath his iudgements against the reprobate, whereby hee executeth his counsell of them. Whom therefore he hath created vnto the shame of life, and destruction of death, that they shoulde bee instruments of his wrath, and examples of his seueritie: from them, that they may come to their end, sometime he taketh away the power to heare his word, and sometime by the preaching of it he more blindeth and amazeth them. Of the first manner, whereas there be innumerable examples, let vs choose out one more cleere and notable than all the rest. There passed away about foure thousand yeres afore Christ, in which hee hid from all the Gentiles the light of his health bringing doctrine. If any man answer that he therefore made them not to enioy so great a benefite because he iudged them vnwoorthie, they which come after shal not be prooued any more woorthie. Of which thing, beside the experience, *Malachie* is a substantiall witnes, which reprobuing infidelitie mingled with grosse blasphemies, yet declareth that there shall come a Redeemer. Why therefore is hee rather giuen to these than to those? He shall trouble himselfe in vaine, that shall heere search for a cause higher than the secret and vnsearchable counsell of God. Neither is it to be feared least any scholler of *Porphyrie*, should freely gnaw at the righteousness of God while we answer nothing in defence of it. For when we say that none perish vnderferuing, and that it is of the free bountifulnes of God that some be deliuered, there is largely enough said for the setting forth of his glorie, so that it needeth not our shifting. The soueraigne iudge therefore maketh a way for his predestination, when who he hath once reiected, them being deprived of the communicating of his light hee leaueth in blindness. Of the other maner there are both daily examples, and also many contained in the Scripture. One selfesame preaching is commonly made to a hundred, twentie receiue it with readie obedience of faith: the rest do either set naught by it, or scorne it, or hiss it out, or abhorre it. If any man answer that this diuersitie proceedeth of their malice and perversnesse, hee shall not yet satisfie vs: because the others wit also shoulde bee possessed with the same malice, vnlesse God did amende it with his goodnesse. Therefore we shall still bee encombred, vnlesse wee call to minde that which *Paul* saith, Who maketh thee to differ? Whereby he signifieth that some excell other some, not by their own vertue, but by the onely grace of God.

The meanes whereby reprobates come to their ends: some debarred of the power of hearing the worde, some by the light thereof blinded.

Mal. 4. 1.

1. Cor. 4. 7.

13 Why therefore doth he in granting grace to those passe over these? Of those *Luke* sheweth a cause, Because they are ordered to life. Of these, what shall we thinke, but because they are the vessels of wrath vnto dishonor? Wherefore let it not grieue vs to say with *Augustine*. God (saith hee) might turne the will of the euill into good, because he is almightie. He might indeed. Why therefore doth he not? because he would not. Why he would not, is in himselfe. For we ought to be no more wise than we ought to be. And that is much better, than to shift with *Chrysofome*, and say that he draweth him that is willing & reacheth his hand, that the difference may not seeme to stande in the iudgement of God, but in the onely will of men. True- lie it so standeth not in proper motion of man, that euen the godlie and they that

The difference betwene one sort & another hangeth vpon the secreete counsell and will of God, whereof there is no higher cause then his will.
A. G. 13. 48.
De Gen. ad lite. lib. 1. cap. 10.
Ho. de conu. Paul.
A. R. 16. 14.

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fear God haue neede of a singular instruction of the spirite. *Lydia* the purple seller feared God, and yet it behooued that her heart should be opened, that she might harken to the doctrine of *Paul*, and profit in it. This is not spoken of one woman alone, but that we should know that the profiting of euery man in godlinesse is the secret worke of the spirite. This verily cannot be brought in question, that the Lord sendeth his word to many, whose blindness he will haue to be more enforced. For, to what purpose doth he bid so many commandements to be carried to *Pharao*? Was it because he hoped that with often repeated messages he would be appeased? No, but before he began, he foreknew and foretolde the end. Goe (said he to *Moses*) and declare to him my will: but I will harden his heart, that he obey not. So when he stirreth vp *Ezechiell*, he warneth him aforehande that he sendeth him to a rebellious and stubborne people: to the ende that he should not be affraide if he perceiue himselfe to sing to deafe men. So he foretelleth to *Ieremie*, that his doctrine shoulde become a fire, to destroy and waste the people like stubble. But the prophecy of *Esaie* yet more enforceth it. For he is thus sent of the Lord: Goe and say to the children of *Israell*: With hearing heare ye, and vnderstand not: With seeing see ye, and knowe not. Make obstinate the heart of this people, and make heauie their eares, and ouerplaister their eyes: least peraduenture they may see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and vnderstand with their heart, that being turned they may be healed. Beholde he directeth his voice to them, but that they waxe more deafe: hee lighteth a light, but that they may be made more blinde: he sheweth forth doctrine, but that they may be made more dull: he layeth to them a remedie, but not that they may be healed. And *John* alleaging this prophecie, affirmeth that the Iewes could not beleue the doctrine of *Christ*, because this curse of God lay vpon them. Neither can this also be in controuersie, that whom God will not haue to be enlightened, to them he deliuered his doctrine wrapped vp in darke speeches, that they may nothing profite thereby but to be thrust into greater dulnesse. *Christ* also testifieth, that he doth therefore expound onely to the Apostles the parables in which he had spoken to the multitude, because to them it was giuen to know the mysteries of the kingdome of God, but to the common people not so. What meaneth the Lord (wilt thou say) in teaching them, of whom he provideth that he may not be vnderstanded? Consider whence is the fault, and thou wilt cease to aske. For in the worde how great darkents foewer there be, yet there is alway light enough to conuince the conscience of the wicked.

Exod. 21.
Ezc. 2. 3. & 12. 2.

Iere. 1. 10.
Esaie. 6. 9.

Iohn. 12. 39.

Matt. 13. 11.

The unchangeable
decree of God concerning the
destruction of the
wicked w^{ch} the
ground of their
remouard ^{is} *proph-*
etion to the mean
whereby men are
fased.
Rom 9. 17.

1. Sam. 2. 25.

Iohn 12. 38.

14 Now remaineth for vs to see, why the Lord doeth that which it is plaine that he doth. If it bee answered that it is so done because men haue so deserved by their vngodlinesse, wickednesse, and vnthankfulnes: the same shall in deed be well and truly saide: But because there appeareth not yet the reason of this diuersitie, why then some are bowed to obedience, other some continue hardened, in searching it we must needs goe to that which *Paul* hath noted out of *Moses*, namely that God hath raised them vp from the beginning, that he might shew his name in the whole earth. Whereas therefore the reprobate do not obey the word of God opened vnto them, that shall be well imputed to the malice and peruersnesse of their heart, so that this be therewithall added, that they are therefore giuen into this peruersnesse, because by the righteous but yet vnforsaken iudgement of GOD they are raised vp to set forth his glory with their damnation. Likewise when it is said of the sons of *Hely*, that they harkened not to holisome warnings, because the Lord willed to kill them: it is not denied that the stubbornesse proceeded of their owne naughtinesse: but it is therewithall touched why they were left in stubbornesse, when the Lord might haue softened their heartes, namely because his vchangeable decree had once appointed them to destruction. To the same purpose scructh that saying of *Iohn*, When he had done so great signes, no man beleued in him: that the word of *Esaie* might

might be fulfilled, Lord, who hath beleueed our saying? For though he do not excuse the stiffnecked from blame, yet he is content with that reason, that the grace of God is vsuauorie to men, till the holy Ghost bring tast. And Christ alleaging the prophetic of *Esaië*: They shall all be taught of God, tenderth to no other ende but to prouoe that the *Jewes* are reprobate and strangers from the Church, because they are vnapt to learne: and he bringeth no other cause thereof, but for that the promise of God doth not pertaine to them. Which thing this saying of *Paul* confirmeth, that Christ which to the *Jewes* is an offence, and to the *Gentiles* foolishnesse, is to be called the strength and wisdom of God. For when he hath tolde what commonly happeneth so oft as the Gospell is preached, namely that some it maketh more obstinate, and of some it is despised, he saith that it is had in price of them onely which are called. He had in deed a little before named them beleeuers, but he meant not to take away the due degree from the grace of God which goeth before Faith, but rather he addeth this second saying by way of Correction, that they which had embraced the Gospell should giue the praise of their Faith to the calling of God: As also a little after he teacheth that they are chosen of God. When the vngodly heare these things, they crye out that God with inordinate power abuseth his poore creatures for a sport to his crueltie. But we which know that all men are so many waies endangered to the iudgement feare of God, that being asked of a thousand things they can not satisfie in one, doe confesse that the reprobate suffer nothing which agreeth not with the most iust iudgement of God. Whereas we doe not clearly attaine the reason thereof, let vs not be discontent to be ignorant of somewhat, where the wisdom of God listeth vp it selfe into so great height.

John. 6. 45.

1. Cor. 1. 23.

15 But forasmuch as there are a few places of Scripture wont to be objected, in which God seemeth to denie that it is done by his ordinance that the wicked doe perish, but by this that, he crying out against it, they wilfully bring death vpon themselves: let vs briefly declaring these places, shew that they make nothing against the sentence aboue set. There is brought forth a place of *Ezechiell*, that God will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may be turned and liue. If they will extend this to all mankind: why doth he not moue many to Repentance, whose mindes are more pliable to obedience, than theirs which at his dayly allurements waxe harder and harder? With the *Sodomites* (as Christ witnesseth) the preaching of the Gospell and Miracles would haue brought forth more fruite than in *Jurie*. How cometh it to passe therefore, if God will all to be saued, that he openeth not the gate of Repentance to those miserable men that would haue bene more ready to receiue grace? Hereby we see that the place is violently wrested, if the will of GOD, whereof the Prophet maketh mention, be set against his eternall counsell, whereby he hath seuered the elect from the reprobate. Now if we seeke for the true naturall meaning of the Prophet: his purpose is to bring hope of pardon to the penitent. And this is the sum, that it is not to be doubted but that God is ready to forgive so soone as the sinner turneth. Therefore he willet not his death, in so much as he willet his repentance. But experience teacheth that he so willet them to repent whom he generally calleth to him, that yet he toucheth not all their harts. Yet is it therefore to be said that he dealeth deceitfully, because although the outward voice doe but make them vnexcusable which heare and doe not obey it, yet it is truly accounted the testimonie of the grace of God, by which testimonie he reconcileth men to himselfe. Therefore let vs hold this for the meaning of the Prophet, that the death of a sinner pleaseth not God: that the godly may haue affiance, that so soone as they shall be touched with Repentance, there is pardon ready for them with GOD and the wicked may feele that their fault is doubled, because they answer not so great mercifull kindenesse and gentlenesse of God. The mercie of God therefore will alway meete Repentance, but to whom Repentance is giuen, both all the Prophets, and

Places of scripture opened, wherein the destruction of the wicked, seemeth denied to be by the will and ordinance of God. Eze. 34. 11.

Matt. 13. 23.

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Apostles, and *Ezechiel* himselfe do plainly teach. Secondly there is alleaged a place of *Paul*, where he saith that god willet al men to be saued, which although it haue a diuers meaning from the other, yet in some thing they agree together. I answer, first that by the rest of the text it is made plaine how he willet. For *Paul* coupleth together, that he willet them to be saued, and to come to the acknowledging of the truth. If they will haue this to be determined, by the eternall counsell of GOD that they receiue the doctrine of saluation, what meaneth that saying of *Moses*, What nation is so noble, that God commeth neere to it as hee dooth to thee? Howe came it to passe that GOD restrained from many peoples the light of the Gospell, which other enjoyed? Howe came it to passe that the pure knowledge of godlinesse neuer came to some, and some scarcely tasted so much as any darke principles of it? Hereof it shall now be easie to gather, whereto *Paul* tendeth. He had commaunded *Timothee* to make solemne prayers in the Church for kings and princes. But when it seemeth somewhat an absurditie that prayers should be made to God for a kinde of men in a manner despaired (because they were not onely strangers from the body of Christ, but also endeoured with all their forces to oppresse his kingdome) hee added, that the same is acceptable to God which willet all men to be saued. Whereby verily he signifieth nothing else but that he hath stopped vp the way to saluation to no degree of men: but rather that he hath so poured out his mercie that he willet no man to be voide of it. The other sentences do not declare what God hath by his secret iudgement determined of all men: but do shewe that there is pardon readie for all sinners which do onely turne themselves to require it. For if they more stiffely stand vpon this that it is said that he will haue mercie vpon all, I will on the contrarie side aunswere them with that which is written in another place. That our God is in heauen where he doth whatsoever he will. This worde therefore must so be expounded that it may agree with the other, I will haue mercie vpon whom I will haue mercie, and I will shew mercie to whom I will shew mercie. He that chooseth out them whom he will haue mercie on, doth not giue it to all. But sith it clearly appeareth 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 *Paul* doth not affirme what God doth alway and euery where and in all men: but leaueth it to him at his libertie at length to make kings and magistrates partakers of the heauenly doctrine, although by reason of their blindnes they do now rage against it. They seeme to presse vs more strongly with obiecting the place of *Peter*, that God willet none to perish, but receiuet all to repentance. But the vndoing of this knot doth by and by offer it selfe in the second word, because the will to receiue cannot be vnderstanded to be any other than that which is euerie where taught. Truly the turning is in the hand of God: whether he wil turne all or no, let himselfe be asked, when he promiseth that he will giue to a certaine fewe men a fleshy heart, leauing to other some a stonie heart. It is true indeed, that vnlesse he were readie to receiue them which call vpon his mercie, this saying should be false. Turne to me, and I will turne to you. But I say that none of all mortall men doth come to God but he that is preuented of God: And if repentance were in the will of man, *Paul* would not say, If peradventure he giue them repentance. Yea vnlesse the same God which with word exhortheth all men to repentance, did with secret mouing of his spiritue bring the chosen to it: *Ieremie* would not say, Turne me, Lord, and I shall be turned: for when thou hast turned me, I haue repented.

16 But (thou wilt say) if it be so, there shall be small truth in the promises of the Gospell, which when they testifie of the will of God, affirme that he willet that which is against his inuolable decree. Not so. For howsoever the promises of saluation be vniuersall, yet they nothing disagree with the predestination of the reprobate, so that we direct our minds to the effect of them. We know that then and not til then

the

1.Tim.2.4.

Deut.4.7.

Psal.115.3.
Exod.33.19.

Eze.35.16.

Zac 1.3.
2.Tim.2.25.

Iere.31.18.
No repugancie
between the pro-
mises of saluation
offered vniuersally
vnto all and the
purpose of God
concerning the
condemnation
of some.

the promises are effectually to vs, when we receiue them by Faith, on the other side when Faith is made void, the promise is therewithall abolished. If this be the nature of them, let vs then see whether these things disagree together: that it is saide that God hath from eternitie ordeined whom he will embrace with loue, and vpon whom he will exercise wrath: and that hee promiseth saluation to all without difference. Truly I say that they agree very well. For in so promising he meaneth nothing else than that his mercie is set open for all which doe couet and craue it: which thing none doe but they whom he hath enlightned. And them he enlightneth, whom he hath predestinate to saluation. They (I say) haue the truth of the promises sure and vnshaken, so as it cannot be saide that there is any disagreement betwene the eternall election of God, and the testimonie of his grace which he oaireth to the Faithfull. But why nameth he all? verily that the consciences of the godly may the more safely rest, when they vnderstand that there is no difference of sinners, so that Faith be present: and that the wicked may not caull for their excuse, that they want a sanctuarie whereunto they may withdraw themselves from the bondage of sinne, when with their owne vnthankfulness they refuse it being offered them. Therefore when the mercie of God is by the Gospell offered to both sorts, it is Faith, that is to say the enlightning of God, which maketh difference betwene the godly and vngodly, so as the one sort seelth the effectualnesse of the Gospell, and the other sort obtaine no fruite thereof. The enlightning it selfe also hath the eternall election of God for the rule thereof. The complaint of Christ, which they alludge, *Jerusalem, Jerusalem*, how oft haue I willed to gather together thy chickens, but thou wouldest not? maketh nothing for them. I graunt that Christ there speaketh not onely in the person of man, but also reprocheth them that in all ages they haue refused his grace. But we must define that wil of God which is entreated of. For neither is it vnknown, how diligently God endeoured to keepe still that people, and with how great stiffness they euen from the first to the last being giuen to their wandring desires refused to be gathered together: but it followeth not thereof that the countell of God was made void by the malice of men. They answere and say that nothing lesse agreeth with the nature of God than to haue a double will in him. Which I graunt to them, so that they fitly expound it. But why doe they not consider so many testimonies, where God putting vpon him the affections of man descendeth beneath his owne maiestie? He saith that he hath with stretched out armes called the rebellious people, that he hath early and late trauided to bring them backe to him. If they will apply all these things to God, and not consider the figure, there shall arise many superfluous contentions, which this one solution bringeth to agreement, that the propertie of man is figuratiuely applied to God. How be it the solutiō which we haue brought in an other place largely iustificeth, that although the will of God be, as to our sense manifold: yet he doth not in himselfe diuersly will this & that, but according to this wisdome, which is diuersly manifold (as *Paul* calleth it) he maileth our senses, till it shall be giuen vs to know that he maruelously willeth that which now seemeth to be against his will. They also mocke with cauations, that sith God is the Father of all, it is vprighteous that he should disherite any that hath not before with his owne fault deserued this punishment. As though the liberalitie of God stretcheth not euen to hogges and dogges. But if they speake onely of mankind, let them answere why God bound himselfe to one people, to be the Father thereof: and why also out of the same people he picked a small number as it were a floure. But their owne lust of cuill speaking hindereth these railers that they consider not that God so bringeth soorth his Sun to shine vpon the good & cuill, that the inheritance is laid vp for a few, to who it shall one day be said, come ye blessed of my Father, possesse the kingdom, &c. They obiect also that God hateth none of these things that he hath made. Which although I graunt the, yet this remaineth safe which I teach, that the reprobate are hateful to God, & that very

Mat. 23. 37.

Esay. 65. 2.

Eph. 3. 10.

Mat. 5. 45.
Matt. 25. 34.

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rightfully, because they being destitute of his Spirit can bring forth nothing but cause of curse. They say further, that there is no difference of the Iewe and the Gentile, and therefore that the grace of God is without difference set before all men: namely if they grant (as *Paul* determineth) that God calleth as well out of the Iewes as out of the gentiles, according to his good pleasure, so that he is bound to no man. After this maner also is that wiped away which they obiekt in another place, that God hath enclosed all things vnder sin, that he may haue mercie vpon all: namely because he wil that the saluation of all them that are saued be ascribed to his mercie, although this benefit be not common to all. Now when many things are alleaged on both parts, let this be our conclusion, to tremble with *Paul* at so great depth, and if wanton toongs shall be busie, that we be not ashamed of this his crying out, O man, what art thou that stricest with God? For *Augustine* truly affirmeth that they do perversly which measure the righteousnes of God by the measure of the righteousnes of man.

Rom. 9. 24.

Rom. 11. 22.

Rom. 9. 20.

De predest. & gratia. ca. 2.

The xxv. Chapter.

Of the last Resurrection.

The use and necessitie of meditating continually vpon the resurrection of the dead.
2. Tim. 1. 10.
Iohn. 5. 24.
Ephc. 2. 19.

Rom. 8. 28.
Heb. 11. 1.
2. Cor. 5. 6.
Col. 3. 3.
Tit. 2. 12.

1. Pet. 2. 8.
Col. 1. 5.

Mat. 7. 21.

Although Christ the sonne of righteousnesse, having overcome death, shining by the Gospell, giueth vs the light of life (as *Paul* witnesseth) whereby also it is saide that by beleeuing wee haue passed from death into life, being nowe not foreiners & strangers, but citzens with the saints, & of the household of god, which hath made vs to sit with the only begotten son himselfe in heavenly places, that nothing may be wanting to perfect felicitie: yet least it should be grieuous vnto vs to be exercised vnder this hard warfare, as though we had no fruit of the victorie which Christ hath gotten, we must hold fast that which is in another place thought of the nature of hope. For, because we hope for those things which appeare not, and (as it is said in another place) faith is a demonstration of things inuisible: so long as we are enclosed in the prison of the flesh, we are wayfaring from the Lord. For which reason the same *Paul* saith in another place that we are dead, and that our life is hid-den with Christ in God, and that when he which is our life, shall appeare, then shall we also appeare with him in glorie. This therefore is our condition, that with liuing soberly and iustly and godly in this world, we looke for the blessed hope, and the comming of the glorie of the great God, and of our Sauiour Iesus Christ. Here we neede a singular patience, that we be not wearied & either turne backe our course or forsake our standing. Therefore whatsoever hath bene hitherto set out concerning our saluation, requireth mindes lifted vp to heauen, that we may loue Christ whom we haue not seene, and beleeuing in him may reioyce with vnspeakable and glorious ioyfulnesse till we receiue the ende of our faith, as *Peter* telleth vs. After which manner, *Paul* saith that the faith and charitie of the godly hath respect to the hope which is laide vp in heauen. When we thus with our eies fastened vpon Christ doe hang of heauen, and nothing withholdeth them in earth from carrying vs to the promised blessednesse: then is that truly fulfilled, Our heart is where our treasure is. Hereupon commeth that faith is so rare in the worlde, because nothing is more hard to our dulnes than through innumerable steppes to climbe vp about them with endeouering forward to the price of our heauenly calling. To the great heap of miseries wherewith wee be almost ouerwhelmed, are added the mockings of vn-godlie men, wherewith our simplicitie is rayled at, when voluntarilie forsaking the allurements of present good things, wee seeme to followe the blessednesse hidden from vs, as it were a fleeing shadowe. Finally aboue and beneath vs, before vs and behinde vs, violent tentations beseege vs, to the sustaining of the feare whercof our courages shoulde bee farre too weake, vnlesse being vncumbered of earthly

earthly things they were fast bound to the heavenly life, which in seeming is far from vs. Wherefore onely he hath soundly profited in the Gospell, which is enured to a continuall meditation of the blessed resurrection.

2 Of the soueraigne end of good things, the Philosophers haue in old time curiously disputed, and also strived among themselves: yet none except *Plato* acknowledged the soueraigne good of man to be his conioyning with God. But what manner of conioyning that was, he could not perceiue so much as with any small taste, and no marvell, sith hee had neuer learned of the holy bonde thereof. To vs the onely and perfect felicitie is knowne euen in this earthly waifaring: but, such as daile more and more enkindleth our harts with desire of it, till the full enjoying may satisfie vs. Therefore I saide that none receiue suite of the benefits of Christ, but they that lift vp their mindes to the resurrection. For, *Paul* setteth vp this marke to the faithfull, towarde which he saith that he endeuoureth, and forgetteth all things till he come to it. And so much the more cheerefully ought we to trauaile towarde it, least if this worlde withhold vs, we suffer greuous punishment for our slouthfulnesse. Wherefore in another place he marketh the faithfull with this marke, that their conuersation is in heauen, from whence also they looke for their Sauiour. And that their courages shoulde not faint in this race, hee ioyneth all creatures companions with them. For, because euerie where are seene deformed ruines, hee saith that all things in heauen and earth do endeuour to the renewing. For sith *Adam* by his fall dissolued the perfect order of nature to the creatures, their bondage is painefull and greuous, whereunto they are subiect by reason of the sin of man, not for that they are indued with any feeling, but for that they naturally couet the perfect estate fro which they are fallen. Therefore *Paul* saith that they grone, & are as in paine of childe bearing, that we to whom are giuen the first fruits of the Spirit, may bee ashamed to pine away in our corruption, & not at the least to follow the dead elements, which beare paine of anothers sin. And the more to prick vs forward, he calleth the last coming of Christ our redemption. It is true indeede that all the parts of our redemption are already fulfilled: But because Christ hath once bene offered for sinnes, he shall bee seene againe without sin vnto saluation. With what miseries focuer we be pressed, let this redemption susteine vs euen vntill the performance of it.

3 The very weight of the thing it selfe shall whet our endeuour. For neither doth *Paul* without cause affirme that the holy Gospell is void and deceitfull, vnlesse the dead do rise againe: because our state should be more miserable than the state of all men, namely sith we lying open to the hatreds and reproches of many, are euerie houre in danger, yea and are as sheepe appointed to the slaughter: and therefore the authoritie thereof should fall away not onely in one part, but also in the whole sum which both our adoption and the effect of our saluation containeth. And so let vs be heedfully bent to the most earnest thing of all, that no continuance of time may make vs wearie. For which purpose I haue deferred to this place that which I had breefie to entreate of it, that the Readers may learne, when they haue receiued Christ the authour of their saluation, to rise vp higher, and may knowe that he is clothed with heauenly immortalitie and glorie, that the whole body may be made like fashioned to the head, as also the holy Ghost oftentimes setteth forth in his person an example of the resurrection. It is a thing hard to bee beleeued, that bodies when they haue bene consumed with rottennesse, shall at their appointed time rise vp againe. Therefore where many of the Philosophers haue affirmed soules to bee immortall, the resurrection of the flesh hath bene allowed of fewe: wherein although there was no excuse, yet we are thereby put in minde, that it is too harde a thing to drawe mans senses to belecue it. That faith may overcome so great a stop, the scripture ministreth two helpes: the one is in the likenesse of Christ, the other is the almightinesse of God. Nowe so oft as the resurrection is thought of, let the image

The felicitie or soueraigne good of man, & the cheerefull trauaile which hee shoulde undertake for the attaining thereunto.

Phil. 3. 8.

Rom. 8. 19.

Heb. 10.

The doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh weigheth and hard: the weight a mouie to make vs carefull to retaine the faith thereof: Christ a meane so take away the hardnes of beleeuung it.

1. Cor. 15. 14.

of Christ come into our mindes: which in the nature that he tooke of vs, so ranne out the race of mortall life, that now hauing obtained immortalitie, he is to vs a pledge of the resurrection to come. For in the miseries wherewith we are besieged, we carie about his mortifying in our flesh, that his life may be openlie shewed in vs. And we may not seuer him from vs, neither can we possible, but that he must be torne in sunder. Whereupon cometh that argument of *Paul*, If the dead do not rise againe, then neither is Christ risen againe, because verilie he taketh that principle for confessed, that Christ was not made subiect to death, nor obtained victorie of death by rising againe, priuatie for himselfe: but, that that was begun in the head which must needs be fulfilled in all the members, according to the degree and order of curie one. For it were not right that they should in all points be made egall with him. It is said in the Psalmc. Thou shalt not suffer thy meeke one to see corruption: although a portion of this trust pertaine to vs according to the measure of gift, yet the full effect hath not appeared but in Christ, which being free from all rotting hath received againe his bodie whole. Now least the fellowship of blessed resurrection with Christ should be doubtful to vs, that we may be contented with this pledge, *Paul* expresse affirmeth that he therefore sitteth in heauen, and shall come at the last day a iudge, that he may make our base and vile bodie like fashioned to the glorious bodie. In an other place also he teacheth, that God raised not vp his sonne from death to the intent to shew a token of his power: but to stretch out the same effectuall force of the spirit toward vs which are faithfull: whom he therefore calleth life, while he liueth in vs, because he was giuen to this end that he should make alue that which is mortall in vs. I knit vp in a brieft abridgement those things which might both be more largelie handled, and are worthie to be more gorgeously set out: and yet I trust that the godlie readers shall in few words find matter enough which may suffice to edify their faith. Christ therefore is risen againe, that he might haue vs companions of the life to come. He was raised vp of the father, in so much as he was the head of the Church, from which he doth in no wise suffer himselfe to be plucked away. He was raised vp by the power of the Spirit, which is common to vs vnto the office of quickening. Finally he was raised vp, that he should be resurrection and life. But as we haue said that in this mirrour, there is to be seene of vs a liuely image of the resurrection, so let it be to vs a sure substance to stay our mind, so that yet we be not lothfull or wearie of long tarrying: because it is not our part to measure the seasons of times by our will, but patiently to rest, till God at his owne fit time repaire his kingdome. To which purpose seemeth that exhortation of *Paul*: The first fruites is Christ: and then they that are Christes, curie one in his order. But that no question should be moued of the resurrection of Christ, vpon which the resurrection of vs all is founded, we see by how manie and how diuerse meanes he hath made it approued by witness to vs. Fine nosed men will laugh at the historie which the Euangelists rehearse, as at a childish mockery. For of what importance shall the message be which fearefull silly women bring, and afterward the disciples confirme being in a manner astonished? Why did not Christ rather set vp the triumphing ensignes of his victorie in the midst of the temple and the market place? Why came he not forth terrible into the sight of *Pilate*? Why doth he not also proue himselfe to the priestes, and to whole *Ierusalem* that he is risen vp alieue againe? As for the witnesses which he chose, prophane men will scarcely grant them to be sufficient. I answer that although in these beginnings the weakenesse thereof was contemptible, yet all this was governed by the wonderfull prouidence of God: that partly the loue of Christ and zeale of godlinesse, and partly their owne hardnes of beleefe should carrie them in hast to the sepulchre which had lately been dismaied for feare, that they might not only be seeing witnesses of the thing, but also should heare of the Angels that which they saw with their eyes. How shall we suspect their credite, who

thought

2. Cor. 4. 10.

1. Cor. 15. 13.

Psal. 16. 10.

Phil. 3. 21.

1. Cor. 15.

thought it to be a fable which they had heard of the women, till they were brought to the present sight of the thing it selfe? As for all the people and the Ruler himselfe, after that they had bin largely conuinced, it is no matuere if as well the sight of Christ, as other signes, was not graunted them. The sepulchre was sealed vp, the watchmen watched it, the third day the bodie was not found. The souldiers corrupted with mony scattered a rumor that his disciples had stolen him awaie: As though they had had power to gather a band together, or had armour, or were practised men to enterprise any such feat. If the souldiers had not courage enough to driue them away, why did they not pursue them, that with the help of the people they might haue taken some of them? *Pilate* therefore with his ring truly sealed the resurrection of Christ: and the watchmen which were set at the sepulchre both in their holding their peace and in their lying, were made publishers of the same resurrection. In the meane time the voice of Angels sounded, He is risen, he is not here. The heavenly glistering plainly shewed that they were not men but Angels. Afterward, if there remained any doubting, Christ himselfe tooke it away. The disciples saw him oftner than once, and also felt his feete and his hands, and their hardnes of beleueing not a little profited to the strengthening of our faith. He disputeth among them of the mysteries of the kingdom of God, and at the last in their sights beholding him, he ascended into heauen. And not onely this sight was shewed to the xi. Apostles, but also he was seene at once of more than five hundred brethren. Now when he sent the holy Ghost, he shewed a sure prooffe not onely of life, but also of the soueraigne power: as he had said before, It is profitable for you that I go: otherwise the holy Ghost shall not come. But now *Paul* was ouerthrown by the way, not by the strength of a dead man, but he felt him whome he persecuted to haue most high power. To *Stephen* he appeared for another end, namely that with assurednesse of life he might overcome the feare of death. To discredit so many authentike witnesses, is not onely a part of distrustfulnessse, but also of froward and furious stubbornnesse.

4 This which we haue said, that in prouing the resurrection our senses must be directed to the infinite power of God, *Paul* briefly teacheth, that he may make (saith he) our vile bodie like fashioned to the body of his brightnesse, according to the working of his power, by which he may subdue all things to himselfe. Wherefore nothing is more vnnete, than here to haue respect what may naturally be done, where an incalculable miracle is set before vs, which with the greatnesse thereof swalloweth vp our senses. Yea, *Paul* by setting forth an example of nature, reprooueth their dulnes which denie the resurrection. Thou foole (saith he) that which thou sowest is not quickened vnlesse it first dye, &c. He saith that in seed is seene a forme of the resurrection, because out of rottennesse groweth corne. Neither were it so hard a thing to beleue, if we were as heedfull as we ought to be to the miracles which throughout all the coasts of the world do offer themselves to our eyes. But let vs remember that none is truly perswaded of the resurrection to come, but he which being rauished into admiration, giueth to the power of God his glorie. *Esay* lifted vp with this assurance, crieth out, Thy dead shall liue, my carcase shall rise againe. Awake ye, and praise, ye dwellers of the dust. In despai red case he listeth vp himselfe to God the author of life, in whose hand are the ends of death, as it is said in the Psalme. *Iob* also being liker to a carrion than to a man, trusting vpon the power of God, sticketh not as though he were whole and sound to lift vp himselfe to that day, saying, I know that my redeemer liueth: and in the last day he shall rise vpon the dust (namely to shew forth his power therein) and I shall againe be compassed with my skinne, and in my flesh I shall see God, I shall see him, and none other. For albeit that some do surlily wrest these places, as though they ought not to be vnderstand of the resurrection, yet they strengthen that which they count to ouerthrow: because the holy men in their euils seeke comfort from no where else than from the likeness of the

Math. 27. 66.
and 28. 11.

Luk. 24. 6.

Act. 1. 3.

1. Cor. 15. 6.
Iohn 16.
Act. 9. 4.
Act. 7. 55.

*The infinite of
the power of God
confirmeth in the
assured certaintie
of the resurrection.*
Phil. 3. 20.

Esa. 26. 19.

Psal. 68.

Iob. 19. 25.

the resurrection. Which better appeereth by the place of *Ezechiel*. For when the Iewes beleued not the promise of their returne, and objected that it was no more likely that a way should be made open for them; than that dead men should come out of their graue: there was a vision shewed to the Prophet, a field full of drie bones: those the Lord commaunded to take againe flesh and sinewes. Although vnder that figure he raiseth vp the people to hope of returne: yet the matter of hoping he gathereth of the resurrection: as it is to vs an exemplar of the deliuerances which the faithfull doe seele in this worlde. So Christ when he had taught that the voice of the Gospell giueth life: because the Iewes receiued not this, he by and by saide further: Maruell not at this, because the hower commeth in which all that are in the graues shall heare the voice of the sonne of God, and shall come fourth. Therefore after this example of *Paul*, let vs already cheerefully triumph in the midst of battels, because he which hath promised life to come, is mightie to keepe that which is left with him: and so let vs glorie that a crowne of righteousness is laide vp for vs, which the iust iudge shall deliuer vs. So shall it come to passe, that what so euer grieues we suffer, they shall be to vs a shewing of the life to come, because it agreeth with the nature of God to render affliction to the wicked which afflict vs: but to vs which are vniustly afflicted, rest at the appeering of Christ with the Angels of his power, in a flame of fire. But that is to be holden which he addeth by and by afterward, that he shall come that he may be glorified in his Saints, and be made woonderfull in all them that haue beleued, because the Gospell hath bene beleued.

5 But although the hundres of men ought to haue bene continually occupied in this studie: yet as though they would of set purpose destroy all remembrance of the resurrection, they haue called death the vtermost bond of all things and the destruction of man. For verily *Salomon* speaketh of the common and receiued opinion, when he saith that a liuing dog is better than a dead Lion. And in another place: Who knoweth whether the soule of a man goe vpwarde, and the soule of a beast downeward? But in all ages this brutish senselesse error hath bene common in the world, yea and hath broken into the Church it selfe: for the Sadduces haue presumed to professe openly that there is no resurrection, yea and that soules are mortall. But that this grosse ignorance should not helpe to excuse any man, the infidels euen by very instinct of nature haue alway had an image of the resurrection before their eyes. For to what purpose serued that holy and inuolable manner of burying, but to be an earnest of new life? Neither may it be answered that this spring of error: because the religiousnesse of buriall was alway in vre among the holy Fathers, and God willed the same maner to remain among the Gentiles, that an image of the resurrection set before them might awake their drowsinesse. But although that ceremonie wanted his vse of profiting, yet it is profitable for vs if we wisely marke the ende of it, because it is no slender confutation of vnbeleefe, that altogether professed that which no man beleued. But Satan hath not onely astonished the senses of men, so that they haue buried with the bodies the remembrance of the resurrection, but also hath practised to corrupt this parte of doctrine with diuers fained inuentions, that at length it might vterly die. I passe ouer how in *Pauls* time Satan began to pinch at it: but in a litle after there followed the Millenaries, which limited the raigne of Christ to a thousand yeeres. This error is childish, that it needeth not or is not woorthie of any confutation. Neither doth the Reuelation make on their side, by which it is certaine that they coloured their error: for as much as in the place where he mentioneth the number of a thousand, he entreateth not of the eternall blessednesse of the Church, but onely of the diuers troubles which were to come vpon the Church while it yet trauelled in earth. But the whole Scripture crieth out that there shall be no end of the blessednesse of the elect, nor of the punishment of the reprobate. Now of all things which both are hidden from our sight and doe farre passe the capacite of our minde,

either

Ezcc. 37. 8.

Iohn. 5. 27.

2. Tim. 4. 3.

The Sadducees & others denying the resurrection of the dead refused.

Eccl. 9. 4.

Eccl. 3. 21.

Mar. 12. 18.

Luk. 20. 27.

Act. 2. 8.

E. Eccl. 20. 4.

either we must fetch the credite out of the certaine oracles of God, or we must utterly cast it awaie. They which assigne to the children of God a thousand yeeres to enjoy the inheritance of the life to come, do not marke how great a dishonor they do both to Christ and his kingdome. For if they shall not be clothed with immortalitie: then neither is Christ himselfe, to whose glory they shall be newly fashioned, receiued into the immortall glorie. If their blessednesse shall haue any end: then the kingdom of Christ, vpon the itedfastnes whereof it standeth, endureth but for a time. Finally, either they are most vnskillfull of all matter concerning God, or they go about with crooked maliciousnes to ouerthrow the whole grace of God, and power of Christ, the fulfilling whereof is no otherwise perfect, but when sinne being blotted out and death swallowed vp, eternal life is fully restored. But very blind men may see how fondly they plaie the fooles: which feare that they should ascribe to God too great cruelty if the reprobate be condemned to euerlasting paines. The Lord forsooth shall do wrong, if he deny his kingdome to them which haue by their vnthankfulnesse made themselues vnworthy of it. But (say they) their sinnes endure but for a time. I graunt: but the maicstie, yea and the righteousnes of God which they haue offended by sinning, is eternall. Worthily therefore the remembrance of iniquitie dieth not: But so the paine exceedeth the measure of the fault. This is a blasphemie not to be suffered, when the maicesty of God is so little set by, when the despising thereof is esteemed at no greater value than the destruction of one soule. But let vs leaue these trifles, least contrary to that which we haue before said, we may seeme to iudge their dotages worthy of confutation.

6 Before these, there haue bin two other doting errors brought in by men peruerfly curious. The one sort thought, as though the whole man died, that the soules shall rise againe with the bodies. The other forasmuch as they graunt that the soules be immortall spirites, saie that they shall be clothed with new bodies: whereby they denie the resurrection of the flesh. Of the first sort, because I haue touched somewhat in speaking of the creation of man, it shalbe enough for me to warne the readers againe, how beastly an error 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 fraile life, and to bring the temple of the holy Ghost to nothing. Finally, to spoile that part of vs wherein diuinenesse chiefly shineth and marks of immortalitie appeare, to spoile it (I say) of this gift: so that the estate of the body should be better and more excellent than the estate of the soule. The scripture teacheth far otherwise, which compareth the bodie to a cotage, out of which it sayeth that we remoue when we die, because it esteemeth vs by that part which maketh vs differing from brute beasts. So *Peter* being nigh to death, sayth that the time is come, when he must lay away his tent. And *Paul* speaking of the faithfull, after that he hath said: That when our earthly house shalbe dissolved, there is a building for vs in heauen, adioyneth that we are wayfaring from the Lord so long as we abide in the bodie, but do desire the presence of God in the absence of the bodie. If the soules doe not ouerliue the bodies, what is it that hath God present when it is seuered from the body? But the Apostle taketh away all doubting, when he teacheth that wee are ioyned in fellowship to the spirites of the righteous. *Heb. 12. 23.* By which wordes he sheweth, that we are ioyned in fellowship to the holy fathers, which euen being dead do keepe the same godlinesse with vs, so that we cannot be the members of Christ vnlesse we growe together with them. Vnlesse also the soules being vnclodded of the bodies, did keepe still their substance and were able to receiue blessed glorie, Christ would not haue saide to the cheefe: This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise. Hauiug so cleare testimonies, let vs not doubt after the example of Christ when we are dying, to commend our soules to God, or after the example of *Stephen* to commit them to Christ to keepe, which not vnworthily is. *Act. 7. 59.* called a faithfull shepheard and Bishop of them. To enquire of their meane state, *1. Pet. 2. 25.*

Their error who haue thought that man is utterly extinguished by death and that the soules shall as well be raised againe as the bodies.

*1. Pet. 1. 14-
2. Cor. 5. 1.*

Heb. 12. 23.

Luk. 23. 43.

Act. 7. 59.

1. Pet. 2. 25.

Cap. 25. Of the maner how to receiue

is neither lawfull nor expedient. Many doe much comber themselves with disputing what place they keepe, and whether they doe now enjoy the heavenly glory or no. But it is folly and rashnes, to search deeplier of vnknown things, than God doth giue vs leaue to know. When the Scripture hath saide that Christ is present with them, and receiue them into Paradise that they may enjoy comfort, on the other side that the soules of the reprobate doe suffer such paines as they haue deserued: it goeth no further. What teacher or Master shall now open to vs that which God hath hidden? Of the place, the question is no lesse sonde and vaine: forasmuch as wee knowe that there is not the same dimension of the Soule which is of the bodie. Whereas the blessed gathering together of holy Spirites is called the bosom of *Abraham*, it is enough for vs after this waifaring to be receiued of the common father of the Faithfull, that hee may communicate with vs the fruite of his Faith. In the meane time sith the Scripture euery where biddeth vs to hang upon the expectation of Christs comming, and deserreth the crowne of glory till then: let vs be content with these bonds appointed vs of God: namely, that the Soules of the godly hauing ended the labor of their warfare doe goe into a blessed rest, where with happie ioyfulness they looke for the enjoying of the promised glory: & that so all things are holden in suspense till Christ the redeemer appeare. As for the reprobate, it is no doubt that they haue the same estate which *Iude* assigneth to the diuels, to be holden bound with chaines, till they be drawn to the punishment whereunto they are condemned.

7 No lesse monstrous is their error which imagine that Soules shall not receiue againe the same bodies wherewith they are now clothed, but shall haue newe and other bodies. And the reason of the *Manichees* was very trifling, that is, that it is not meete that flesh which is vnclane should rise againe. As though there were no vnclannesse of Soules, which yet they debarred not from the hope of euerlasting life. It was therefore all one as if they should say that that which is infected with the filth of sinne cannot be cleansed by God. For I now passe ouer that dotage, that flesh was naturally vnclane, because it was creat of the Diuell: Onely I shew that whatsoeuer is now in vs vnworthie of heauen, it hindereth not the resurrection. And first whereas *Paul* biddeth the Faithfull to cleanse themselves from all defiling of the flesh and of the Spirit, thereupon followeth the iudgement which he in another place pronounceth, that euery man shall receiue by his body either good or euill. Wherwith agreeth that which he writeth to the Corinthians, That the life of Iesus 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 Spirites. And no maruell, because 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 rising againe. What say we to this, that they are alio the members of Christ? that God commandeth all the parts of them to be sanctified to himselfe? that he willeth his name to be praised with tongues, pure hands to be lifted vp to him, sacrifices to be offered? What madnesse is it therefore that that parte to which the heavenly Iudge hath vouchsafed to grant so great honor, should be brought from a mortall man into dust without any hope of restoring? Likewise when *Paul* exhorteth vs to suffer the Lord as well in body as in Soule, because both belong to God, verily he suffereth not that which he chalengeh to God as holy, to be adiudged to eternall rottennes. Neither is there a plainer determination of the Scripture for any thing, than for the rising againe of this flesh which we beare. This corruptible (saith *Paul*) must put on vnconruption, and this mortall must put on immortalitye. If God did make new bodies, where is this changing of quality? If it had been said that we must be renewed, the doubtfull speech peradventure mought haue giuen occasion to their cauillation. But now when pointing with his finger to the bodies wherewith we are clothed, he promiseth to the vn corrupted, he plainly enough denieth any

Mat. 5. 8. & 26.
Iohn 12. 32.

Iud. 1. 6.

*Their error which
haue imagined
that we shall in the
day of there surrec-
tion receiue not the
same bodies which
die bus others for
them.*

2. Cor. 7. 1.
2. Cor. 5. 10.
2. Cor. 4. 10.
1. Thel. 5. 23.

1. Cor. 6. 15.
2. Tim. 2. 8.

1. Cor. 6. 20.

1. Cor. 15. 53.

Rom. 14. 11.

any new bodies to be made. Yea he coulde not (saith *Tertullian*) speake more plainly, vnlesse he had holden his owne skin in his hande. And they can by no cauation escape from this, that where in another place he saith that Christ shall be the iudge of the world, he allegeth this testimonie of *Esaie*, I liue (saith the Lord) euery knee shall bow to me: for as much as he plainly pronounceth that they to whom he speaketh shall be subiect to yeeld an account of their life, which could not agree, if new bodies should be brought before the iudgement seat. Now in the words of *Daniel* there is no doubtfulnesse: And many of them that sleepe in the earth of dust, shall awake, some to eternall life, and some to reproches and to euerlasting contempt: sith he fetcheth not new matter out of the foure elements to make men, but calleth dead men out of their graues. And this very plaine reason teacheth. For if mortalitie which tooke beginning at the fall of man, be accidental: then the repairing which Christ brought, pertaineth to the same bodie which began to be mortal. And truly, whereas the *Athenians* laughed when *Paul* affirmed the resurrection, thereupon we may gather what manner of resurrection he preached: and that same laughing not finally aualeth to strengthen our faith. The saying of Christ also is woorthie to be noted. Feare them not which kill the bodie, and cannot kill the soule: but feare him which can throwe both the soule and the body into hell fire. For there is no cause to feare, vnlesse the body which we now beare be subiect to punishment. And no lesse plaine is another saying of the same Christ. The hower commeth, when all they that 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 euill, into the resurrection of iudgement. Shall we say that soules rest in the graues, that they lying there may heare Christ? and not rather that at his commaundment the bodies shall returne into the liuelinesse which they had lost? Moreouer if we shall haue new bodies giuen vs, where is the like fashioning of the head and the members? Christ rose againe: was it with forging to himselfe a new body? No, but as he had said before, Destroy this temple, and in three daies I will bulde it vp: he tooke againe the same body which hee had before borne mortall. For he had not much profited vs, if a new body being put in place, the olde body had bene destroyed which was offered vp for a sacrifice of satisfactorie cleansing. We must also hold fast that fellowship which the Apostle preacheth. That we rise againe, because Christ hath risen againe: for nothing is lesse probable than that our flesh in which we beare about the mortifying of Christ, should be deprived of the resurrection of Christ. Which verily appeared by a notable example, when at the rising againe of Christ many bodies of the Saintes came out of the graues. For it cannot be denied that this was a foreshewing, or rather an earnest of the last resurrection which we hope for: such as was before in *Enoch* and *Elias*, whom *Tertullian* calleth New possessors of the resurrection: because they being in bodie and soule deliuered from corruption, were receiued into the keeping of God.

8 I am ashamed in so cleere a matter to spend so many wordes: but the readers shall contentedly beare this trouble with me, that no hole may be open for srowarde and bold wits to deceiue the simple. The fleeing spirits with whom I nowe dispute, bring forth a fained inuention of their owne braine that at the resurrection there shall be a creation of new bodies. What reason moueth them to think so, but because it seemeth to them incredible, that a carion consumed with so long rottennes should returne into his auncient state? Therefore onely vnbeliefe is the mother of this opinion. But vs on the other side the Spirit of God ech where in the Scripture exhorteth to hope for the resurrection of the flesh. For this reason baptisme (as *Paul* witnesseth) is to vs a seale of the resurrection to come: and likewise the holy Supper allureth vs to the trust thereof, when we receiue with our mouth the signes of spirituall grace. And truly the whole exhortation of *Paul*, that we giue our members to be weapons vnto the obedience of righteousness, should be cold vnlesse that were ioyned which

Esa. 49. 18.

Dan. 12.

Matt. 10. 28.

Iohn. 5. 28.

Ioh. 2. 19.

1. Cor. 15. 12.

Math. 17. 52. -
Candidati,
men clothed in
white, as were
among the Ro-
manes they that
were suters or
newly elected in-
to office.

The Scripture tea-
cheth euery where
the resurrection of
the same flesh
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not the creation of
newe.

Col. 2. 12.

1. Cor. 6. 4. & 7,
Rom. 8.

Cap. 25. Of the maner how to receiue

he addeth afterward. He that hath raised vp Christ from the dead, shall quicken also your mortall bodies. For, what should it profite to applie our feete, handes, eyes, and tooings, vnto the seruite of God, vnlesse they were partakers of the fruit & rewarde? Which thing *Paul* plainly confirmeth with his owne wordes, saying: The body not to fornication, but to the Lord: and the Lord to the body. And he that hath raised vp Christ, shall also raise vs by vp his power. More plaine are those words which follow: that our bodies are the temples of the holie Ghost and the members of Christ. In the meane time we see how he ioyneth the resurrection with chastitie and holinesse, as a little after hee saith that the price of redemption pertaineth also to the bodies. Nowe it were not reasonable that the body of *Paul*, in which hee hath borne the prints of Christ, & in which he honorable glorified Christ, should loose the rewarde of the crowne. Whereupon also came that glorying. We looke for the redeemer from heauen, which shall make our vile body like fashioned to the bodie of his brightnes. And if this be true, that we must by many afflictions enter into the kingdom of God, no reason suffreth to debarre the bodies from this entrie which God both exerciseth vnder the stander of the crosse, and honoureth with the praise of victorie. Therefore of this matter there arose among the Saints no doubting, but that they hoped, to be companions of Christ, which remooueth in o his owne person all the afflictions wherewith we are proued, to teach that they bring life. Yca and vnder the lawe hee exercised the holie fathers in this faith with an outward ceremonie. For to what purpose serued the vsage of burying, as wee haue already shewed, but that they should knowe that there is newe life prepared for the bodies that are laid vp? Heereunto also tended the spices and other signes of immortalite, wherewith vnder the lawe the darkenesse of faith was holpen euen as it was by the sacrifices. Neither was that manner bredde by superstition, forasmuch as we see that the spirite doth no lesse diligentlie rehearse burials than the chiefe mysteries of faith. And Christ commendeth that worke as a speciall worke, truly for none other reason but because it lieth vp our eyes from beholding of the graue which corrupteth and destroyeth all, to the sight of the reuuing. Moreover the so diligent obseruing of the ceremonie which is praised in the fathers, sufficiently prouoeth that it was to them a rare and precious helpe of faith. For neither would *Abraham* haue so carefully prouided for the burying place of his wife, vnlesse there had bene set before his eyes a religion and a profite hyer than the world, namely that garnishing the dead body of his wife with the signes of the resurrection he might confirme both his owne faith and the faith of his household. But a clearer prooffe of this thing appereth in the example of *Jacob*, which to testifie to his posteritie that the hope of the promised land was not euen by death fallen out of his minde, commanded his bones to be carried thither. I beseech you, if he was to be clothed with a newe body, should hee not haue giuen a sonde commandement concerning dust that should be brought to nothing? Wherefore if the authoritie of the Scripture be of any force with vs, there can be required of no doctrine either a more cleare or more certaine prooffe. For this euen children vnderstand by the words of resurrection, and raising vp againe. For neither can we call it the resurrection of that which is now first created, neither should that saying of Christ stand fast, Whatsoeuer the Father hath giuen me, it shall not perishe but I will raise it vp in the last day. To the same purpose serueth the word of Sleeping, which pertaineth onely to the bodies. Whereupon also burying places were called *Cameteria*, Sleeping places. Nowe it remaineth that I speake somewhat of the manner of the resurrection. I vse this word, because *Paul* calling it a mysterie, exhorteth vs to sobrietie, and bridleth the libertie to dispute like Philosophers freely and suttly of it. First we must holde, as we haue said, that we shall rise againe in the same flesh which wee beare, as touching the substance, but the qualitie shall be other. As when the same flesh of Christ which had bene offered for sacrifice, was raised vp againe, yet it

excell'd

1. Cor. 6. 12.
& 15. 19.

Gal. 6. 17.

Gal. 6. 17.

Phil. 3. 21.

Act. 14. 22.

Matt. 26. 10.

Gen. 23. 4. & 19.

Gen. 47. 30.

Ioh. 6. 33.

1. Cor. 15. 51.

excelled in other qualities as if it had beene altogether another flesh. Which thing *Paul* declareth by familiar examples. For as there is all one substance of the flesh of a man, and of a beast, but not all one qualitie: as all starres haue like matter, but not like brightnesse: so he teacheth that though we shall keepe still the substance of our body, yet there shall be a change, that the state of it may be much more excellent. The bodie therefore, that we may be raised vp againe, shall not perish nor vanish away: but putting off corruption, it shall put on vncorruption. But for as much as God hath all the elements ready at his becke, no hardinesse shall hinder him, but that he may command both the earth & waters & fire, to render that which seemeth to be consumed by them. Which also *Esay* testifieth though not without a figure, when he saith, Behold, the Lord shall go forth of his place, that he may visit the iniquitie of the earth: and the earth shall discouer her bloud, and shall no more hide her dead. But there is to be noted a difference between them that haue been dead long before, & those whom that day shall finde alieue. For we shall not all sleepe (as *Paul* saith) but we shall all be changed: that is to say, it shall not be of necessitie that there be a distance of time betwene death and the beginning of the second life: because in a moment of time, and in the twinkling of an eye the sound of the trumpet shall pearce, to raise vp the dead vncorruptible, and with a sudden change to fashion againe the liuing into the same glorie. So in another place he comforteth the faithfull which must die: because they which shall then remaine alieue shall not go before the dead, but rather they shall first rise againe which haue slept in Christ. If any object that saying of the Apostle, that it is appointed to all mortall men once to die, it is easie to answer it with saying that when the state of nature is changed, it is a kinde of death, and is truly so called. And therefore these things agree well together, that all shall be renewed by death when they shall put off their mortall body: and yet that it is not necessarie that there be a seuering of the body and the soule where there shall be a sudden changing.

9 But here ariseth a harder question: by what right the resurrection which is the singular benefite of Christ is common also to the wicked and the accused of God. We know that all were in *Adam* condemned to the death. Christ came the resurrection and life. Came he to giue life to all mankind vniuersally without choise? But what is more against reason than that, that they should by their obstinate blindness obtaine that which the godly worshippers of God doe obtaine by onely faith? Yet this remaineth certain, that there shall be one resurrection of iudgement, & another resurrection of life, and that Christ shall come to seuer the Lambes from the goates. I answer, that this ought not to seeme strange, the likeness wherof we see in daily experience. We see that in *Adam* we were deprived of the inheritance of the whole world, and that we are by no lesse iust reason, debarred from common food, than from the eating of the tree of life. Whence then commeth it to passe, that God doth not only make his sunne to rise vpon the good and euill, but also as touching the vses of this present life, his inestimable liberallitie continually floweth forth to them with large plentifulnesse? Hereby verily we know that those things which properly belong to Christ and his members, doe also overflow to the wicked, not that it is their rightfull possession, but that they may be made the more inexcusable. So the wicked doe oftentimes finde God beneficiall, by more than meane prouees, yea such as sometime doe darken all the blessings of the godly, but yet do turne to their greater damnation. If any man object, that the resurrection is not truly compared to rising and earthly benefite: here also I answer that so soone as they were estranged from God the fountaine of life, they deserued the death of the Duell, whereby they should be vterly destroyed. Yet by the maruellous comfess of God there was found a meane steere that out of life they might liue in death. No more absurditie ought it to seeme, if the resurrection happen to the wicked, which draweth them against their wils to the iudgement seate of Christ, whome now they refuse to heare for their master

Esa. 26. 21.

1. Cor. 15. 51.

1. The. 4. 15.

Heb. 9. 27.

*How it commeth
to passe that the
wicked are to be
raised from the
dead, as well as
the iust and
righteous.*
John. 11. 25.
Math. 25. 31.

Matt. 5. 45.

and teacher. For it were a small paine to be consumed away with death, if they were not to suffer punishment for their obstinacie, brought before the iudge, whose vengeance they haue without end and measure prouoked against themselues. But although we must holde that which we haue saide, and which that notable confession of *Paul* before *Felix* containeth, that he looketh for the resurrection of the righteous and wicked: yet the Scripture oftentimes setteth fourth election together with the heavenly glorie to the onely children of God: Because *Christ* properly came not to the destruction, but to the saluation of the world. Therefore in the *Creede* there is made mention of the blessed life ouely.

A. A. 24. 15.

The incomprehensible excellencie of that eternall blessednes whereof we haue here a taste giuen vs, & looke for the perfect fruition hereafter in the world so come.
Osc. 13. 14.
1. Cor. 15. 54.
1. Iohn. 3. 2.

10. But for as much as the prophecie of death swallowed vp by victorie, shall then and not till then be fulfilled: let vs alway haue in minde the eternall felicitie, the end of the resurrection: of the excellencie whereof, if all things were spoken which the toongs of men were able to speake, yet scarcely the smallest parcel thereof should be expressed. For howsoeuer we truly heare that the kingdome of God shall be stuffed full with brightnesse, ioie, felicitie, and glorie: yet those things that are spoken of are most farre removed from our sense, and remaine as it were wrapped in darke speeches, vntill that day come when he himselfe shall giue to vs his glorie to be seene face to face. We knowe (saith *John*) that we are the children of God, but it hath not yet appeared. But when we shall be like to him, then we shall see him such as he is. Wherefore the Prophets, because they could by no wordes expresse the spirituall blessednesse in it selfe, did in a manner grossely portray it out vnder bodily things. But for as much as the feruentnesse of desire must with some taste of that sweetenesse be kindled in vs, let vs chiefly continue in this thought, that if God do as a certaine fountaine which cannot be drawn dry, containe in him the fulnesse of al good things; nothing is beyond him to be coueted of them that tend toward the soueraigne good and the full perfection of felicitie: as we are taught in many places. *Abraham*, I am thy reward exceeding great. With which saying accordeth *Dauid*. The Lorde is my portion, the lot hath vey well fallen to me. Againe in another place, I shall be 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 shall be glorified in all his saints, and shall be made woonderfull in them that haue beleued. If the Lord will enterparten his glorie, power, and righteousnesse with his elect, yea and will giue himselfe to them to be enjoyed, and (which is better) will after a certaine manner grow into one with them: let vs remember that vnder this benefit is contained all kind of felicitie. And when we haue much profited in this meditation, let vs reknowlege that we yet stay beneath at the bottome of the rootes, if the conceiuing of our minde be compared with the highnesse of this mysterie. Wherefore in this behalfe we must keepe sobriety, least with how much greater boldnesse we shall flie vp on high being vnmindfull of our owne small measure, so much more the brightnesse of the heavenly glorie ouerwhelme vs. We feele also how the vnmeasurable greedinesse to know more than is lawfull, tickleth vs: from whence both trifling and hurtfull questions doe spring from time to time: trifling I call those of which there can no profite be gathered. But this second kinde is worse, because they which giue themselues to them, doe entangle themselues with pernicious speculations, and therefore I call them hurtfull. That which the Scriptures doe teach, ought to be out of all doubt with vs: namely that as God diuersly distributing his gifts to the Saints in this worlde, doth vnequally enlighten them, so the measure of glorie shall not be equal in heauen where God shall crowne his gifts. For neither doth this belong indifferently to all which *Paul* saith: Ye are my glory and crown in the day of *Christ*: nor also that saying of *Christ* to the Apostles: Yee shall sit iudging the twelue tribes of *Israel*. But *Paul* (which knew that as God enricheth the holy ones with spirituall gifts in earth, so hee beautifieth them with glorie in heauen) doubteth not that there

Gen. 15. 2.

Psal. 16. 6.
Psal. 17. 15.
2. Pet. 1. 4.

1. The. 2. 19.
Mat. 19. 28.

there is a peculiar crowne laid vp for him according to the rate of his labours. And Christ to set forth to the Apostles the dignitie of the office which they did beare, telleth them that the fruite thereof is laide vp for them in heauen. So *Daniel* also saith, Dan. 12. 3. But the wise shall shine as the brightnes of the firmament, and they which iustifie manie, as Starres to the worlds end and for euer. And if a man heedfully consider the Scriptures, they do not onely promise eternall life to the faithfull, but also speciall reward to euerie one. Whereupon commeth that saying of *Paul*, The Lorde render to him in that day. Which the promise of Christ confirmeth, Yee shall receiue a hundred folde in the eternall life. Finallie, as Christ beginneth in this world the glorie of his bodie with manifold diuersitie of gift, and encreaseth it by degrees: so he shall also make it perfect in heauen. 2. Tim. 4. 14.

11 But as all the godly will receiue this with one consent, bicause it is sufficiently testified by the word of God. so on the other side leauing crabbed questions, which they shall knowe to bee a hinderance to them, they will not passe their appointed boundes. As for my part, I do not onely priuately forbearc superfluous searching of vnprofitable things, but I also thinke that I ought to beware that I doe not with answering nourish the lightnes of other. Men hungrie of vaine knowledge do aske how great shall be the distance betweene the Prophers and the Apostles, and againe betweene the Apostles and the Martyrs: how many degrees Virgins differ from married folkes: Finally, they leaue no corner of heauen vnsearched. Then it commeth to their mindes to enquire to what purpose serueth the repairing of the worlde, sith the children of God shall neede nothing of all this so great and incomparable plentie: but shall be like to the Angels, whose not eating is a signe of the eternall blessednes. But I answer that in the very sight there shall be so great pleasantues, so great sweetnesse in the onely knowledge without any vse, that this felicitie shall sane passe all the helpes where with we be now holpen. Let vs imagine our selues to bee set in the most wealthie coast of the world, and where wee shall want no pleasure: yet whos there whom his sickenes doe not sometime hinder and not suffer to vse the benefites of God? who is there whose course his owne intemperance doth not oft breake in sinder? Whereupon followeth that a cleare enjoying and pure from all faulte, although there be no vse of corruptible life, is the perfection of felicitie. Some go further and aske whether drosse and other corruptions in metals, be not farr from refining and are contrarie to it. Which though in some respects I graunt, yet I looke with *Paul* for the repairing of these faults which tooke their beginning at sinne, toward which repairing they grone and are in trauaile. Yet they proceed further, and aske what better estate is prepared for man, sith the blessing of issue shall then be at an end. This knot is also easie to be loosed. Whereas the Scripture so honorably setteth out that kind of blessing, that is referred to the encreases wherewith God continually draweth forward the order of nature her marke: but in the perfection it is known that there is an other maner. But sith the vnware are easily taken with allurements, & then the maze draweth them in deeplier, & at length when euery mans deuises please him selfe there is no end of struiuing: therefore let this be a short way for vs, to be contented with the glasse and darke speech vntill we shall see face to face. For fewe of a great multitude care which way they may go to heauen: but all do before their time couet to know what is done there. All being commonly sluggish and slowe to enter into battailes, do already paint out to them selues imagined triumphs. Rom. 8. 22.

12 Now because no description can match the greuousnes of the vengeance of God vpon the reprobate, their torments and paines are figured to vs by bodilie things, namely by darknesse, weeping, gnashing of teeth, vnquencheable fire, and a worme endlessly gnawing the hart. For by such manners of speech it is certaine that the holy Ghost meant to trouble all our senses with horroure: as when it is saide that there is prepared from eternitie a deepe Hell, that the nourishmentes thereof are

Curious questions concerning the differens degrees of blessednes.

Rom. 8. 22.

The greuous torments which God hath prepared for the wicked.

Mat. 8. 12. and 22. 13. Mark 9. 43. Esa. 66. 24. Esa. 30. 33.

1. Theſ. 1. 9.

fire and much woode : that the blaſt of the Lord, as a ſtreame of brimſtone, doth ſet it on fire. As by ſuch things we muſt be holpen after a certaine manner to conceue the miſerable ſtate of the wicked, ſo we ought chiefly to faſten our thought vpon this how wretched a thing it is to be eſtranged from the fellowſhip of God: and not that onely, but alſo to feele the maieltie of God ſo bent againſt thee, that thou canſt not eſcape but be faſt ſtrained of it. For firſt his diſpleaſure is like a moſt violent fire, with touching whereof all things are deuoured and ſwallowed vp. Then, all creatures ſo ſerue him to execute his iudgement, that they to whom the Lord ſhall ſo ſhew his wrath, ſhall feele the heauen, earth, ſea, and beaſts, as it were with cruell indignation enflamed againſt them and armed to their deſtruction. Wherefore it is no ſmall thing that the Apoſtle pronounceth, when he ſaith that the vnbeleeuing ſhall ſuffer eternall puniſhment by dying from the face of the Lord, and from the glorie of his power. And ſo oft as the Prophets do caſt vs in feare with bodily figures, although they ſpeake nothing exceſſiuely for our dulnes, yet they adde foreſhewings of the iudgement to come, in the Sunne and the Moone and the whole frame of the world. Wherefore the vnhappy conſciences do finde no reſt, from being vexed and toſſed with a terrible whirlewinde, from feeling themſelues to be torne in peeces by God being angerly bent againſt them, from being pearced and launced with deadly ſtings, from trembling at the lightning of God, and being brooſed with the weight of his hand: ſo that it is much more eaſe to enter into all bottomleſſe deptes and deuouring pits, than to ſtand one moment in thoſe terrors. What and how great then is this, to be preſſed with euerlaſting and neuer ceaſing ſiege of him? Of which thing the 90. Pſalmē containeth a notable ſentence: that although with onely ſight he ſcatter abroad all mortall men and bring them to nought, yet his worſhippers, how much more fearefull they are in the world, ſo much more he enforceth them and pricketh them forward loaden with the croſſe, vntill he be all in all.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, which intreateth of the outward meanes or helps, whereby God allu- reth vs into the fellowſhip 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 all the godly.*

*The ſumme of the
former booke, and
the drift of this
which concerneth
the Church.*



Hat by Faith of the Goſpell Chriſt is become ours, and we be made partakers of the ſaluation brought by him and of eternall bleſſednes, is already declared in the laſt booke. But becauſe our rudenes and ſlothfulnes, yea and vanitie of wit, do neede outward helps whereby Faith in vs may both be engendred, and grow and increaſe in proceeding toward the marke whereunto it tendeth: God hath alſo added them thereby to prouide for our weaknes. And that the Preaching of the Goſpell might flouriſh, he hath left this treaſure with the church. He hath appointed Paſtors and teachers, by whoſe mouth he might teach them that be his: he hath furniſhed them with authority, finally

Ephc. 4. 11.

he

he hath left nothing vndone that might auaille to the holy consent of Faith, and right order. First of all he hath ordeined Sacraments, which we feele by experience to be more than profitabell helpees to nourish and confirme Faith. For because being enclosed in the prison of our flesh, we do not yett attaine to the degree of Angels, God applying himselfe to our capacitie according to his wonderfull prouidence, hath appointed a meane whereby we being farre distant from him might come vnto him. Wherefore the order of teaching requireth that now we entreat of the Church, and of the government, orders and power of it, and then of the Sacraments, and lastly of the ciuill order: and therewithall that we call away the godly readers from those corruptions wherewith Satan in the Papacie hath deprauid all things that God hath appointed for our saluation. I will begin at the Church, into whose bosome God will haue his children to be gathered together, not only that they should by her helpe and ministerie be nourished while they are infants and yoong children, but also be ruled by her motherly care till they grow to riper age, and at length come to the marke of Faith. For it is not lawfull that those things be seuered which God hath conioyned, that to whome he is a Father, the Church be also their mother: and that not onely vnder the law, but also since the comming of Christ, as *Paul* witnesseth, which teacheth that we are the children of the new and heavenly *Hierusalem*. Mat. 10. 9.
Gal. 8. 26.

2 In the Creede, where we professe that we beleuee the Church, that is not spofiblenly onely of the visible Church wherof we now intreat, but of all the elect of God, in whose number they are also comprehended that are departed by death. And therefore this word Beleeue is there set, because oftentimes there can no other difference be noted betweene the children of God and the vngodly, between his peculiar flocke and sauage beastes. For whereas many doe interlace this word, In, that is without probable reason. I graunt in deede that it is the more commonly vsed, and also wanteth not the consenting testimony of antiquitie, forasmuch as euen the *Nicen Creede*, as it is reported in the Ecclesiasticall historie, addeth the preposition, In. But there withall we may marke by the writings of the auncient Fathers, that it was received without controuersie to say, that they beleuee the Church and not in the Church. For *Augustine*, & that auncient writer whatsoeuer he was, whose worke remaineth vnder the name of *Cyprian* concerning the exposition of the Creede, doe not only so speake themselves, but also doe expressly note that it should be an vnproper manner of speaking if the preposition were adioyned, and they confirme their opinion with no trifling reason. For we therefore testifie that we beleuee in God because vpon him as a true speaker our minde reposeth it selfe, and in him our confidence resteth, which could not so conueniently be spoken to say in the Church no more than it could be saide, I beleuee in the forgienesse of sinnes, or in the resurrection of the flesh. Therefore although I would not strue about wordes, yet I had rather follow the proprietie of speaking that should be fittest to expresse the matter, than curiously to seeke for formes of speech whereby the matter may without cause be darkened. But the ende is, that we should know that although the diuell attempt all meanes to ouerthrow the grace of Christ, and though the enemies of God be carried with violent rage to the same intent: yet it cannot be extinguished, nor the blood of Christ be made barren, but that it will bring forth some fruite. And so is both the secrete election of God and his inward calling to be considered: because he alone knoweth who be his, and holdeth them inclosed vnder a seale as *Paul* tearmeth it: saying that they beare his tokens whereby they may be seuerally knowne from the reprobate. But because a small and contemptible number lieth hid vnder a huge multitude, and a few graines of wheate are couered with a heape of chaffe, to God onely is to be left the knowledge of his Church, the foundation wherof is his secret election. But it is not sufficient to conceiue in thought and minde the multitude of the elect, vnlesse we thinke vpon such an vnitie of the Church into which we be truly The Church invisible which in the Creede we professeth that we beleuee.
Eph. 1. 13.

perswaded that we our selues be ingrafted. For vnlesse we be vnder our head Christ vnited together with all the rest of his members, there abideth for vs no hope of the inheritance to come. It is therefore called Catholike or vniuersall, because we cannot finde two or three Churches but that Christ must be torne in sunder, which cannot be done. But all the elect of God are so knit together in Christ, that as they hang vpon one head, so they may grow together as it were into one bodie, cleauing together with such a compacting of ioints as the members of one selfe bodie: being truly made one, which with one hope, Faith, Charitie, with one selfe spirit of God do liue together, being called not onely into one inheritance of eternall life, but also into one partaking of one God and Christ. Wherefore although the sorrowfull desolation that on each side presenteth it selfe in sight, crieth out that there is nothing left of the Church, yet let vs know that Christes death is fruitfull, and that God maruelouslie as it were in secret corners preferueth his Church. As it was saide to *Elias*, I haue kept to my selfe seuen thousand men that haue not bowed their knee before *Baal*.

1. Reg. 19. 18.
The article of the
Creed touching the
Church, concerneth
after a sort
the visible Church,
whereunto the
communion of
Saints being ad-
ded containeth
four speciall
states of faith.

3 Albeit this article of the Creede doth in some respect belong to the outward Church, that euerie one of vs should hold himselfe in brotherly consent with all the children of God, should yeelde vnto the Church that authoritie which it deserueth, finallye should so behaue himselfe as a Sheepe of the flocke. And therefore is adioyned the communion of Saintes. Which parcell, although commonly the olde writers doe leaue it out, yet is it not to be neglected: because it verie well expresth the qualitie of the Church: as if it had bene saide that the saints are gathered together into the fellowship of Christ with this condition, that whatsoever benefites God bestoweth vpon them, they should continually communicate them one to another. Whereby yet the diuersitie of graces is not taken away. As we know that the giftes of the holy Ghost are diuersly distributed: neither is the order of ciuill government disturbed, by which it is lawfull for euerie man priuately to enjoy his owne possessions, as it is necessarie, that for preferuation of peace among men, they shoulde haue among themselues peculiar and diuided properties of things. But there is a communitie affirmed such as *Luke* describeth, that of the multitude of the beleeuers there was one hart & one soule: and *Paul*, when he exhorteth the Epheſians to be one body, one spirit as they be called in one hope. For it is not possible, if they be truly perswaded that God is the common father, & the common head to them all, but that being conioyned among themselues with brotherly loue, they should continually communicate those things that they haue. Now it much behooueth vs to know what profit thereupon returneth vnto vs. For we beleue the Church to this ende, that we may be certainly perswaded that we are the members of it. For by this meane, our saluation resteth vpon sure founde staires, that is, although the whole frame of the world be shaken, cannot come to ruine and fall downe. First it standeth with Gods election, neither can it varie or faile but together with his eternall Providence. Then, it is after a certaine maner ioyned with the stedfastnes of Christ, which will no more suffer his faithfull to be plucked from him, than his owne members to be rent and torne in peeces. Beside that, we are assured that truth shall alway abide with vs, so long as we are holden in the bosome of the Church. Last of all that we feele that these promises belong to vs, there shall be saluation in *Syon*, God shall for ever abide in *Hierusalem*, that it may not at any time be moued. So much can the partaking of the church do, that it holdeth vs in the fellowship of God. Also in the verie word Communion is much conforste: because while it remaineth certaine, that whatsoever the Lorde giueth to his and our members, belongeth to vs, our hope is by all their good things confirm'd. But in such sort to embrace the vnitie of the Church, it is not needefull (as we haue already saide) to see the Church it selfe with our eyes, or feele it with our hands: but rather by this that it consisteth in Faith, we are admonished that

AG. 4. 31.
Ephc. 4. 4.

Incl. 2. 32.
Abd. 17.
Psal. 46. 6.

we ought no lesse to thinke it to be, when it passeth our vnderstanding, than if it openly appeared. Neither is our Faith therefore the worse, because it conceiue it vnknown. forasmuch as we are not herein commanded to discern the reprobate from the elect (which is the office of God onely, and not ours) but to determine assuredly in our minds, that all they that by the mercifull kindnesse of God the father through the effectuall working of the holy Ghost, are come into the partaking of Christ, are secured into the peculiar right and proper possession of Christ: and that, forasmuch as we be in the number of those, we are partakers of so great a grace.

4 But sith it is now our purpose to entreat of the visible Church, let vs learne euen by this one title of Mother, how much the knowledge thereof is profitable, yea necessarie for vs: forasmuch as there is no other entrie into life, vnlesse she conceiue vs in hir wombe, vnlesse she bring vs forth, vnlesse she feede vs with hir breastes, finally vnlesse she keepe vs vnder her custodie and gouernance, vntill such time as being vnclodded of mortall flesh we shall be like vnto Angels. For our weakenes suffereth vs not to be dismissed from schoole, till we haue beene schollers throughout the whole course of our life. Beside that out of her boosome there is no forgiveness of sinnes, and no saluation to be hoped for, as witnesseth *Esai* and *Joel*, with whom agreeth *Ezechiel* when he declareth that they that not be in the number of Gods people whom he putteth away from the heauenly life. As on the contrarie side, they are said to write their names among the Citizens of *Hiernsalem*, that turne themselves to the following of true godlinesse. A siter which maner it is also said in another Psalm: Remember me, Lord, in the good will of thy people: visite me in thy saluation that I may see the benefites of thy elect, that I may be merry in the mirth of thy people, that I may reioyce with thy inheritance. In which words the fatherly fauour of God, and the peculiar testimonie of the Spirituall life is restrained to his flocke, so that the departing from the Church is alway damnable.

5 But let vs proceede to prosecute that which properly belongeth to this place. *Paul* writeth that Christ, that he might fulfill all things, gaue some Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangelistes, and some Pastors and Teachers, to the restoring of the holy ones, into the worke of ministerie, vnto the edification of the bodie of Christ, vntill we all come into the vnitie of Faith, and of the acknowledging of the Sonne of God, vnto a perfect man, and to the measure of the full grown age of Christ. We see how God, which was able to make them that be his perfect in a moment, yet will not haue them growe into manly age but by the bringing vp of the Church. We see the meane expressed, for that vnto the Pastors is enioyned the preaching of the heauenly doctrine. We see how all, not one excepted, are brought into on rule, that they should with milde Spirit and willing to learne, yeelde themselves to the teachers appointed for that vse. And by this marke *Esai* had long before set out the kingdome of Christ, where he saith: My spirit which is in thee, and the words that I haue put in thy mouth shall neuer depart, neither out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seede and thy childrens children. Whereupon followeth that they are woorthy to perish with famine and pining hunger, whosoeuer they be that refuse the Spirituall meate of the Soule reached vnto them of God by the hands of the Church. GOD doth breath Faith into vs, but by the instrument of his Gospell, as *Paul* saith that faith is by hearing. As also with God remaineth his power to saue, but (as the same *Paul* witnesseth) he vttereth and displayeth the same in the preaching of the Gospell. For this reason in old time he willed that there should be made holy assemblies to the sanctuary, that doctrine vttered by the mouth of the Priest should nourish the consent of Faith. And to no other end those glorious titles haue respect, where the temple is called the rest of God, and the sanctuary his house, where he is said to sit betweene the Cherubines, but to bring estimation, loue, reuerence and dignitie to the ministerie of the heauenly doctrine, which otherwise the sight of a mortall and

The Church the mother of the Faithfull.

Mat. 22. 30.

Esa. 37. 31.

Ioel. 2. 32.

Ezc. 13. 9.

Psal. 106. 4.

The ministerie of the church together with the necessity and vse thereof.

Eph. 4. 11.

Esa. 59. 21.

Rom. 10. 17.

Psal. 132. 14.

Psal. 80. 2.

despised man would not a little diminish. Therefore that we should know, that out of earthen vessels is brought forth vnto vs inestimable treasure, God himselfe cometh forth, and in as much as he is author of this degree, so he will haue himselfe to be acknowledged present in his institution. Therefore after that he hath forbidden him to giue themselves to iudgement by flying of birdes, to southsayings, magicall artes, necromancie and other superstitions, he immediately addeth that he will giue them that which ought to suffice in steed of all, that is to say, that they shall neuer be destitute of Prophets. But like as he sent not the olde people to Angels, but raised vp teachers out of the earth, which might truly performe the office of Angels: so at this day also his will is to teach vs by men. And as in the olde time he was not content with the onely law, but added Priests for expositors, at whose lippes the people should enquire for the true meaning thereof: so at this day he not onely willet vs to be heedfully bent to reading, but also appointeth masters ouer vs, by whose trauell we may bee holpen: whereof cometh double profit. For on the one part by a very good triall it proueth our obedience, where we heare his ministers speaking euen as it were himselfe. On the other side it also provideth for our weakenesse, while after the manner of men he had rather speake vnto vs by interpreters to allure vs vnto him, than with thundring driue vs away from him. And truly how expedient this singular manner of teaching is for vs, all the godly doe feele by the feare where-with the maiestie of God doth woorthily astonish them. But they that thinke that the authoritie of the doctrine is abased by the contempt of the men that are called to teach, do bewray their vnthankfulness, because among so many excellent giftes wherewith God hath garnished mankind: this is a singular prerogative, that he vouchsauneth to consecrate the mouthes and toongs of men to himselfe, that his owne voice should sound in them. Wherefore on our behalves let vs not be grieued obediently to embrace the doctrine of saluation set forth by his commandment and by his owne mouth: because although the power of God is not bound to outward meanes, yet he hath bound vs to the ordinarie manner of teaching: which while phrenetike men refuse to keepe, they wrap themselves in many deadly sinnes. Either pride, or disdainfulness, or enuie moueth many to perswade themselves that they can sufficiently profit by their own priuate reading and studie, and so to despise publick assemblies, and to account preaching superfluous. But sith they do as much as in them is loose or breake in sunder the holy bond of vnitie, no man escapeth the due punishment of this diuorce, but he bewitcheth himselfe with pestilent errors and most wicked dorages. Wherefore, that the pure simplicitie of faith may flourish among vs, let vs not be grieued to vse this exercise of godlines, which God by his institution hath shewed to be necessarie for vs and so earnestly commendeth. But there was neuer yet found any euen of the most wanton dogs which would say that we ought to stop our eares against God: But in all ages the Prophets and godly teachers haue had a hard strife against the wicked, whose stubbornesse can neuer come vnder this yoke, to be taught by the mouth of the ministerie of men. Which is as much as to blot out the face of God which shineth vnto vs in doctrine. For in olde time the faithfull were commanded to seeke the face of God in the Sanctuarie, and the same is so oft repeated in the law for no other cause, but for that the doctrine of the law and the exhortations of the Prophets were to them a liuely image of God: as *Paul* affirmeth that in his preaching shineth the glorie of God in the face of Christ. How much the more detestable are the Apostates, which greedily seeke to diuide Churches, as though they did driue sheep from their folds & cast them into the mouthes of wolues. But we must hold that which he hath alleged out of *Paul*, that the Church is no otherwise builded but by outward preaching, and that the holy ones are holden together with no other bonde but when with learning and profiting with one consent they keepe the order appointed by God to the Church. To this ende principally,

2. Cor. 4. 7.

Leuit. 19. 31.

Mal. 1. 5. 4.
1. Cor. 3. 6.

as I haue saide, the faithfull in olde time vnder the lawe were commanded to resort to the sanctuarie. Because when *Moses* speaketh of the dwelling place of God, he doth therewithall call it the place of name, where God hath set the memorie of his name. Whereby he plainly teacheth that without the doctrine of godlines there is no vse thereof. And it is not doubtfull but that for the same reason *Dauid* with great bitterness of Spiritte complaineth that hee is by the tyrannous crueltie of his enemies kept from entering into the Tabernacle. It seemeth commonly to many a childish lamentation, because it should be but a very small losse, and also no great pleasure should be forgone thereby, to want the entrie of the temple, so that there were enough of other delightfull things. But he bewaileth that with this one grieefe, anguish and sorrowe, he is fretted & vexed and in a maner wasted. For nothing is of greater estimation with the faithfull, than this helpe whereby God by degrees lifteth vp his on high. For this is also to be noted, that God in the mirror of his doctrine alway so shewed himselfe to the hōlie Fathers, that the knowledge was spirituall. Wherefore the temple is called not onely his face, but also (to take away all superstition) his foote-stoole. And this is that happie meeting into vnitie of faith, while from the highest euen to the lowest all do aspire to the head. All the temples that euer the Gentiles vpon any other purpose builded to God, were but a meere prophaning of his worship: whereunto though not with like grossenes, yet somwhat the Iewes fell. Whereof *Steuen* out the mouth of *Esay* reprocheth them where he saith, that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, &c. Because onely God doth by his worde sanctifie to himselfe temples to the lawfull vse. And if we rashly attempt any thing without his commandement, by and by to an euill beginning do cleaue new deuises by which the euill is spread abroad without measure. Yet *Xerxes*, when by the counsell of the Magicians he burned vp or plucked downe all the temples of Greece, vndiscreetely saide, that the Gods to whom all things ought to be freely open were enclosed within walles and tiles. As though it were not in the power of God, to the entent he might be neere vs, after a certaine maner to descend vnto vs, and yet neither to change place, nor to fasten vs to earthly meanes: but rather by certaine chariots to carrie vs vp to his Heauenly glorie, which with the immeasurable greatnesse thereof filleth all things, yea and in heighth surmounteth the heauens.

6 Now forasmuch as at this time there hath bin great strife about the esteemes of the ministerie, while some excessively amplifie the dignitie thereof: and some other affirme that that which is properly belonging to the holy Ghost is wrongfullie giuen away to mortall man, if we thinke that ministers and teachers do peare to the mindes and harts, to amend as well the blindnes of the mindes as the hardnesse of harts: it is meete that we giue a right determination of this controuersie. All that they contend on both parts shall easily be accorded by expressly noting the places where God the authour of preaching ioyning his spiritte with it promisethe fruite thereof: or againe, when seuering himselfe from outward helps he chalengeth to himselfe alone as well the beginnings of faith as the whole course thereof. It was the office of the second *Elias* (as *Malachie* witnesseth) to enlighten the mindes and to turne the harts of Fathers to the children, and vnbelievers to the wise dome of the righteous. Christ pronounceth that he sendeth the Apostles, that they shoulde bring fiiute of their labour. But what that fruite is *Peter* shortly defineth, saying that we be regenerate with incorruptible seede. And therefore *Paul* gloriethe that hee by the Gospell be-gate the Corinthiaas, and that they were the seale of his Apostleship: yea that hee was not a literall Minister: such as did onelie beate the eares with sounde of voyce, but that there was giuen him an effectuallnesse of Spiritte, that his doctrine shoulde not bee vnprofitable. In which meaning also in another place hee saith, that his Gospell was not in worde onelie, but in power. Hee affirmeth also that the Galathians by hearing receued the Spirit of faith. Finally in many places he

Exod. 10. 24.

Psa. 132. 7.

Psal. 99. 5.

1. Par. 28. 2.

Agi. 7. 48.

The force of Ecclesiasticall ministerie.

Mal. 4. 6.

Ioh. 15. 16.

1. Pet. 1. 23.

1. Cor. 4. 15.

1. Cor. 9. 2.

2. Cor. 3. 6.

1. Cor. 2. 4.

Gal. 3. 2.

1. Cor. 3. 9.

maketh himselfe not onely a worker together with God, but also assigneth himselfe the office of giuing saluation. Truly he neuer brought forth all these things to this intent to giue vnto himselfe any thing were it neuer so little feuerally from God: as in an other place he shortly declareth, saying, our labour was not vnprofitable in the Lord, according to his power mightly working in me. Againe in an other place, he that was mightie in *Peter* toward the circumcision, was also mightie in me toward the Gentiles. But how he leaueth nothing feuerally to the ministers, appeareth by other places, as: he that planteth is nothing, and he that watereth is nothing, but God that giueth the encrease. Againe: I haue laboured more than all: not I, but the grace of God that was with me. And truly we must hold fast those sayings, where God ascribing to himselfe the enlightening of the minde, and the renewing of the heart, teacheth that it is a robbie of God if man take vpon himselfe anie part of either of them. In the meane time if any man offer himselfe to the ministers whome God ordeineth, willing to learne, he shall knowe by the fruite, that this maner of teaching not in vaine pleased God, and that this yoke of modestie was not in vaine laid vpon the faithfull.

7 But as for the Church visible and which is within the compasse of our knowledge, what iudgement is meete to be giuen thereof, I thinke it alreadie appeare euidently by that which we haue before said. For we haue said, that the holy Scripture speaketh of the Church after two sorts. Sometime, when it nameth the Church, it meaneth that Church which is indeede before God, into which none are receiued but they that are both by grace of adoption the children of God, and by sanctification of the Spirit the true members of Christ. And then trulie it comprehendeth not onlie the holie ones that dwell in earth, but also all the elect that haue bene since the beginning of the world. But oftentimes vnder the name of the Church it signifieth the vniuersall multitude of men scattered abroad in the world, which professe that they worship one God and Christ, by Baptisme enter into his faith, by partaking of the supper testify their vnitie in true doctrine and charitie, haue an agreement in the word of the Lord, and for the preaching thereof do keepe the ministerie ordained by Christ. In this Church there be mingled many hypocrites which haue nothing of Christ but the name and outward shew: there be manie ambitious, couetous, enuious, euil speakers, some of vnclane life: which be suffred for a time, either because they cannot by lawful order of iudgement be conuincid, or because there is not alway in vre that seueritie of discipline that ought to be. Therefore as we must needs beleue that the Church which is inuisible to vs, is to be seene with the eyes of God onelie: so are we commanded to regard this Church which is called a Church in respect of men, and to keepe the communion of it.

8 Therefore so much as behoued vs to know it, the Lord hath set it out by certaine markes and as it were signes vnto vs. This is indeede the singular prerogatiue of God himselfe, to knowe who be his, as we haue alreadie alleadged out of *Paul*. And truly that the rashnesse of men should not creepe so farre, it is prouided by the very successe of things daile putting vs in minde, how farre his secret iudgements do surmount our vnderstanding. For euen they that seemed most desperate, and accounted vtterly past hope, are by his goodnesse called backe into the waie: and they that seemed to stand fast in comparison of other, doe oftentimes fall. Therefore according to the secret predestination of God (as *Augustine* saeth) there be manie sheepe without, and many wolues within. For he knoweth them, and hath them marked that knowe neither him nor themselues. But of those that openly beare his badge, his onelie cies do see who be both holy without fawning, and who will continue euen to the end, which is the verie chiefe point of saluation. Yet on the other side, forasmuch as he foresawe it to be some deale expedient, that we should knowe who were to be accounted his children, he hath in this part applied himselfe to our capacitie.

1. Thef. 3. 5.

Gal. 2. 8.

1. Cor. 3. 7.

The Scripture
speaketh both of
a visible Church
and of a Church
which is inu-
sible.

2. Tim. 2. 19.

Properly, truly
and inuisible
God alone know-
eth who are his.

Homin Ioan 45.

capacitie. And because the certaintie of faith was not necessarie, he hath put in place thereof a certaine iudgement of charitie: whereby wee shoulde acknowledge for members of the Church those that both with confession of faith, and with example of life, and with partaking of sacraments, doe professe the same God and Christ with vs. But as for the knowledge of the bodie thereof, how much more that he knewe it to be necessarie for our saluation, with so much the more certaine markes he hath set it out.

9. Lo hereupon groweth and ariseth vnto vs, a face of the Church visible to our eyes. For wheresoever we see the word of God to be purely preached and heard, and the sacraments to be ministred according to the institution of Christ, there it is in no wise to be doubted that there is some Church of God: forasmuch as his promise cannot deceiue. Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them. But that we may evidently vnderstand the summe of this matter, we must proceede by these as it were degrees: that is to say, that the vniuersall Church is a multitude gathered together out of all nations whatsoever they be, which being sundered and seuerally scattered by distances of places, yet doth agree in one truth of godly doctrine, and is bound together with the bond of one selfe religion: And that so vnder this are comprehended all particular Churches, which are in all townes and streets according to the order of mens necessitie, so that euery one of them may rightfully haue the name and authoritie of a Church: And that all particular men which by profession of godlines are reckoned among such Churches, although they be in decde strangers from the Church, yet do after a certaine manner belong vnto it, till by publike iudgement they be banished out of it. Howbeit there is somewhat a diuers maner in iudging of priuate men and of Churches. For it may fall in experience, that such men as we shal thinke not to be altogether worthie of the company of the godly, yet we must vse like brethren and account the among the faithfull, for the comon consent of the Church, whereby they are suffered and borne withall in the bodie of Christ. We do not by our testimonie allow such to be members of the Church: but we leaue them the place that they haue among the people of God, till it be by orderly right of lawe taken away from them. But of the very multitude we must otherwise thinke: which if it hath and honoreth the ministerie of the word, and the administration of Sacraments, it deserueth without doubt to be esteemed and iudged a Church: because it is certaine that those things are not without fruit. So we do also preferue to the vniuersall Church her vnicie, which diuinish spirits haue alway trauailed to cut in sunder: neither do we defraude of their authoritie those lawfull assemblies which are disposed according to the fittest of places.

10. We haue set for signes to discern the Church by, the preaching of the word, and the obsrving of the Sacraments. For those can be no where but they must bring forth fruite, and be prospered with the blessing of God. I do not say, that wheresoever the word is preached, there by and by springeth vp fruite: but I say that no where it is receiued and hath a stayed seate, but that it bringeth forth the effectualnesse thereof. Where the preaching of the Gospel is reuerently heard, and the Sacraments are not neglected, howsoeuer it be, there for that time appeareth a not deceitfull and not doubtfull face of the Church, whereof no man may vn timerly either 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 vnicie of it. For the Lord so highly esteemeth the Communion of his Church, that he counteth him for a traitorous runaway and forsaker of Religion, whosocuer shall stubbornly estrange himselfe from any Christian fellowship, so that it be such a one as hath the true ministerie of the Word and Sacraments. He so commendeth the Churches authoritie, that when it is violat, he iudgeth his owne diminished. Neither is it of small importance, that the Church is called the pillar and strong stay of truth

One way to know what Church is true, and another who be the true members of the Church.
Matt. 18. 20.

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The face, communion & reuerence of the Church, and how it is termed the pillar of truth

1. Tim. 3. 15.

and

Cap. I. Of the outward meanes

and the house of God. By which wordes *Paul* signifieth, that to the end the truth of God should not decay in the world, the Church is a faithfull keeper thereof: because Gods will was to haue the preaching of his word kept pure, and to shew himselfe vnto vs a father of housholde by her ministerie and labour, while she feedeth vs with spirituall nourishments, and procureth all things that make for our saluation. It is also no slender praise, that it is saide that she is cholen and seuered by Christ to be his spouse, that should be without wrinkle and spot, the body and fulnesse of him. Whereupon followeth, that departing from the Church is a denying of God and of Christ. Therefore so much the more we must beware of so wicked disagreement. For while we goe about, so much as in vs lieth, to procure the ruine of Gods truth, we are worthie that he should send downe his lightning with the whole violent force of his wrath to destroy vs. Neither can there be imagined any fault more hainous, than with wicked breach of faith to defile the marriage that the onely begotten sonne of God hath vouchsafed to contract with vs.

Ephes. 5. 17.
Ephes. 1. 23.

*Satan laboreth
either to abolish,
or to bring in con-
tempt the marks
of the true church,
whereupon a dou-
ble mischiefe groweth,
that either the true Church
is despised, or the
false reuerenced.*

II Wherefore let vs diligently keepe these markes imprinted in our mindes, and let vs esteeme them according to the Lordes will. For there is nothing that Satan more endeouoreth than to take away, and abolish the one of these, or both: sometime that when these markes are rased and blotted out, he may take away the true and naturall distinction of the Church: sometime that when they are brought in contempt, he may with open falling away plucke vs from the Church. By his craft it is brought about, that in certaine ages past, the pure preaching of the worde hath vanished away: and now he doth with as great importunacie trauell to ouerthrowe the ministerie, which yet Christ hath so stablished in the Church, that when it is taken away, the edification of the Church perisheth. But now, how dangerous, yea how deadly a tentation it is when it doth but come in our minde to depart from that congregation wherein are seene the signes and tokens by which the Lord thought his Church sufficiently described? We see how great heede is to be taken on both sides. For, that we should not be deceiued vnder the title of the Church, euery congregation that pretendeth the name of the Church must be examined by that manner of triall, as by a touchstone. If it haue in the word and Sacraments the order appointed by the Lorde, it will not deceiue vs: let vs boldly yeeld vnto it the honour due to Churches. But contrariwise if it boast it selfe without the word and Sacraments, we must no lesse with fearefull conscience beware of such deceits, than on the other side we must flec rashnesse and pride.

*Where the signes
of a true Church
are, from that
societie we may
not seuer our
selues, and cease
to haue commu-
nion, though in do-
ctrine and admi-
nistration of Sa-
craments there be
some fault.*

12 Whereas we say that the pure ministerie of the worde and the pure vsage in celebrating the Sacraments, is a sufficient pledge and earnest, so that we may safely embrace as the Church any fellowship wherein both these shall be: this extendeth so faire, that it is neuer to be cast off, so long as it shall continue in those, although it swarme full of many other faultes. Yea and there may some faultinesse creepe into it, in the administration either of doctrine, or of the Sacraments, which ought not to estrange vs from the Communion of it. For all the articles of true doctrine be not of one sort. Some be so necessarie to be knowne, that they ought to be certaine and vndoubted to al men, as the proper principles of religion: of which sort are, That there is one God, That Christ is God, and the sonne of God: That our saluation consisteth in the mercie of God: and such like. There be other that being in controuersie betweene Churches, yet doe not breake the vnitie of faith. For those Churches that disagree about this one point, if without lust of contention, without stubbornesse of affirming, the one thinke that soules when they depart from the bodies do flee vp into heauen, and the other Church dare determine nothing of the place, but yet certainly holdeth that they liue to the Lorde: the wordes of the Apostle are: Let all vs that be perfect thinke all one thing: but if yee thinke any thing otherwise, thus the Lorde shall also reueale vnto you. Doth he not sufficiently shewe that diuersitie

Phil. 3. 10.

of opinions about these matters, that be not so necessarie, ought to be no ground of disagreement among Christians? It is in deede a principall point, that we agree in all things. But for as much as there is no man that is not wrapped with some little cloud of ignorance, either we must leaue no Church at all, or we must pardon a being deceiued in such things as may be vnknown without violating the summe of religion, and without lesse of saluation. But I meane not here to defend any errors be they neuer so little, so as I would thinke that they should be cherished with flattering and winking at them: but I say that we ought not rashly for every light dissension forsake the Church, in which at least that Doctrin is retained safe and vncorrupted, wherein standeth the safetic of godlines, and the vse of Sacraments is kept as it was institute by the Lord. In the meane time if we endeavour to amend that which displeaseth vs, we do therein according to our duerie. And hereunto belongeth that saying of *Paul*: If any thing better be reuealed to him that sitteth, let the first hold his peace. Whereby it is euident, that all the members of the Church are cuerie one charged with endeavour to publike edification, according to the measure of his grace, so that it be done comely and according to order: that is, that we neither do forsake the communion of the Church, nor abiding in it, do trouble the peace and well ordered discipline thereof.

1. Cor. 14. 30.

13 But in bearing with the imperfection of life, our gentle tenderesse ought to go much further. For herein is a very slipperie easinesse to fall: and herein with no small deuises doth Satan lay wayt for vs. For there haue been alway some, which filled with false perswasion of perfect holinesse as though they were alreadie made certaine aerie spirits, despised the company of all men, in whom they saw remaining any thing of the nature of man. Such in old time were the *Cathary*, and they that were as mad as they, the *Donatists*. Such at this day are some of the Anabaptists, which would seeme to haue profited about the rest. Some there be that offend more by an vndiscreet zeale of righteousnesse, than by that mad pride. For when they see among them to whome the Gospell is preached, the fruite of life not agreeably answering to the doctrine thereof, they by and by iudge that there is no Church. It is indeede a most iust displeasure, and such a one whereunto in this most miserable age of the world, we giue too much occasion. Neither may we excuse our accursed slothfulnesse, which the Lord will not suffer vnpunished: as euen alreadie he beginneth with grieuous scourges to chastise it. Wo therefore to vs, which with so dissolute licentiousnesse of wicked doings, make that weake consciences be wounded by reason of vs. But in this againe they offend whome I haue spoken of, because they cannot measure their being displeas'd. For where the Lord requireth clemencie, they leauing it, do giue themselues wholly to immeasurable rigorosnesse. For, because they think that there is no Church where there is no found purenesse and vprightnesse of life, for hatred of sinnes they depart from the lawfull Church, while they thinke that they swaue from a company of wicked men. They alleage that the Church of Christ is holy. But that they may also vnderstand that it is mingled of good and euill men, let them heare this parable out of the mouth of Christ, wherein it is compared to a net, in which fishes of all kindes are gathered together: and are not chosen out till they be laide abroade vpon the shoare. Let them heare that it is like vnto a corne field, which being sown with good graine, is by the enimis fraude scattered with tares, of which it is not cleansed vntill the crop be brought into the barre floore. Finally, let them heare that it is like vnto a floore, wherein the wheat is so gathered together, that it lieth hidden vnder the chaffe, till being cleansed with fanne and sycue, it be at length laid vp in the grainer. If the Lord pronounce that the Church shall euen to the day of iudgement be troubled with this euill, to be burdened with mingling of euill men: they do in vaine seeke for a Church sprinkled with no spot.

Imperfection in the liues and corruption in the manners of some must not cause vs to leaue the fellowship of the Church.

Matt. 13. 47.

Matt. 3. 12.

Matt. 13. 23.

14 For they cry out that it is an intolerable thing, that the pestilence of vices so rangeth

The state of the Church of Corinth in the Apostles owne times.

rangeth abroad. What if the saying of the Apostle doe heere also answere them? Among the Corinthians not onely a few had gone out of the way, but the infectious had in a manner possessed the whole bodie: There was not onely one kinde of sinne, but many: neither were they light offences, but certaine horrible outrageous doings: it was not onely corruption of manners, but also of doctrine. What in this case saith the holy Apostle, that is to say, the instrument of the holy Ghost, by whose testimonie the Church standeth and falleth? Doth he require a diuision from them? Doth he banish them out of the kingdome of Christ? Doth he strike them with the extremest thunderbolt of curse? He not onely doth none of all these things: but he both acknowledgeth and reporteth it a Church of Christ and fellowship of Saints. If there remaine a Church among the Corinthians, where contentions, sectes, and enuious partakings doe broile: where quarrels and brawlings be in vre: with a greedinesse of hauing, where that wicked dooing is openly allowed, which were abhominable among the very Gentiles: where *Pauls* name is vniustly railed at, whom they ought to haue honoured as their Father: where some scorne at the resurrection of the dead, with ruine whereof the whole Gospell falleth: where the gracious gifts of God serue to ambition and not to charity: where many things are vncomely & vnorderly done; and if therefore there still remaine a Church, because the ministry of the word and of the Sacraments is there not refused, who dare take away the name of the Church from them that cannot be charged with the tenth part of these faults? They that with so great precisenes deale so cruelly against the Churches of this present time: what (I pray you) would they haue done to the Galathians, which were almost vtter forsakers of the Gospell, among whom yet the same Apostle found Churches?

1. Cor. 1. 11. and 3. 3. & 5. 1. & 6. 7. & 9. 1. and 15. 12.

Gal. 1.

One thing to shew the priuate company of a wicked man, and another for hatred thereof to forsake the fellowship of the Church.
1. Cor. 5. 2.

15 They object also, how that *Paul* grieuouly rebuketh the Corinthians for suffering in their company a man that was a hainous sinner, and then he setteth a generall sentence wherein he pronounceth, that it is vnlawfull euen to eate breade with a man of reprochfull life. Heere they cry out: If it be not lawfull to eate common bread, how may it be lawfull to eate with them the bread of the Lord? I confesse in deede that it is a great dishonor, if hogges and dogges haue place among the children of God: it is also a much more dishonor if the holy body of Christ be giuen foorth to them. And truly if they be well ordered Churches, they will not suffer wicked men in their bosome, and will not without choise admit both woorthy and vnwoorthy together, to that holy banket. But forasmuch as the Pastors doe not alway so diligently watch, yea and sometime are more tender in bearing with men than they ought to be, or are hindered so that they cannot vse that seueritie that they would: it commeth to passe that euen they that are openly euill, are not alway thrust out of the company of the holy ones. This I graunt to be a fault: neither will I diminish it, sith *Paul* doth so sharply rebuke it in the Corinthians. But although the Church be slacke in her ducric, it shall not be therefore immediatly in the power of euery priuate man, to take vpon himselfe the iudgement to suer him. I doe in deed not denie that it is the dooing of a godly man, to withdraw himselfe from all priuate companie of euill men, to entangle himselfe in no willing familiaritie with them. But it is one thing to flee the company of euill men, and another thing for hatred of them to forsake the communion of the Church. But whereas they thinke it sacriledge to be partakers of the Lords bread with them, they are therein much more rigorous than *Paul* is. For where he exhorteth vs to a holy and pure partaking, he requireth not that one should examine an other, or euery man the whole Church, but that they should ech one prouue himselfe. If it were vnlawful to communicate with an vnwoorthy man, then truly *Paul* would bid vs to look circumspectly whether there were any in the multitude, by whose vncleannes we might be defiled. Now when he requireth onely of euery man the prooffe of themselues, he sheweth that it nothing burtheth vs if any vnwoorthy doe thrust themselues in among vs. And nothing else is

1. Cor. 11. 18.

meant

meant by this which he saith after ward. He that eateth vnworthily, eateth and drin-
keth iudgement to himselfe. He doth not say, to other, but to himselfe. And rightfully.
For it ought not to stand in the choise of euery particular man, who be to be recei-
ued, and who to be reiected. The knowledge hereof belongeth to the whole Church,
which knowledge cannot be had without lawfull order, as hereafter shall bee saide
more at large. Therefore it should be vnrighteous, that any priuate man shoulde be
defiled with the vnworthinesse of another, whom he neither can nor ought to keepe
backe from comming to it.

1. Cor. 11. 29.

16 But although by this vndiscreete zeale of righteousnesse this tentation doth
sometime also enter into good men: yet this we shall find that too much precisenesse
groweth rather of pride, disdainfulnesse, and false opinion of holinesse, than of true
holinesse and true zeale thereof. Therefore they that are bolder than other, and as it
were standard bearers to make any departing from the Church, for the most part doe
it vpon no other cause, but in despising of, all men to boast themselues to be better
than other. Therefore *Augustine* saith well and wisely: When godly order and man-
ner of Ecclesiasticall discipline ought principally to haue regarde vnto the vnitie of
Spirite in the bond of peace: which the Apostle commaunded to be kept by bearing
one with another: and which being not kept, the medicine of reuenge is prouoed to
be not onely superfluous, but also pernicious, and therefore now to be no medicine
at all: those euill children, which not for hatred of other mens iniquities, but for affec-
tion of their owne contentions, doe greedily labour either wholly to draw or at least
to diuide the weake common people intangled with the boasting of their name, swell-
ing with pride, mad with stubbornesse, traiterous with slanders, troublesome with
seditions, least they should seeme to want the light of truth, doe pretend a shadow of
rigorous seueritie: and those things that are in the holy Scriptures commaunded
to be done with a gentler kinde of healing, sauing the sinceritie of loue, and keeping
the vnitie of peace, to correct the faultes of brethren, they abuse it to sacriledge of
schisme, and to occasion of cutting off. But to godly and quiet men hee giueth this
counsell, that they mercifully correct that which they can, and that which they can-
not, patiently beare, and grone and mourne with loue, vntill God either amend
and correct them, or at the haruest roote vp the tares, and fanne out the chaffe. Let the
godly trauaile to fortifie themselues with these armoures, least while they seeme to
themselues strong and couragious reuengers of righteousnesse, they depart from the
kingdome of heauen, which is the onely kingdome of righteousnesse. For sith it is gods
will to haue the communion of his Church to be kept in this outward fellowship: he
that for hatred of euil men doth break the token of that fellowship, entreth into a way
whereby is a slipperie falling from the communion of Saints. Let them thinke that in
a great multitude there be many truly holy and innocent before the eyes of the Lord,
whom they see not. Let them thinke that euen of them that be diseased there be many
that do not please or flatter themselues in their faultes, but being now and then awak-
ked with earnest feare of God do aspire to a greater vprightnesse. Let them thinke that
iudgement ought not to be giuen of a man by one deede: forasmuch as the holiest
do sometime fall away with a most grieuous fall. Let them thinke that to gather a
Church therelieth more weight both in the ministerie of the word and in the parta-
king of the holy mysteries, than that all that force should vanish away by the fault of
some wicked men. Last of all let them consider, that in iudging the Church, the
iudgement of God is of greater value than the iudgement of man.

*The furlinesse of
some by reason of
pride, and a vaine
opinion of their
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which by siue espe-
ciall considerati-
ons may be aban-
sed.*

Contra Par.
lib. 3. cap. 1.

Eiusd. lib. 6. 2.

17 Where also they pretend that the Church is not without cause called holy, it
is meet to weigh with what holinesse it excelleth: least if we will admit no Church but
such a one as is in all points perfect, wee leaue no Church at all: It is true indeede
which *Paul* saith, that *Christ* gaue himselfe for the Church to sanctifie it: that he clen-
sed it with the lauer of water with the word of life, to make her vnto himselfe a glori-
ous

*The Church in
such sort holy that
neither it can be at
any time altoget-
her pure & faulti-
lesse, nor being
faultie, ceaseth
thereby to be a
Church.*
Eph. 5. 15.

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Cap. I. Of the outwarde meanes

ous spouse hauing no spot, or wrinkle, &c. Yet this is also nothing lesse true, that the Lord daily worketh in smoothing her wrinkles and wiping away her spots. Whereupon followeth that her holines is not yet fully finished. Therefore the Church is so holy, that it daily profiteth and is not yet perfect: daily proceedeth, & is not yet come to the mark of holines: as also in another place shal be more largely declared. Whereas therefore the Prophets prophetic that there shall bee a holy *Hierusalem*, through which strangers shall not passe: & a holy temple whereinto vncleane men shall not enter: let vs not so take it, as if there were no spot in the members of the Church: but for that with their whole endeouour they aspire to holines & sound purenesse, by the goodnes of God cleannes is ascribed to them, which they haue not yet fully obtained. And although oftentimes there be but rare tokens of such sanctification among men: yet we must determine that there hath bene no time since the creation of the world wherein the Lord hath not had his Church, and that there shal also be no time to the very end of the world, wherein he shal not haue it. For albeit immediately from the beginning the whole kinde of men is corrupt and defiled by the sinne of *Adam*: yet out of this, as it were a polluted masse, God alway sanctifieth some vessels vnto honor, that there should be no age without feeling of his mercy. Which he hath testified by certaine promises, as these: I haue ordained a testament to my elect: I haue sworne to *Dauid* my seruant, I will for euer continue thy seed: I will build thy feate in generation & generation. Againe, the Lord hath chosen *Sion*, he hath chosen it for a dwelling to himselfe: This is my rest for euer, &c. Againe, these things saith the Lord which giueth the Sunne for the light of the day, the Moone and stars for the light of the night. If these lawes shall faile before me, then the seed of *Israel* shall also faile.

Ioel. 3. 17.
Esa. 35. 8.

Psal. 89. 4.

Psal. 132. 13.
Hier. 31. 35.

The corruptions of
the Church in the
Prophets times.

18 Hereof Christ himselfe, the Apostles, and in maner all the Prophets haue giuen vs example. Horrible are those descriptions wherein *Esay*, *Hierimie*, *Ioel*, *Abacuc*, and the other do lament the sicknesses of the Church of *Hierusalem*. In the common people, in the magistrate, in the Priestes all things were so corrupt, that *Esay* doubteth not to match *Hierusalem* with *Sodom* and *Gemorrha*. Religion was partly despised, partly defiled: in their maners, are commonly reported theftes, extortions, breaches of faith, murders and like mischiefes. Yet therefore the prophets did neither erect to themselves new Churches, nor build vp new altars on which they might haue several sacrifices: but of whatsoeuer maner men they were, yet because they considered, that God had left his word with them, and ordained ceremonies whereby he was there worshipped, in the midst of the assemblie of the wicked they helde vp pure hands vnto him. Truly if they had thought that they did gather any infection thereby, they would rather haue died a hundred times than haue suffered themselves to be drawn thereunto. Therefore nothing withhelde them from departing, but desire to the keeping of vnitie. But if the Prophets thought is against conscience, to estrange themselves from the church for many & great wicked doings, not of one or two men, but in maner of the whole people: then we take too much vpon vs, if wee dare by and by depart from the communion of that Church, where not all mens maners doe satisfie either our iudgement, yea or the Christian profession.

The Church of *Ierusalem* in the daies of Christ and his Apostles.

19 Now what manner world was there in the time of Christ and the Apostles? And yet that desperate vngodlines of the Pharisees, and the dissolute licentiousnesse of liuing, which then each where reigned, coulde not hinder, but that they vsed the same ceremonies with the people, and assembled with the rest into one temple to the publike exercises of religion. Whereof came that, but because they knew that the fellowship of euill men did not defile them, which with a pure conscience did communicate at the same ceremonies? If any man be little moued with the Prophets and Apostles, let him yet obey the authority of Christ. Therefore *Cyprian* wel saith though there be seene tares or vncleane vessels in the Church, yet there is no cause why we should depart from the Church: we must onely labour that we may be wheate:

Lib. 3. epi. 5.

we must vse diligence and endeouour as much as we may that we may be a golden or siluer vessell. But to breake the earthen vessells, is the onely worke of the Lorde, to whome also is giuen an iron rod. And let no man challenge to himselfe that which is properly belonging to the Sonne onely, to be able alone to fanne the floore, and cleanse the chaffe, and seuer all the tares by mans iudgement. This is a proude obstinacie, and presumption ful of sacrilege, which a peruerse furor taketh to it selfe, &c. Therefore let both these things remaine certainly fixed. First that he hath no excuse, that of his owne will forsaketh the outward communion of the Church. Where the worde of God is preached and the Sacraments ministred: then that the faultes of a few or of many are no hinderance, but that we may therein rightly professe our faith by the Ceremonies institute by God: because a godly conscience is not hurt by the vnwoorthinesse of any other either pastor or priuate man, and the mysteries are to a holy and vpriight man neuertheless pure and holsome because they are altogether handled of vncleane men.

20 Their precisenesse and disdainfulnesse proceedeth yet further: because they acknowledge no Church but such a one as is pure from all spots be they neuer so small: yea they are angrie with good teachers, for that in exhorting the faithfull to goe forward, they teach them all their life long to grone vnder the burden of vices, and to flee vnto pardon. For they prate that by this meane men be led from perfection. I graunt in deede, that in earnest calling vpon perfection we ought not slowly or coldly to trauel, much lesse to be idle, but to fil our mindes with confidence thereof while we be yet in our course, I say, it is a diuelish inention. Therefore in the Creede the forgiuenesse of sinnes is aptly ioyned next after the Church. For none doe attaine it, but onely they that are citizens and of the household of the Church as it is read in the Prophet. Therefore the building of the heavenly *Ierusalem* ought to goe before, wherein afterward this mercifulnesse of God may haue place, that whatsoever come vnto it, their iniquitie may be taken away. I say that it ought first to be builded, not for that there can be any Church without the forgiuenesse of sinnes, but because the Lorde hath not promised his mercie but in the communion of Saintes. Therefore the first entrie for vs into the Church and kingdome of God, is the forgiuenesse of sinnes, without which we haue no couenant or conioyning with God. For thus he saith by the Prophet, In that day will I strike you a couenant with the beast of the field, with the foule of the aire, and with the vermine of the earth. I will breake the sword of warre from out of the earth, and I will make men to sleepe without feare. I will espouse you vnto me for euer. I wil espouse you (I say) in rightcousnes, in iudgement, in mercie, and in compassions. We see how by his mercie the Lorde reconcileth vs to himselfe. And so in another place, when he foresaith that the people shall be gathered together againe, whom he had scattered abroad in his wrath, hee saith, I will cleanse them from all wickednesse wherewith they haue sinned against me. Wherefore by the signe of washing we enter into the fellowship of the Church, whereby we may be taught that there is no entrie open for vs into the household of God, vnlesse our filthinesse be first wiped away with his goodnesse.

21 But by the forgiuenesse of sinnes the Lord doth not onely receiue and adopt vs once into the Church, but by the same he also preseruethe and maintaineth vs still in it. For to what purpose were it, to haue such a pardon granted vs, as should serue for no vse? But euery one of the godly is a witnesse to himselfe that the mercie of God should be vaine and mocking, if it should be granted onely but once: because there is none that is not in his owne conscience prouie throughout his whole life of many weakneses, which neede the mercie of God. And truly not in vaine God promiseth this grace peculiarly to them of his owne household: and not in vaine he commaundeth the same message of reconciliation to be daily offered vnto them. Therefore as throughout all our life wee carrie about vs the remnant of sinne, vnlesse wee be

*Anabaptistick
affection of
purgie.*

Esaï. 33. 24.

Ofec. 2. 18.

Ierc. 33. 8.

*By remission of
sinnes men not
onely receiued into
but also kept and
continued in the
Church of Christ.*

sustained

Cap. I. Of the outward meanes

sustained with the continual grace of the Lord in forgiuing our sinnes, we shall scarcely abide one moment in the Church. But the Lord hath called his vnto eternal saluation. Therefore they ought to thinke that there is pardon alwaies readie for their sinns. Wherefore we ought to holde assuredly, that by the liberalitie of God by meane of Christs deseruing through the sanctification of the Spirit, sinnes haue beene and are daily pardoned to vs which be called and grafted into the bodie of the Church.

The keyes committed to the Church not for remission of sinnes to be warranted as well vnto factiſull men when they sinne, as vnto sinners when they first become factiſull.
 Matt. 16. 19.
 & 18. 18.
 Iohn. 20. 23.
 1. Cor. 5. 20.

22 To deale this benefite vnto vs, the keyes were giuen to the Church. For when Christ gaue the Apostles commandement, and deliuered them power to forgiue sinnes, hee meant not this onely, that they should loose them from sinnes that were from vngodlinesse conuerted to the faith of Christ: but rather that they should continually execute this office among the faithfull. Which thing *Paul* teacheth, when he writeth that the embassage of reconciliation was left with the ministers of the Church, whereby they should oftentimes in Christes name exhort the people to reconcile themselves to God. Therefore in the communion of Saints, by the ministry of the Church it selfe, sinns are continually forgiuen vs, when the Priests or Bishops, to whom that office is committed, doe with the promises of the Gospell confirme godly consciences in hope of pardon and forgiuenesse: and that as well publickly as privately, according as necessitie requireth. For there be very many, which for their weaknesse doe neede a singular atonement. And *Paul* reporteth that not onely in common preaching, but also in houses he had testified the Faith in Christ, and severally admonished euery one of the doctrine of saluation. Therefore we haue here three things to be noted. First that with how great holinesse fouer the children of God doe excell, yet they be alway in this estate, so long as they dwell in a mortall bodie, that without forgiuenesse of sinnes they cannot stand before God. Secondly, that this benefite is so proper to the Church, that we cannot otherwise enioy it, but if we abide in the Communion thereof. Thirdly, that it is distributed vnto vs by the ministers and Pastors, either by preaching of the Gospell, or by ministering of the Sacraments: and that in this behalfe principally appeereth the power of the keyes, which the Lord hath giuen to the fellowship of the faithfull. Wherefore let euery one of vs thinke this to be his dutie, no where else to seeke forgiuenesse of sinnes, than where the Lord hath set it. Of publike reconciliation which belongeth to discipline we shall speake in place fit for it.

A& 20. 20.

The error of Nouatians & Anabaptists, who, as if baptisme did make men Angels, demie pardon vnto sinners that are baptised.

23 But for as much as those phrentike spirites that I haue spoken of, doe go about to plucke away from the Church this onely anchor of saluation, consciences are the more strongly to be confirmed against a so pestilent opinion. The Nouatians in olde time troubled the Church with this doctrine: but not much unlike to the Nouatians our age also hath many of the Anabaptistes which fall to the same dotages. For they faine that the people of God are in Baptisme regenerate into a pure and Angeliike life, that is corrupted with no filthinesse of the flesh. But if any man offend after baptisme, they leaue vnto him nothing but the vnappeafable iudgement of God. Briefely they grant no hope of pardon to a sinner fallen after grace receiued: because they acknowledge no other forgiuenesse of sinnes but that whereby we be first regenerate. But although there be no lie more cleerely confuted by the Scriptures: yet because these men finde some whome they may deceiue (as also in olde time *Nouatus* had many followers) let vs shortly shewe how mad they bee to their owne and others destruction. First, whereas by the commandement of the Lord, the holic ones doe daily repeat this praier, forgiue vs our detts: truely they doe confesse themselves detters. Neither doe they craue it in vaine because the Lorde hath alway appointed no other thing to be asked, than that which he himselfe would giue. Yea, whereas he hath testified that the whole praier shall be heard of his father, yet he hath also sealed this absolution with a peculiar promise. What will we more? The Lord requireth of the holy ones al their life long a confession of sinnes, yea & that continual, and promisseth

Matt. 6. 11.

promiseth pardon. What boldnes is it, either to exempt them from sinne, or if they haue stumbled, utterly to exclude them from grace? Nowe whom doth he will vs to forgie seuentie times seauen times? not to our brethren? To what end did he command it, but that we should follow his clemencie? He forgiaeth therefore, not once or twice: but as often as being striken downe with the acknowledging of sins they sigh vnto him.

24 But (that we may begin in a maner at the verie swadling clouts of the church) the Patriarches were circumcised, being allured into partaking of the couenant, hauing vndoubtedly by their fathers diligence bene taught righteousnes and innocencie, when they conspired to murder their brother: this was a mischeuous acte, to be abhorred euen of the most desperate theecues. At the last being meekned with the motions of *Iudas*, they solde him: this was also an intollerable hainoufines. *Simeon & Leui*, with wicked reuenge, and such as was also condemned by their owne fathers: iudgement, vsed crueltye against the *Sichemites*. *Ruben* with most vnclane lust defiled his fathers bed. *Iudas* when hee woulde giue himselfe to fornication against the lawe of nature, went in to his sonnes wife. And yet so farre are they from being wiped out of the chosen people, that they be rather raised vp to be heads of it. But what did *Dauid*? when he was a gouernour of iustice, with how great wickednes did hee by shedding of innocent blood open the way to his blinde lust? Hee was already regenerate and among the regenerate garnished with notable praises of the Lord: neuertheless hee committed that haynous offence, which is horrible euen among the Gentiles: and yet hee obtained pardon. And (that wee may not tarrie vpon single examples) howe many promises there are in the lawe and the Prophetes of Gods mercie toward the *Israelites*, so oft it is prooued that the Lorde sheweth himselfe appeasable to the offences of his people. For what doth *Moses* promise to come to passe, when the people being fallen into Apostasie shall returne vnto the Lord? He shall bring thee backe out of captiuitie, and shall haue mercie on thee, and shall gather thee together out of the peoples to whom thou hast bene disperfed. If thou bee scattered euen to the borders of the heauen, I will from thence againe gather thee together.

25 But I will not begin a recitall that should neuer be ended. For the Prophetes are full of such promises, which do yet offer mercy to the people couered with infinite wicked doings. What offence is there more hainous than rebellion? for it is called a diuorce betweene God and the Church. But this is ouercome by the goodnes of God. What man is there (saith he by *Ieremie*) that if his wife giue sooth her bodie in common to adulterers, can abide to returne into fauor with her? but with thy fornication all the waies are polluted, O *Juda*, the earth hath bene filled with thy filthie loues. But returne vnto mee, and I will receiue thee. Returne thou, turne away, I will not turne away my face from thee: because I am holy, and am not angry for euer. And truly he can bee no otherwise minded, which affirmeth that hee willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be couerted & liue. Therefore when *Salomon* did dedicate the tēple, he appointed it also to this vse, that the prayers made for obtaining pardon of sinnes should be heard from thence. If (said he) thy sons shall sin (for there is no man that sinneth not) and thou being angry shalt deliuer them to their enemies, & they shall repent in their hart, and being turned shall entreat thee in their captiuitie, saying, we haue sinned, we haue done wickedly, & shall praie toward the land which thou hast giuen to their fathers, and toward this holic temple: thou shalt heare their prayers 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 vainely the Lord ordained in the law daily sacrifices for sins. For if the Lord had not foreseene that his people should be troubled with continuall diseases of sins, he would neuer haue appointed these remedies for them.

Pardon granted to the Patriarches which solde their brother, to Simeon and Leui, to Ruben, to Dauid, to the people of Israel after circumcision.

Gen. 37. 18.
Gen. 13. 28.
Gen. 34. 25.
Gen. 35. 22.
Gen. 38. 16.
2. Sam. 11. 4. & 15.

Deut. 30. 3.

Pardon offered by the prophet to the people couered with infinite sins.

Iere. 1. 3. & 12.

Eze. 18. 23. & 32.

2. Reg. 8. 16.

Num. 28. 3.

The grace of pardoning sins not diminished by Chr. Its coming.

Tit. 1. 9 & 3. 4.

2. Tim. 1. 9.

Mat. 10. 33.

Mark. 6. 38.

Matt. 26. 39.

2. Tim. 3. 6.

A. C. 8. 22.

Gal. 1. 6. & 3. 1.

& 4. 9.

2. Cor. 12. 21.

26 Was this benefite taken away from the faithfull, by the coming of Christ, wherein the fulnes of grace was shewed forth, so that they dare not now pray for pardon of sins? that if they offend the Lord they may not obtaine any mercie? What shall this be else, but to say that Christ came to the destruction of them that be his, and not to their saluation, if that mercifulnes of God in pardoning sins which in the olde testament was continually readie for the holy ones, be now said to bee viterly taken away? But if we beleue the Scriptures which expressly criē out, that in Christ only the grace and kindnes of the Lord fully appeared, that the plentifulnes of mercy was powred out, and the reconciliation of God and men was fulfilled: let vs not doubt that there floweth vnto vs a more bountifull mercifulnes of the heavenly father, than that it is cut off or shortned. And herofore there want not examples. *Peter* which had heard that he should be denied before the Angels of God that confessed not the name of Christ before men, denied him thuse in one night, and that not without exccration: yet he was not put away from pardon. They that liued inordinately among the *Theffilonians* are so chastised, that yet they be gently called to repentance. Euen *Simon* the Magician himselfe is not cast in desperation, but he is rather commanded to hope well, when *Peter* counselleth him to flee to prayer.

Whole Churches wrapped in sin & yet not excluded from pardon.

27 Yea most hainous sinnes haue sometime possessed whole Churches, out of which *Paul* rather gently vnwrapped them, than pronounced them accursed. The falling away of the *Galarthians* was no meane offence. The *Corinthians* were so much lesse excusable than they, as they abounded in mo and those nothing lighter sinns: yet neither of them are excluded from the mercie of God. Yea euen they that had sinned about the rest in vncleannesse, fornication and vnchastitie, are namely called to repentance. For the couenant of the Lord remaineth and shall remaine for euer inuio- lable, which he solemnly made with Christ the true *Salomon* and his members, in these words: If his sons shall forsake my law, and shall not walke in my iudgements, if they shall defile my righteousnesse, and not keepe my commandements, I will visite their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with stripes: But my mercie I will not take away from him. Finally by the verie order of the Creede we be taught, that there remaineth in the Church of Christ continuall pardon of sins: For that when the church is as it were established, yet forgiveness of sins is adioyned.

Plal. 89. 32.

Sin after baptisme not onely through ignorance but willingly committed, yet pardonable.

Leu. 4.

28 Some that be somewhat wiser, when they see the doctrine of *Niquatus* to be confuted with so great plainnes of Scripture, make not euerie sin vnardonable, but wilfull transgressing of the law, into which a man wittingly & willingly falleth. Now they that say so, do vouchsafe to grant pardon to no sin, but where a man hath erred by ignorance. But whereas the Lord in the law commandeth one sort of Sacrifices to be offered for cleansing of the wilfull sinns of the faithfull, and other to redeme their ignorances: how great lewdnesse shall it be to graunt no cleansing to wilfull sinne? I say that there is nothing plainer, than that the only sacrifice of Christ auaieth to forgive the wilfull sinns of the holy ones: so farinuch as the Lord hath testified the same by carnal Sacrifices as by signes. Againe who can excuse *Dauid* by ignorance, whom it is euident to haue bene so well instructed in the law? Did *Dauid* not know how great was the fault of adultry and manslaughter, which daily punished the same in other? Did brother slaughter seeme to the Patriakes a lawfull thing? Had the *Corinthians* so ill proficed that they thought that wantonnes, vncleannes, whoredome, hatreds, and contentions pleased God? Did *Peter* being so diligently admonished not know how great a matter it was to forswear his maister? Therefore let vs not with our owne enuiousnes stop vp the way against the mercie of God that so gently vttereth it selfe.

In what sense the fathers do sometimes teach that repentance is no more iterable than baptisme.

29 Truly I am not ignorant that the olde writers expounded those sinnes that are daily forgiven to the faithfull, to be the light offences that creepe in by weaknes of the flesh: and that they thought that the solemne repentance which was then required

required for hainous misdeedes might no more be iterate than Baptisme. Which saying is not so to be taken, as though they would either throw them downe headlong into desperation that after their first Repentance had fallen againe, or extenuate those other sinnes as though they were small in the sight of God. For they knew that the holy ones doe oftentimes stagger by infidelitie, that superfluous othes do sometimes fall from them, that they now and then are chafed vnto anger, yea that they beake out euen into manifest railings, and beside these be troubled with other euilles which the Lord not slenderly abhorreth: but they so called them, to put a difference betwene them and publike crimes that with great offence came to the knowledge of the Church. But whereas they did so hardly pardon them that had committed any thing worthy of Ecclesiasticall correction, they did not this therefore, because they thought that such should hardly haue pardon with the Lord: but by this securitie they meant to make other affraide that they should not rashly runne into wicked dooings, by the deserring whereof they might be estranged from the Communion of the Church: howbeit truely the word of the Lord which herein ought to be the onely rule vnto vs, appointeth a greater moderation. For it teacheth that the rigor of discipline is so far to be extended, that he that ought chiefly to be provided for be not swallowed vp with heaunes: as we haue before declared more at large.

The ij. Chapter.

A comparison of the false Church with the true Church.

OF how great value the ministerie of the word and Sacraments ought to be with vs, and how farre the reuerence of it ought to procede, that it be vnto vs a perpetuall token whereby to discerne the Church, it hath bene already declared. That is to say, wheresoeuer that ministerie abideth whole and vncorrupted, there the faults or diseases of maners are no impediment but that it may beare the name of a Church. Then, that the very ministerie it selfe is by small errors not so corrupted, but that it may be esteemed lawfull. Morcouer we haue shewed that the errors that ought so to be pardoned are those whereby the principall doctrine of religion is not hurt, whereby those chiefe pointes of religion that ought to be agreeably holden among the Faithfull are not destroyed, and in the Sacrament, those that doe not abolish nor impair the lawfull institution of him that ordained them. But so soone as lying is broken into the chiefe tower of religion, so soone as the summe of necessarie doctrine is perverted, and the vse of the Sacraments falleth: truly the destruction of the Church followeth: like as a mans life is at an end, when his throate is thrust through or his hart deadly wounded. And this is clearly prooued by the words of *Paul*, when he teacheth that the foundation of the Church is laide vpon the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophetes, Christ himselfe being the head corner stone. If the foundation of the Church be the doctrine of the Prophetes and Apostles, by which the Faithfull are commaunded to repose their saluation in ouely Christ: then take away that doctrine, and how shall the building stand any longer? Therefore the Church must needs fall downe where that summe of religion falleth which is onely able to vphold it. Againe, if the true Church be the pillar and stay of the truth, it is certaine, that there is no Church, where lying and falshood haue vsurped the dominion.

2 Sith it is in such case vnder the Papistic, we may vnderstand how much of the Church is there remaining. In steede of the ministerie of the word, there reigneth a peruerse gouernment and made of lies mingled together, which partly quencheth and partly choaketh the pure light: Into the place of the Lordes Supper is entered a most filthy sacriledge: the forme of worshipping God is deformed with a

Some faultes doe corrupt and some destroy the Church.

Eph. 2. 10.

1. Tim. 3. 15.

What manner of Church vnder the Papacie.

manifolde and intollerable heape of superstitions: the doctrine, without which Christianitie cannot stand, is altogether buried and driuen out: the publike assemblies are the schooles of idolatrie and vngodlinesse. Therefore there is no perill least in departing from a damnable partaking of so many mischiefes, we be plucked from the Church of Christ. The communion of the Church was not ordained to this ende that it should be a bond whereby we should be intrangled with idolatrie, vngodlinesse, ignorance of God, and other kindes of euils: but rather whereby we should be fast holden in the feare of God and obedience of truth. They do indeed gloriously set out their Church vnto vs, that there should seem to be no other Church in the world: and afterward, as though the victorie were gotten, they decree that all bee Schismatiques that dare withdraw themselues from the obedience of that Church that they point out: and that all be heretikes that dare once mutter against the doctrine thereof. But by what prooues do they confirme that they haue the true Church? They alleage out of the ancient Chronicles, what in olde time was in *Italie*, in *Fraunce*, in *Spainie*. They say that they fetch their beginning from those holy men that with sound doctrine founded and raised vp Churches, and stablished the same doctrine and edifying of the Church with their blood. And that so the Church hath bene among them so consecrate both with spirituall gifts, and with the blood of Martyrs, and preserved with continual succession of Bishops, that it might not fall away. They rehearse how much *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, and other esteemed this succession. But how trifling these things be, and how they be but verie mockeries, I will make them verie easie to vnderstand that will be content a little to weigh them with me. Truly I would also exhort themselues earnestly to take heede herunto, if I did trust that I might any thing preuaile with them by teaching. But for as much as they, leauing all regarde of truth, do bende themselues to this onely purpose, by all the waies that they can, to defende their owne cause, I will onely speake a few things whereby good men and those that loue the truth, may winde themselues out of their fittle caualtions. First I aske of them, why they do not alleage *Aphrike*, and *Aegypt*, and all *Asia*? Euen because in all those countries this holy succession of Bishops hath ceased, by meane whereof they boast that they haue preserved Churches. They come therefore to this point to say, that they therefore haue a true Church, because since it first began to be, it hath not been destitute of Bishops: for in perpetuall course they haue succeeded one another. But what if I cast Greece in their way? Therefore I aske againe of them, why they say that the Church is lost among the Grecians, among whom that succession of Bishops was neuer interrupted, which in their opinion is the only keeper and preseruer of the Church. They make the Grecians Schismatiques, but by what right? because in departing from the Apostolike see, they haue lost their priuiledge. What? Doe not they much more deserue to loose it that depart from Christ himselfe? It followeth therefore, that the pretence of succession is but vaine, vnlesse the posteritie do keepe fast and abide in the truth of Christ, which they haue receiued of their fathers from hand to hand.

3 Therefore the Romanistes at this day do alleage nothing else but that which it appeareth that the Iewes in old time alleaged when they were by the Prophets of the Lord reprocued of blindness, vngodlinesse and idolatrie. For they gloriously boasted of the temple, Ceremonies and priesthoods, by which things, by great reason as they thinke they measured the Church. So in steed of the Church, they shew certaine outward visors, that oftentimes are far from the Church, and without which the Church may very well stand. Therefore wee neede to confute them with no other argument, than that wherewith *Hieremie* fought against the foolish presumptuousnes of the Iewes: that is, that they should not boast in lying words, saying: The temple of the Lorde, the temple of the Lorde, it is the temple of the Lord. For as much as the Lord doeth no where acknowledge any thing for his, but where his

The Church amongst the Iewes
vanely measured
by outward things,
as th' glorie of the
temple, the pompe
of ceremonies, the
succession of
Priestes.
Iere. 7. 4.

word is heard & reuerently obserued. So when the glory of God did sit betwene the Cherubins in the Sanctuarie, and he had promised them that that should be his steadfast seate: yet when the Priests once corrupted the worshipping of him with peruerse superstitions, he remooued else where, and left the place without any holinesse. If the same temple which seemed to be holily appointed to the perpetuall dwelling of God, might be forsaken of God and become vnholly: there is no cause why these men should saie to vs that God is so bound to persons or places, and so fast tied to outward obseruations, that he must needs abide with them that haue onelie the title and shewe of the Church. And this is it about which *Paul* contendeth in the Epistle to the Romanes, from the 9. Chapter to the 12. For this did fore trouble weak confereces, that the *Iewes* when they seemed to be the people of God, did not onely refuse the doctrine of the Gospell, but also persecuted it. Therefore after that he hath set out the doctrine, he remooueth this doubt, and denieth that those *Iewes* being enemies of the truth are the Church, howsoever they wanted nothing that otherwise might be required to the outward forme of the Church. And therefore he denieth it, because they embrace not Christ. But somewhat more expressly in the Epistle to the Galathians: wherein comparing *Ismael* with *Isaac*, he saith that many hold place in the Church, to whom the inheritance belongeth not, because they are not begotten of the free Mother. From whence also he descendeth to the comparisom of two *Hierusalems*. Because as the Law was giuen in the mount *Sina*, but the Gospell came out of *Hierusalem*: So many being feruently borne and brought vp doe without doubting boast themselues to be the children of God and of the Church, yea they proudly despise the naturall children of God, when themselues be but bastards. On the other side also, when we heare that it was once pronounced from heauen: Cast out the bond woman and her sonne, let vs, standing vpon this inuiolable decree, boldly despise their vsauorie boasting. For if they be proud by reason of outward profession, *Ismael* was also circumcised: if they contend by antiquitie, he was the first begotten, and yet we see that he is put awaie. If the cause be demanded, *Paul* assigneth it, for that none are accounted children, but they that are begotten of the pure lawfull seede of doctrine. According to this reason God denieth that he is bound to wicked Priestes by this that he couenanteth with their Father *Leui* that he should be his Angell or interpreter: yea, he turneth against themselues their false boasting, wherewith they were wont to rise vp against the Prophets, that the dignitie of Priesthood was to be had in singular estimation. This he willingly admitteth, and with the same condition he debateth with them, because he is ready to keepe his couenant, but when they doe not mutually performe their parte to him, they deserue to be reiected. Loe what succession auaileth, vnlesse therewithall be also ioined an imitation and euenly continuing course: euen to this effect, that the successors, so soone as they be proued to haue swaued from their originall, be deprived of all honor. Vnlesse perhaps because *Caiphaz* succeeded many godly Bishops (yea there was euen from *Aaron* to him a continuall vnbrooken course of succession) therefore that same mischieuous assembly was woorthie the name of the Church. But this were not tolerable euen in earthly dominions, that the tyrannie of *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Helio-gabalus* and such other, should be called a true state of Commonweale, for that they succeeded the Brutes, Scipions, and Camilles. But specially in the gouernement of the Church there is nothing more sonde, than leauing the Doctrine to set the succession in the Persons onely. But neither did the holy Doctores whom they falsely thrust in vnto vs, meane any thing lesse, than to prooue that precisely as it were by right of inheritance Churches be there where Bishops are successiue placed one after another. But where as it was then out of controuersie, that from the very beginning to that age nothing was changed in Doctrine, they alleged that which might suffice to make an ende of all newe errours, that is, that by those was that doctrine

Cap. 2. Of the outward meanes

oppugned, which had beene euen from the Apostles constantly and with one agreeing consent retained. There is therefore no cause, why they should any longer goe forward to deceiue by pretending a false colour vnder the name of the church which we do reuerently esteeme as becommeth vs: but when they come to the definition of it, not only water (as the common saying is) cleaueth vnto them, but they sticke fast in their owne myre because they put a thinking harlot in place of the holy spouse of Christ. That this putting in of a changeling should not deceiue vs, beside other admonitions, let vs remember this also of *Augustine*. For speaking of the Church, hee saith: It is it that is sometime darkned and couered with multitude of offences as with a cloud: sometime in calmnes of time appeareth quiet and free: sometime is hidden and troubled with waues of tribulations and temptations. He bringeth forth examples, that oftentimes the strongest pillers either valiantly suffered banishment for the faith, or were hidden in the whole world.

Ad Vincen.
epist. 48.

*Like pretences
vs'd by Romanists
to dazzle the eyes of
the simple and to
upho'd the estimation
of their
Church.*
John 18. 37.
Luk. 20. 14.

¶ In like maner the Romanists do vex vs, and make afraid the ignorant with the name of the Church, whereas they be the deadly enemies of Christ. Therefore although they pretend the temple, the priesthood and the other such outward shewes, this vaine glistering wherewith the eyes of the simple be dazeled ought nothing to moue vs to graunt that there is a Church where the Worde of God doth not appeare. For this is the perpetual marke wherewith God hath marked them that be his. He that is of the truth (saith he) heareth my voice. Againe, I am that good shepheard, and I know my sheep, and am knowen of them. My sheep heare my voice, & I know them, and they follow me. And a little before he had said, that the sheepe follow their shepheard, because they knew his voice: but they follow not a stranger, but run away from him because they knew not the voice of strangers. Why are we therefore wilfully mad in iudging the Church, whereas Christ hath marked it with an vndoubtfull signe, which whersoever it is seene cannot deceiue, but that it certainly sheweth the Church to be there: but where it is not, there remaineth nothing that can giue a true signification of the Church. For *Paul* rehearseth that the church was builded, not vpon the iudgements of men, not vpon priesthoods, but vpon the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets. But rather Hierusalem is to be feuerally knowen from Babylon, and the Church of Christ from the conspiracie of Satan, by that difference wherewith Christ hath made them different one from the other. He that is of God (saith he) heareth the words of God. Ye therefore heare not, because ye are not of God. In a sum, forasmuch as the Church is the kingdome of Christ, and he reigneth not but by his word, can it be now doubtfull to any man, but that those be the words of lying, by which Christs kingdome is fained to be without his scepter, that is to say without his holy word?

Eph. 2. 20.

John. 8. 47.

*Our Churches by
Romanists with-
out iust cause ac-
cus'd of heresie
and of Schisme.*

*Byzantine
Schism*

Lib. questi.
Euang. sec.
Math.

5 But now whereas they accuse vs of Schisme and heresie, because we both preach a contrarie doctrine to them, and obey not their lawes, and haue our assemblies to praiers, to baptisme, to the ministration of the Supper, and other holy doings, feuerally from them: it is indeed a very sore accusation, but such as needeth not a long or laborosome defence. They are called heretiks & schismatiks, which making a diuision, do break in sunder the communion of the Church. And this communion is holden together with true bondes, that is to say, the agreement of true doctrine, and brotherly charity. Wherupon *Augustine* putteth this difference between heretiks and schismatiks, that heretiks indeed do with false doctrine corrupt the purenes of faith, but the schismatiks sometime euen where there is like faith, do breake the bonde of fellowippe. But this is also to be noted, that this conioyning of charitie so hangeth vpon the vntie of Faith, that faith ought to be the beginning thereof, the ende, and finally the only rule. Let vs therefore remember that so oft as the vntie of the church is comended vnto vs, this is required, that while our minds agree in christ, our wils also may be ioined together with mutual wel willing in Christ. Therefore *Paul* when he

exhorteth

exhorteth vs to that well willing, taketh for his foundation that there is one God, one Faith, and one Baptisme. Yea wherefoeuer he teacheth vs to be of one minde, and of one will, he by and by addeth in Christ, or according to Christ: meaning that it is a factious companie of the wicked, and not agreement of the faithfull which is without the word of the Lorde.

6 *Cyprian* also following *Paul* deriucth the whole fountaine of the agreement of the Church, from the onely Bishoprick of Christ. He after ward addeth the Church is but one, which spreadeth abroade more largely into a multitude with encrease of fruitfulness: like as there be many sunne beames, but one light: and many branches of a tree, but one body grounded vpon a fast roote: And when many streames doe flowe from one fountaine, although the number seeme to bee scattered abroad by largenes of ouerflowing plentie, yet the vnitie abideth in the originall. Take away a beame of the sunne from the body, the vnitie can suffer no diuision. Breake a branch from the tree, the broken branch cannot spring. Cut off the stream from the spring head being cut off it drieth vp. So also the Church being ouersped with the light of the Lord, is extended ouer the whole world: yet there is but one light that is spred euerie where. Nothing could be said more fitly to expresse that vniuersall knitting together, which all the members of Christ haue one with another. We see how he continually calleth vs backe to the verie head. Whereupon he pronounceth that heresies and schismes do arise hereof, that men do not returne to the originall of truth, nor do seeke that head, nor keepe the doctrine of the heauenly master. Now let them go and crie that we be heretikes that haue departed from their church: sith there hath bene no cause of our estranging from them but this one, that they can in no wise abide the pure professing of the truth: but I tell not howe they haue driuen vs out with curfings & cruell execrations. Which very selfe doing doth abundantly enough acquite vs, vntill they will also condemne the Apostles for schismatickes, with whome wee haue al one cause. Christ (I saie) did fore say to his apostles, that the time should come when they should be cast out of the Synagogues for his name sake. And those Synagogues of which he speaketh, were then accounted lawful Churches. Sith therefore it is euident that we be cast out, and we be ready to shew that the same is done for the names sake of Christ, truly the cause ought first to bee inquired of, before that anie thing be determined vpon vs, either one way or other. Howbeit, if they will, I am content to discharge them of this point. For it is enough for me, that it behooued that we should depart from them, that we might come to Christ.

7 But it shall appeere yet more certainly in what estimation wee ought to haue all the Churches whom the tyrannie of that Romish idol hath possessed, if it be compared with the old church of the Israelites, as it is described in the Prophets. There was then a true Church among the Iewes and Israelites, when they continued in the lawes of the couenant, for they obtained those things by the benefite of God, whereupon the Church consisteth. They had the truth of doctrine in the law: the ministerie thereof was among the Priests and Prophetes: with the signe of circumcision they entred into religion: by other Sacraments they were exercised to the confirmation of Faith. It is no doubt that those titles wherewith the Lord hath honored his church, fitly pertained to their fellowship. After that, forsaking the law of the Lord they went out of kind to idolatry and superstition, they partly lost that prerogative. For who dare take away the name of the Church from them, with whome God hath left the preaching of his word and obseruation of his mysteries? Againe, who dare call that the Church without any exception, where the worde of the Lord is openly and freely troden vnder foote? where the ministerie thereof, the chiefe sinewe, yea the very soule of the Church is destroyed?

8 What then? will some man say: was there therefore no parcell of a Church remaining among the Iewes after that they sel away to idolatry? The answer is easie.

Eph. 4.5.

Phil. 2.2 & 5.

*The vniuersall
minde of the
church: the ground
and bond wherof
is truth.
De simpl. prelat.*

Ioh. 16.2.

*The church and
the defection of the
Church of Israel.*

*What was remain-
ing of the church
in Iuda and Israel
when they were
fallen to idolatrie.*

First I say that in the very falling away there were certaine degrees. For we will not say that there was all one fall of *Juda*, and *Israel*, at such time as they both first swarued from the pure worshipping of God. When *Iarobeam* first made calves, against the open prohibition of God, and did dedicate an vnlawfull place for worshipping, he did vterly corrupt religion. The Iewes did first defile themselues with wicked and superstitious maners before that they wrongfully changed the order in the outward forme of religion. For although vnder *Rechabeam* they had already gotten them many peruerse Ceremonies: yet because there tarried at Hierusalem both the Doctrine of the Law, and the Priesthood, and the ceremonious vsages in such sort as God had ordained them, the godly had there a tolerable state of Church. Among the Israelites vnto the raigne of *Ahab*, there was no amendment of things, and from thence forth they fell from worse to worse. They that succeeded afterward, to the verie destruction of the kingdome, partly were like vnto him, & partly (whē they minded to be somewhat better than he) they followed the example of *Iarobeam*: but they all euer y one were wicked and idolaters. In Iewry there were now and then diuerse chaunges, while some kings peruerted the worshipping of God with false and forged superstitions, some other restored religion that was decayed: vntill the verie priests themselues defiled the Temple of God with prophane and abhominable vsages.

The Church of Rome more corrupte than the Church of Israel vnder Ieroboam.

9 Now let the Papiſts if they can how much ſoever they extenuate their owne faults, deny that among them the ſtate of religion is as corrupt and defiled as it was in the kingdome of Israel vnder *Iarobeam*. But they haue a groſſer idolatrie: and in doctrine they are not one drop purer: vniſſe peradventure euen in it alſo they be more vnpure. God, yea all men that are endued but with a meane iudgement, ſhal be witneſſes with me, and the thing it ſelfe alſo declareth, how herein I tell nothing more than truth. Now when they will driue vs to the communion of the Church, they require two things of vs: firſt, that we ſhould communicate with all their prayers, ſacraments, and Ceremonies: then that whatſoever honor, power and iuriſdiction Chriſt giueth to his Church, we ſhould giue the ſame to their Church. As to the firſt point, I graunt that all the Prophets that were at *Hieruſalem*, when things were there verie much corrupted, did neither ſeuerally ſacrifice, nor had aſſembles to pray ſeueral from other men. For they had a commaundement of God, whereby they were commaunded to come together into *Salomons* temple: they knew that the Leviticall priests, how ſoever they were vnworthy of that honour, yet because they were ordained by the Lord miniſters of the holy ceremonies, and were not as then depoſed, did yet ſtill rightfully poſſeſſe that place. But (which is the cheefe point of this queſtion) they were compelled to no ſuperſtitious worshipping, yea they tooke in hand to do nothing but that which was ordained by God. But among theſe men, I meane the Papiſts, what like thing is there? For we can ſcarcely haue any meeting together with them, wherein we ſhal not defile our ſelues with open idolatrie. Truly the principall bond of their communion is in the Maſſe, which we abhorre as the greateſt ſacrilege. And whether we do this rightfully or wrongfully, ſhal be ſeene in another place. At this preſent it is enough to ſhew that in this behalfe we are in other caſe than the Prophets were, which although they were preſent at the ceremonies of the wicked, were not compelled to behold or uſe any ceremonies but ſuch as were inſtitute by God. And, if they will needes haue an example altogether like, let vs take it out of the kingdome of Israel. After the ordinance of *Ieroboam* Circumciſion remained, the ſacrifices were offered, the Lawe was accounted holy, the ſame God was called vpon whom they had receiued of their fathers: but for the forged and forbidden formes of worshipping, God diſallowed and condemned all that was there done. Shew me one Prophet, or any one godly man that once worſhipped or ſacrificed in *Bethell*. For they knew they could not doe it, but that they ſhould defile themſelues with ſome ſacrilege. We haue then thus much, that the communion

Exod. 29. 9.

2. King. 12. 31.

of the Church ought not so farre to be of force with the godly, that if it shoulde degenerate to prophane and filthie vsages, they shoulde forthwith of necessitie follow it.

10 But about the other point we contend yet more earnestly. For if the Church be so considered to be such, whose iudgement we ought to reuerence, whose authoritie to regard, whose monitions to obey, with whose chastisements to be moued, whose communion in all things we ought religiously to obserue: then we cannot graunt them a Church, but that we must of necessitie be bound to subiection and obedience vnto it. Yet we will willingly graunt them that which the Prophets graunted to the Iewes and Israelites of their time: when things were there in as good, yea or in better state. But we see how eachwhere they cry out, that their assemblies are vnholly, to which it is no more lawfull to consent than it is to deny God. And truly if those were Churches, it followeth therefore that in Israel *Helias, Micheas* and such other: In *Iurie, Esay, Ieremy, Osee* and other of that sort, whome the Prophets, priests and people of that time hated & detested worse than any vn circumcised men, were strangers from the Church of God. If those were Churches, then the Church was not the pillar of trueth, but the stay of lying: not the tabernacle of the liuing God, but the receptacle of idols. Therefore it was needefull for them to depart from the consent of those assemblies, which was nothing else but a wicked conspiracie against God. In like manner if anie man acknowledge the assemblies at these dayes being defiled with idolatrie, superstition and wicked doctrine, to be such in whose full communion a Christian man ought to continue euen to the consent of doctrine, he shall greatly erre. For if they be Churches, then they haue the power of the keyes. But the keyes are vnseperably knit with the word, which is from thence quite driuen away. Again, if they be Churches, then the promise of Christ is of force among them, whatsoeuer ye binde, &c. But they contrariwise do banish from their communion all such as do professe themselves not fainedly the seruants of Christ. Therefore either the promise of Christ is vaine, or at least in this respect they are not Churches. Finally in steede of the ministry of the word they haue schooles of vngodlinesse, and a sinke of all kindes of errours. Therefore either in this respect they are not Churches, or three shall remaine no token whereby the lawfull assemblies of the faithfull may be feuerally known from the meetings of Turkes.

11 But as in the olde time there yet remained among the Iewes certaine peculiar prerogatiues of the Church, so at this day also we take not from the Papists such steps as it pleased the Lord to haue remaining among them after the disputation of the Church. The Lord had once made his couenant with the Iewes. That same rather being vpholden by the stedfastnesse of it selfe did continue with struing against their vngodlinesse, than was preferred by them. Therefore (such was the assurednesse and constancie of Gods goodnes) there remained the couenant of the Lord, neither could his faithfulness be blotted out by their vnfaithfulness: neither could Circumcision be so prophaned with their vnclane hands, but that it still was the signe and sacrament of that couenant. Whereupon the children that were borne of them, the Lord called his owne, which vnlesse it were by speciall blessing, belonged nothing to him. So when he hath left his couenant in *France, Italie, Germanie, Spaine, England*: since those prouinces haue bene oppressed with the tyranny of Antichrist, yet that his couenant might remaine inuiolable, first he there preserved Baptisme, the testimonie of his couenant, which being consecrate by his owne mouth retaineth her owne force notwithstanding the vngodlines of man: then, with his prouidence he hath wrought that there should remaine other remnants, least the Church should be vterly destroyed. And as oftentimes buildings are so pulled downe, that the foundations and ruines remaine: so he hath not suffered his Church either to be owerthrowen by Antichrist from the very foundation, or to be laid euen with the ground.

A Church degenerated and made prophane is no such Church as we ought of necessitie to haue communion with and fellowship.

1. Tim. 3. 15.

Matr. 16. 19.
and 18. 18.
Iohn. 20. 23.

The steps of a Church remaining as of old in the corrupt state of Israel, so at this day amongst the Romanists.

ground (howsoeuer to punish the vnthankfulnesse of men that had despised his word, he suffereth horrible shaking and dissipation to chance) but euen after the very wanting he willed that the building halfe pulled downe should yet remaine.

The Church of Rome not simply a Church nor vserly no Church, but a Church profaned and vnlawfully ordered. Dan. 9. 27. 2. The. 2. 4.

12 Whereas therefore we will not simply graunt to the Papiests the title of the Church, we doe not therefore denie that there be Churches among them: but only we contend of the true and lawfull ordering of the Church: which is required in the communion both of the sacraments which are the signes of profession, but also, specially of doctrine. *Daniel* and *Paul* foretolde that Antichrist shoulde sit in the temple of God. With vs we account the Bishop of *Rome* the captaine and standarde bearer of that wicked and abhominable kingdome. Whereas his seate is placed in the temple of God, thereby is meant that his kingdome shall be such as cannot abolish the name of Christ nor of his Church. Hereby therefore appeereth, that we doe not denie but that euen vnder his tyrannie remaine churches, but such as he hath profaned with vngodlinesse full of sacrilege, such as he hath afflicted with outrageous dominion, such as he hath corrupted and in manner killed with euill and damnable doctrines, as with poisoned drinks: such wherein Christ lieth halfe buried, the Gospell ouerwhelmed, godlinesse banished, the worshipping of God in a manner abolished: such finally wherein all things are so troubled, that therein rather appeereth the face of *Babylon* than of the holy city of God. In a summe, I say that they be Churches, in respect that the Lord there maruellously preserveth the remnants of his people howsoeuer they were dispersed and scattered abroad, in respect that there remaine some tokens of the Church, especially these tokens, the effectualnesse whereof neither the craft of the diuell, nor the maliciousnesse of man can destroy. But on the other side because these marks are blotted out, which in this discourse we ought principally to haue respect vnto, I say that euery one of their assemblies and the whole bodie wanteth the lawfull forme of a Church.

The iij. Chapter.

Of the teachers and ministers of the Church, and of their election and office.

The reasons why God would haue his Church so be governed by men.

Mat. 26. 11.

NOW it is meete that we speake of the order, by which it was the Lords will to haue this Church governed. For although in his Church he onely must rule and reigne, yea and beare preeminence or excell in it, and this gouernment to be vsed or executed by his onely worde: yet because he dwelleth not among vs in visible presence, so that he can presently with his owne mouth declare his will vnto vs, we haue said that in this he vseth the ministerie of men, and as it were the trauell of deputies, not in transferring his right and honour vnto them, but onely that by their mouth he might doe his owne worke, like as a workman to doe his worke vseth his instrument. I am compelled to repeate againe those things that I haue already declared. He might in deede doe it either by himselfe without any other helpe or instrument, or also by meane of Angels: but there are many causes why he had rather doe it by men. For by this meane first he declareth his good will toward vs, when he taketh out of men them that shall doe his message in the world, that shall be the interpreters of his secret will, finally that shall represent his owne person. And so by experience he proueth that it is not vaine that commonly hee calleth vs his temples, when out of the mouthes of men, as out of his sanctuarie, hee giueth answers to men. Secondly, this is the best and most profitable exercise to humilitie, when he accustometh vs to obey his worde, howsoeuer it be preached by men like vnto vs, yea sometime our inferiours in dignitie. If hee himselfe speake from heauen, it were no maruell if his holy Oracles were without delay reuerently receiued with the cares and mindes of all men. For who would not dreade his power being in presence?

Aug. lib. 1. de doct. Christ.

presence? who would not be thrown downe at the first sight of so great maieſtie? who would not be confounded with that infinite brightnesse? But when some ſillie man riſen out of the duſt ſpeaketh in the name of God, here with very good teſtimonie we declare our godlineſſe and reuerent obedience toward God himſelfe, if to his miniſter we yeeld our ſelues willing to learne, which yet in nothing excelleth vs. Therefore for this cauſe alſo he hath hidden the treaſure of his heavenly wiſedome in bricke and earthen veſſels, that he might haue the certainer prooſe how much he is eſteemed of vs. Moreouer there was nothing fitter for the cheriſhing of mutuall charitie, than that men ſhould be bound together one to another with this bond; whē one is made a paſtor to teach the reſt, and they that are commanded to be ſchollers receiue all one doctrine at one mouth. For if euerie man were able enough to ſerue himſelfe, and needeth not the help of another: ſuch is the pride of mans nature, that euerie one would deſpiſe other, and ſhould againe be deſpiſed of them. Therefore the Lord hath bound his Church with that knot, which he foreſaw to be the ſtrongeſt knot to hold vnitie together, when he hath left with men the doctrine of ſaluation, and of eternall life, that by their hands he might communicate it to the reſt. Hereunto *Paul* had reſpect when he wrote to the Ephesians, One body one ſpirit, as alſo ye be called in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one Baptiſme: One God, and the father of all, which is aboue all, and by all, and in vs all. But vnto euery one of vs grace is giuen according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Wherefore he ſaith: When he was gone vp on high, he led captiuitie captiue, he gaue gifts to men. He that went downe is the ſelfe ſame he, that went vp, that he might fulfill all things. And the ſame hath giuen ſome to be Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Euangelists, and other ſome Paſtors and teachers, vnto the reſtoring of the holy ones, to the worke of miniſtration, to the edifying of the body of Chriſt, vntill we come all into the vnitie of faith, and of the knowledge of the ſonne of God, into a perfect man, into the meaſure of full growne age: that we be no more children that may be carried about with euery winde of doctrine: but following trueth in charitie, let vs in all things growe into him that is the head, euen Chriſt, in whome the whole bodie conioyned and compacted together by all the toynt of ſubminiſtration, according to the working in meaſure of euerie part, maketh increaſe of the body, vnto the edifying of it ſelfe by charitie.

1. Cor. 4. 7.

*Deus non videtur
sed in
god's testimony
in ministerie*

Eph. 4. 4.

2 By theſe words he ſheweth, that that miniſterie of men, which God uſeth in governing his Church is the cheefe ſnew, whereby the faithfull cleaue together in one body: and alſo he ſheweth that the Church can not otherwiſe be preſerued ſafe, but if it be vpholden by theſe ſtaies, in which it pleaſed the Lord to reſoſe the ſaluation of it. Chriſt ſaith he is gone vp on high, that he might fulfill all things. This is the manner of fulfilling, that by his miniſters, to whom he hath committed that office, and hath giuen the grace to execute that worke, he diſpoſeth and diſtributeth his gifts to the Church, yea and after a certaine manner giueth himſelfe preſent, with extending the power of his ſpirit in this inſtitution, that it ſhould not be vaine or idle. So is the reſtoring of the holy ones performed: ſo is the body of Chriſt edified, ſo do we by all things growe into him that is the head, and do growe together among our ſelues: ſo are we all brought into the vnitie of Chriſt, if prophecie flouriſh among vs, if we receiue the Apoſtles, if we reſuſe nor the doctrine miniſtered vnto vs. Therefore he goeth about the diſipation, or rather the ruine and deſtruction of the Church, whoſoeuer he be that either endeuoureth to abolith this order of whome we ſpeake, and this kind of government, or miniſteth the eſtimation of it as a thing not ſo neceſſary. For neither the light and heate of the ſunne, nor meate and drinke are ſo neceſſary to nourish and ſuſteine this preſent life, as the office of the Apoſtles and paſtors is neceſſary to preſerue the Church in earth.

Eph. 4. 10.

Eph. 4. 12.

3 Therefore I haue aboue admoniſhed, that God hath oftentimes with ſuch titles

The honor and ne-
cessitie of Church
ministerie.
Esay 52.7.
Mat. 5. 15. & 14.

Luk. 10. 16.

2. Cor. 4. 6.

3. Cor. 3. 9.

Act. 10. 3.

Act. 9. 6.

2. Cor. 12. 2.

Apostles, Prophets
Euangelists, ap-
pointed to haue
extraordinary,
Pastors and teach-
ers to haue ordina-
rie government of
the Church.
Ephc. 4. 12.
Mark. 16. 15.
Rom. 15. 19.
& 20.

Ephc. 4. 11.

Luke 10. 1.

Luke 11.

titles as he could, commended the dignitie thereof vnto vs, that we should haue it in most high honor and price, as the most excellent thing of all. He testifieth that he giueth to men a singular benefite, in raising them vp teachers, where he commandeth the Prophet to crie out that faire are the secte, and blessed is the coming of them that bring tidings of peace : and when he calleth the Apostles the light of the world, and salte of the earth. Neither could this office be more honourable aduanced; than it was when he said : He that heareth you, heareth me. He that despiseth you, despiseth me. But there is no place more plaine, than in *Paul* in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, where he as it were of purpose entreateth of this matter. He affirmeth therefore, that there is nothing in the Church more excellent or glorious than the ministerie of the Gospell, forasmuch as it is the administration of the Spirite, and of righteousnesse, and of eternall life. These and like sayings serue to this purpose, that that order of governing and preserving the Church by ministers, which the Lord hath stablished for euer, should not grow out of estimation among vs, and so at length by very contempt grow out of vse. And how great is the necessitie thereof, he hath declared not onely by words, but also by examples. When his will was to shine more fully to *Cornelius* with the light of his truth, he sent an Angell from heauen to send *Peter* vnto him. When his will was to call *Paul* to the knowledge of himselfe, and to engraft him into the Church, he spake not to him with his owne voice, but sent him to a man, of whom he should receiue both the doctrine of saluation, and the sanctification of baptisme. If it be not done without cause, that an Angell which is the interpreter of God, do himselfe abstaine from declaring the will of God, but commandeth that a man be sent for, to declare it : And not without cause that Christ the onely Schoollmaster of the Faithfull committeth *Paul* to the schooling of a man, yea euen that same *Paul* whom he had determined to take vp into the third heauen, and to vouchsafe to graunt him miraculous reuelation of things vspeakeable : who is there now that dare despise that ministerie, or passe it ouer as a thing superfluous, the vse wherof it hath pleased God to make approoued by such examples ?

4. They that haue rule of the gouernement of the Church according to the institution of Christ, are named of *Paul* first Apostles, then Prophets, thirdly Euangelistes, fourthly Pastors, last of all teachers. Of which, the two last alone haue ordinarie office in the Church : the other three the Lord raised vp at the beginning of his kingdome, and sometime yet also raiseth vp, as the necessitie of times requireth. What is the Apostles office, appeareth by that Commandement : goe, preach the Gospell to euery creature. There are not certain boundes appointed vnto them : but the whole world is assigned them, to be brought into the obedience of Christ : that in spreading the Gospell among all nations wheresoeuer they shall be able, they may eche where raise vp his Kingdome. Therefore *Paul*, when he went about to prooue his Apostleship, rehearseth that he hath gotten to Christ not some one Cite, but hath farre and wide spread abroad the Gospell : and that he hath not laid his hands to another mans foundation, but planted Churches where the name of the Lord had neuer bene heard of. Therefore the Apostles were sent to bring backe the worlde from falling away, vnto true obedience of GOD, and eche where to stablish his kingdome by preaching of the Gospell : or (if you like that better) as the first builders of the Church, to lay the foundations thereof in all the world. Prophets he calleth, not all expositors of Gods will whatsoeuer they be, but those that by singular reuelation excelled, such as at this time either be none, or are lesse notable. By Euangelistes I vnderstand those, which when in dignitie they were lesse than the Apostles, yet in office were next vnto them, yea and occupied their roomes. Such were *Luke*, *Timothie*, *Titus*, and other like : and peradventure also the seuentie Disciples, whom Christ appointed in the second place after the Apostles. According to this exposition (which seemeth to me agreeable both with the words and meaning of *Paul*) those

those three offices were not ordained in the Church to this ende that they should be perpetuall, but onely to serue for that time wherein Churches were to be erected, where were none before, or at least to be remooued from *Moses* to *Christ*. Albeit I denie not, but that afterwarde also the Lord hath sometime raised vp Apostles, or at least in their places Euangelists, as it hath beene done in our time. For it was needefull to haue such, to bring backe the Church from the falling away of Antichrist. Yet the office it selfe I doe neuertheless call extraordinary, because it hath no place in the Churches alreadie well set in order. Next after these are Pastors and Teachers, whome the Church may neuer lacke: betweene whome I thinke that there is this difference, that the teachers are not appointed to beare rule of discipline, nor for the ministratiō of Sacraments, nor admonishments or exhortations, but onely to expound the Scripture, that pure and sound doctrine may be kept among the faithfull. But the office of Pastor containeth all these things within it.

5 Now we haue, which were those ministeries in the Church that continued but for a time, and which were those that were ordained to endure perpetually. If wee ioyne the Euangelists with the Apostles, we shall haue remaining two couples after a certaine manner answering the one to the other. For as our teachers are like to the olde Prophets, in such sort are our Pastors like to the Apostles. The office of Prophets was more excellent, by reason of the singular gift that they had of reuelation: but the office of teachers hath in a manner like order, and altogether the same ende. So those twelue whome the Lorde did choose, that they should publish abroad to the world the newe preaching of the Gospell, in degree and dignitie went before the rest. For although by the meaning and proprietie of the worde, all the ministers of the Church may be rightly called Apostles, because they are sent of the Lorde, and are his messengers: yet because it was much behoouefull, that there should be a certaine knowledge had of the sending of them that should bring a thing newe and vnderheard of, it was necessarie that those twelue (to whose number *Paul* was afterwarde added) should be garnished with some peculiar title about the rest. *Paul* himselfe in deed in one place giueth this name to *Andronicus* and *Junias*, whom he saith to haue bin notable among the Apostles: but when he meaneth to speake properly hee referreth it to none other but to that principall degree. And this is the common vse of the Scripture. Yet the Pastors (sauiug that each of them doe gouerne severall Churches appointed to them) haue al one charge with the Apostles. Now what maner of thing this is, let vs yet heare it more plainly.

6 The Lord when he sent the Apostles, gaue them commandement (as we saide euen now) to preach the Gospell, and to baptise them that beleue vnto forgiveness of sins. He had before commanded, that they should distribute the holy signes of his bodie and blood, as he had done. Loe here is a holy, inuiolable and perpetuall lawe laide vpon them that succede in the Apostles place, whereby they receiue commandement to preach the Gospell, and minister the Sacraments. Whereupon we gather, that they which neglect both these things, doe falsely say that they beare the person of the Apostles. But what of the Pastors? *Paul* speaking not of himselfe onely, but of them all, when he saith: let a man so esteeme vs as the ministers of Christ, and distributors of the mysteries of God. Againe in another place, a Bishop must be a fast holder of that faithfull worde which is according to doctrine: that hee may be able to exhort by sound doctrine, and to conuince the gainsayers. Out of those and like places, which are ech where to be found, we may gather, that also in the office of the Apostles these be the two principall parts, to preach the Gospell, and to minister the Sacraments. As for the order of teaching, it consisteth not onely in publique sermons, but belongeth also to priuate admonitions. So *Paul* calleth the Ephesians to witnes that he hath not fled from doing of any of those things that were for their profic, but that hee preached and taught them both openlie and in euery house,

*26. Different
6. betweene past
and Doctores*

*The same charge
of Apostles and
Pastors, sauiug
that these haue
each of them se-
uerall Churches
to gouerne.*

Luk. 6. 13.
Gal. 1. 1.

Rom. 16. 7.

Matt. 10. 1.

Matt. 28. 9.
*The office which
Apostles did per-
forme to the whole
worlde, and which
Pastors ought to
performe in their
seuerall flocks, con-
sisteth in preach-
ing the word &
ministring of the
sacraments.*

1. Cor. 4. 1.

Tit. 1. 9.

Act. 20. 20.

ustificing

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Act. 20. 31.

testifying both to the Jewes and Grecians, repentance and faith in Christ. Againe a little after: that he hath not ceased with teares to admonish euery one of them. Neither yet belongeth it to my purpose at this present to expresse all the qualities of a good Pastor, but onely to point out what they professe that call themselves 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 the doctrine of Christ instruct the people to true godlines, minister the holy mysteries, and preserue and exercise vpright discipline. For who so euer be set to be watchmen in the Church, the Lord declareth vnto them, that if any by their negligence perish through ignorance, he will require the blame at their hands. That also pertaineth to them all, which *Paul* saith of himselfe: woe to me vnlesse I preach the Gospell, forasmuch as the distributing thereof is committed to me. Finally, what the Apostles performed to the whole world, the same ought euery Pastor to performe to his flocke, to which he is appointed.

Ezc. 13. 17.

1. Cor. 9. 16.

Howe farre fourth men are tied vnto severall charges.

7 Albeit when we assigne to euery one their severall Churches, yet in the meane while we do not denie but that he which is bounde to one Church may helpe other Churches, if any troublesome thing do happen that requireth his presence, or if hee be asked counsell of any darke matter. But forasmuch as for the keeping of the peace of the Church, this policie is necessarie, that there be set fourth to euery man what he should do, least all be confusedly disordred, run about without calling, or rashly run altogether into one place, and least such as are more carefull for their owne commoditie than for the edification of the Church, should at their owne will leaue their Churches vacant: this ordering ought commonly to be kept so neere as may bee, that euery man contented with his owne boundes should not breake into another mans charge. And this is no invention of man, but the ordinance of God himselfe. For wee reade that *Paul* and *Barnabas* created Priestes in all the severall churches of *Lystra*, *Antioche*, *Iconium*: and *Paul* himselfe commandeth *Titus* that hee should appoint Priestes in euerie towne. So in one place hee speaketh of the Bishops of *Philippes*, and in another place of *Archippus* Bishop of the *Colossians*. And there remaineth a notable Sermon of his in *Luke*, to the Priestes of the Church of *Ephesus*. Whosoeuer therefore shall take vpon him the gouernment and charge of the Church, let him knowe that hee is bounde to this lawe of Gods calling: not that as bounde to the soyle (as the Lawyeres tearme it) that is, made bounde and fastened vnto it, hee may not once moue his foote from thence, if the common profite 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 remoouing, nor seeke to be deliuered as he shall thinke to be good for his commoditie. Then if it be expedient that any be remooued to another place, yet he ought not to attempt it of his owne priuate aduise, but to tary for publike authoritie.

Act. 14. 22.

Tit. 1. 5.
Phil. 1. 1.
Col. 4. 17.
Act. 20. 18.

*It may be
said by some
that for ye
on good of ye
ing.*

With officers appointed for teaching, elders ioyned to gouerne the Church.
Tit. 1. 5.
Phil. 1. 1.
Act. 20. 7.

8 But whereas I haue without difference called them Bishops, and Priestes, and Pastors, and Ministers, that rule Churches: I did that according to the vsage of the Scripture, which indifferently vseth these words. For whosoeuer do execute the Ministerie of the word, to them he giueth the title of Bishops. So in *Paul*, where *Titus* is commanded to appoint Priestes in euerie towne, it is immediately added. For a Bishop must be vnreproouable, &c. So in another place hee saluteth many Bishops in one Church. And in the Acts it is rehearsed, that hee called together the Priestes of *Ephesus*, whom he himself in his owne sermon calleth Bishops. Here now it is to be noted, that hitherto we haue recited none but those offices that stand in the Ministerie of the worde: neither doth *Paul* make mention of any other in that fourth Chapter which we haue alleaged. But in the Epistle to the Romanes, and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he reckoneth vp other offices, as powers, the gift of healing, interpretation, gouernement, caring for the poore. Of the which I omitted those that endured but for a time, because it is to no profitable purpose to tary vpon them. But there

Rom. 12. 7.
1. Cor. 12. 28.

*It is said
that for
in y^e church.*

there are two that doe perpetually abide, that is to say, gournment and care of the poore. Gournours I thinke were the Elders chosen out of the people, that shoulde together with the Bishops, haue rule of the iudgement of manners, and the vsing of discipline. For a man cannot otherwise expound that which he saith : let him that ruleth doe it with carefulnesse. Therefore at the beginning eury Church had their Senate, gathered of godly, graue and holy men : which had that same iurisdiction in correcting of vices, whereof we shall speake hereafter. And that this was the order of more than one age, experience it selfe declareth. Therefore this office of government is also necessarie for all ages.

Rom. 12. 8.

9 The care of the poore was committed to the Deacons. Howbeit to the Romanes, there are set two kindes. Let him that giueth (saith *Paul* in that place) doe it in simplicitie: let him that hath mercie, doe it in cheerefulnesse. For as much as it is certaine that he speaketh of the publike offices of the Church, it must needs bee that there were two seuerall degrees. Vnlesse my iudgement deceiue me, in the first point he meaneth Deacons, that distributed the almes : in the other he speaketh of them that had giuen themselves to looking to the poore and sicke : of which sort were the widowes of whom he maketh mention to *Timothe*. For women could execute no other publike office, but to giue themselves to the seruiue of the poore. If we graunt this, (as we must needs graunt it) then there shall be two sortes of Deacons : of which one sort shall serue in distributing the things of the poore, the other in looking to the poore of the Church themselves. But although the very worde *Diaconia*, Deaconrie extendeth further : yet the Scripture specially calleth them Deacons, to whom the Church hath giuen the charge to distribute the almes, and to take care of the poore, and hath appointed them as it were stewards of the common treasure of the poore : whose beginning, institution and office, is described of *Luke* in the Actes. For when a murmuring was raised by the Grecians : for that in the ministerie of the poore their widowes were neglected, the Apostles excusing themselves with saying that they could not serue both offices, both the preaching of the word and the ministering at tables, required of the multitude, that there might be chosen seuen honest men, to whom they might commit that doing. Loe what manner of Deacons the Apostolike Church had, and what Deacons it were meete for vs to haue according to their example.

Dacons and widowes chosen to care for the poore and sicke.
Rom. 12. 9.

1. Tim. 5. 10.

1. Tim. 5. 10.

Ag. 6. 3.

10 Now whereas in the holy assembly all things are to be done in order and comely, there is nothing wherein that ought to be more diligently obserued, than in stablishing the order of government : because there is no where greater perill if any thing be done vnorderly. Therefore to the ende that vnquiet and troublesome men (which otherwise would happen) should rashly thrust in themselves to teach or to rule, it is expressly prouided, that no man should without calling take vpon him a publike office in the Church. Therefore that a man may be iudged a true minister of the Church, first he must be orderly called, then he must answere his vocation, that is to say, take vpon him and execute the duties enioyned him. This wee may oftentimes marke in *Paul* : which when he meaneth to approoue his Apostleship, in a manner alway with his faithfulness in executing his office he alleageth his calling. If to great a minister of Christ dare not take vpon himselfe the authoritie that he shoulde bee heard in the Church, but because he both is appointed thereunto by the commandement of the Lord, and also faithfully performeth that which is committed vnto him : how great shamefulness shall it be, if any man wanting both or either of these, shall challenge such honour to himselfe? But because we haue aboue touched the necessitie of executing the office, now let vs intreate onely of the calling.

Order and seemlynesse especially required in church governours.

11 The discourse therof standeth in fewer pointes : that we should know, what manner of ministers, how, and by whose ministers ought to be institute, and with what vsage or what ceremonie they are to be admitted. I speake of the outward and

Inward and outward calling of men to execute the ministerie of the Church.
and

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and solemne calling, which belongeth to publike order of the Church: as for that secret calling, whereof euery minister is prouide in his owne conscience before God, and hath not the Church witness of it, I omit it. It is a good witness of our hart, that not by any ambition, nor couetousnesse, nor any other greedie desire, but with pure feare of God and zeale to edifie the Church, we receive the office offered vnto vs. That in deede is (as I haue saide) necessaric for euery one of vs, if we will approue our ministerie allowable before God. Neuer thelesse he is rightly called in presence of the Church, that commeth vnto it with an euill conscience, so that his wickednesse be not open. They are wont also to say that euen priuate men are called to the ministerie, whome they see to be meete and able to execute it: because verily learning ioyned with godlinesse and with the other qualities of a good Pastor, is a certaine preparation to the very office. For whome the Lorde hath appointed to so great an office, he first furnisheth them with those armours that are required to fulfill it, that they should not come emptie and vnprepared vnto it. Whereupon *Paul* also to the Corinthians, when he meant to dispute of the very offices, first rehearsed the giftes which they ought to haue that execute the offices. But because this is the first of those fower points that I haue propounded, let vs now go forward vnto it.

1. Cor. 12. 7.

*Of what qualitie
and with what
reuerence minist-
ers should be
chosen.*

Tit. 1. 9.

2. Tim. 3. 1.

Luk. 21. 15.

& 24. 49.

Matt. 16. 15.

A. C. 1. 8.

1. Tim. 5. 22.

12 What manner of Bishops it is meete to choose, *Paul* doth largely declare in two places, but the summe commeth to this effect, that none are to be chosen, but they that are of so sound doctrine, and of holy life, and not notable in any vice, which might both take away credite from them, and procure slander to the ministerie. 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 laide 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 send his Apostles, he garnished them with those weapons and instruments which they could not want. And *Paul* when he had painted out the image of a good and true Bishop, warneth *Timothie*, that he would not defile himselfe with choosing any man that differeth from it. I referre this word *How*, not to the Ceremonie of choosing, but to the reuerent feare that is to be kept in the choosing. Hereupon come the fastings and prayers, which *Luke* reciteth that the faithfull vsed when they made Priests. For whereas they vnderstood that they medled with a most earnest matter, they durst attempt nothing, but with great reuerence and carefulnesse. But they chiefly applied themselues to prayers, whereby they might craue of God the spirit of counsell and discretion.

*Apostles elected of
God himselfe.*

13 The third thing that we haue set in our diuision was, by whom ministers are to be chosen. Of this thing no certaine rule can be gathered out of the institution of Apostles, which had some difference from the common calling of the rest. For because it was an extraordinary ministerie, that it might be made discernable by some more notable marke, it behooued that they which should execute it, should be called and appointed by the Lords owne mouth. They therefore tooke in hand their doing, being furnished by no mans election, but by the only commandement of God and of Christ. Hereupon commeth that when the Apostles would put another in the place of *Judas*, they durst not certainly name any one man, but they brought forth two, that the Lord should declare by lot, whether of them he would haue to succede. After this manner also it is meete to take this, that *Paul* denieth that he was create Apostle of men or by man, but by Christ and God the father. That first point, that is to say of men, he had common with all the godly ministers of the worde. For no man could rightly take vpon him that execution, but hee that were called of God. But the other point was proper and singular to himselfe. Therefore when he glorieth of this, he doth not onely boast that he hath that which belongeth to a true and lawfull Pastor, but also bringeth forth the signes of his Apostleship. For when there were some among the Galathians, which traouelling to diminish his authoritie, made

v. c. 1. 13.

Gal. 1. 12.

him

him some meane disciple, put in office vnder them by the principall Apostles : hee, to defend in safetie the dignitie of his preaching, which he knewe to be shot at by those subtle deuises, neede to shew himselfe in all points nothing inferiori to the other Apostles. Therefore he affirmeth that he was chosen, not by the iudgement of men, like some common Bishop, but by the mouth and manifest Oracle of the Lorde himselfe.

14 But no man that is sober will denie, that it is according to the order of lawful calling, that Bishops shoulde bee appointed by men: forasmuch as there are so manie testimonies of the Scripture for prooofe therof. Neither doth that saying of *Paul* make to the contrary, as it is said, that he was not sent of men, nor by men: forasmuch as he speaketh not there of the ordinarie choosing of ministers, but chalengeth to himselfe that which was speciall to the Apostles. Howbeit God also so appointed *Paul* by him selfe by singular prerogatiue, that in the meane time he vsed the discipline of Ecclesiasticall calling. For *Luke* reporteth it thus, when the Apostles were fasting & praying, the Holy Ghost said: Separate vnto me *Paul* and *Barnabas* to the worke to which I haue feuerally chosen them. To what purpose serued that separation and putting on of hands, sith the holy Ghost hath testified his owne election, but that the discipline of the church in appointing ministers by men, might bee preferred? Therefore the Lord could by no plainer example appooue such order, than hee did when hauing first declared that he had ordeined *Paul* Apostle for the Gentiles, yet he willeth him to be appointed by the Church. Which thing we may see in the choosing of *Matthias*, For, because the office of Apostleship was of so great importance, that they durst not by their owne iudgement choose any one man into that degree, they did set two men in the midst, vpon 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 Church should not be passed ouer.

15 Now it is demanded whether the minister ought to be chosen of the whole Church, or onely of the other of the same office, and of the Elders that haue the rule of discipline, or whether he may be made by the authoritie of one man. They that giue this authoritie to one man, alleage that which *Paul* saith to *Titus*: Therefore I haue left thee in *Creta*, that thou shouldest appoint in euery towne Priestes. Againe to *Timothie*: lay not hands quickly vpon any man. But they are deceived if they thinke, that either *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, or *Titus* in *Creta*, vsed a kingly power, that either of them shoulde dispose all things at his owne will. For they were about the rest, onely to go before the people with good and holsome counsels: not that they onclie, excluding all other, should do what they listed. And that I may not seeme to faime anie thing, I will make it plaine by a like example. For *Luke* rehearseth that *Paul* and *Barnabas* appointed Priestes in diuers Churches: but he also expresseth the order or manner how, when he saith that it was done by voices ordeming Priestes (saith hee) by lifting vp of hands in euery Church. Therefore they two did create them: but the whole multitude, as the Grecians manner was in elections, did by holding vp their hands, declaré whom they would haue. Euen in like manner the Romaine histories do oftentimes say, that the Consull which kept the assemblies, created new 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 *Paul* graunted more to *Timothie* & *Titus* than he tooke to himselfe. But we see that he was wont to create Bishops by voices of the people. Therefore the places aboue are so to be vnderstanded, that they minish nothing of the common right & libertie of the Church. Therefore *Cyprian* saith wel, when hee affirmeth that it commeth from the authoritie of God, that the Priest should be chosen in presence of the people before the eies of all men, and shoulde by publike iudgement and testimonie be allowed for woorthie and meete. For wee see that this was by the commandment of the Lorde obserued in the Leuiticall

Bishops lawfully called by men.

Gal. 1. 1.

Act. 13. 2.

Act. 1. 23.

Whether a minister of the Church may be made by the authoritie of one man or no.
Tit. 1. 15.

1. Tim. 5. 22.

Act. 14. 23.

Leuit. 8. 6.
Num. 20. 26.

Cap. 4. Of the outward meanes

A& 1. 15, & 6. 2.

Priests, that before their consecration they should be brought into the sight of the people. And no otherwise is *Matthias* added to the fellowship of the Apostles: and no otherwise the leauen Deacons were created: but the people seeing and allowing it. These examples (saith *Cyprian*) do shew, that the ordering of a Priest ought not to be done, but in the knowledge of the people standing by: that the ordering may be iust and lawfull, which hath bene examined by the witness of all. We are therefore come thus far, that this is by the word of God a lawfull calling of a minister, when they that seeme meet 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, either by lightnes, or by euil affections, or by disorder.

The forme of ordaining ministers in the Church by laying on of hands.

Gen. 48. 14.
Mat. 19. 15.
A& 19. 6.

16 Now remaineth the forme of ordering, to which we assigned the last place in the calling. It is euident that the Apostles vsed no other ceremonie when they admitted any man to the ministerie, but the laying on of hands. And I thinke that this vsage came from the maner of the Hebrues, which did as it were present vnto God by laying on of hands that which they would haue blessed and hallowed. So when *Iacob* was about to blisse *Ephraim* and *Manasse*, he layed his hands vpon their heads. (As I thinke) the Lawes by the ordinance of the law, laid hands vpon the Sacrifices. Wherefore the Apostles by laying on of hands did signifie that they offered him to God, whom they admitted into the ministerie. Albeit they vsed it also vpon them, to whom they applied the visible graces of the spirit. Howsoeuer it be, this was the solemne vsage, so oft as they called any man to the ministerie of the Church. So they consecrated Pastors and teachers, and so also Deacons. But although there be no certaine commandment concerning the laying on of hands, yet because we see that it was continually vsed among the Apostles, their so diligent obseruing of it ought to be to vs in steede of a commandment. And truly it is profitable, that by such a signe, both the dignitie of the ministerie should be commended to the people, and also that he which is ordered should bee admonished, that he is not now at his owne libertie, but made bonde to God and the Church. Moreover it shall not be a vaine signe, if it be restored to the naturall beginning of it. For if the Spirit of God, hath ordained nothing in the Church in vaine, we must thinke that this ceremonie, sith it proceeded from him, is not vnprofitable, so that it be not turned into a superstitious abuse. Last of all this is to be holden, that not the whole multitude did lay their hands vpon the ministers, but the Pastors only. Howbeit it is vncertaine whether many did alway lay on their hands or no. But it is euident that that was done in the Deacons, in *Paul* and *Barnabus*, and a few other. But *Paul* himselfe in another place reporteth, that he, and not many other, did lay his hands vpon *Timothee*. I admonish thee (saith he) that thou raise vp the grace which is in thee by laying on of my hands. For, as for that which in the other Epistle is spoken of the laying on of the hands of the degree of Priests, I do not so take it, as though *Paul* did speake of the company of the Elders, but I vnderstand by that word the verie ordinance it selfe: as if he had said: Make that the Grace, which thou hast receiued by laying on of hands when I did create thee a priest, may not be voide.

A& 6. 6, & 13. 3.
2. Tim. 1. 6.

1. Tim. 4. 14.

The iiij. Chapter.

Of the state of the old Church, and of the maner of governing that was in vse before the Papacie.

The ministers of the ancient Church of Christ Presbiters or Priests & Deacons out of the order of Presbiters Pastors and Teachers chosen.

Hitherto we haue intreated of the order of governing the Church, as it hath been deliuered vs out of the pure worde of God, and of the ministeries, as they were instituted by Christ. Now that all these things may be more cleerely and familiarly opened, and also be better fastened in our mindes: it shall be profitable in

in these things to consider the forme of the old Church, which shall represent to our eyes a certaine image of Gods institution. For although the Bishops of those times did set forth many Canons, wherein they seemed to expresse more than was expressed in the holy Scripture: yet they with such heedfulnesse framed all their order after the onely rule of Gods worde, that a man may easily see that in this behalfe they had in a manner nothing disagreeing from the worde of God. But although there might be somewhat wanting in their ordinances, yet because they with synccere zeale endeouored to preferue Gods institution, and they swarued not much from it, it shall be very profitable here shortly to gather what maner of obseruation they had. As we haue declared that there are three sorts of Ministers commended vnto vs in the Scripture: so all the Ministers that the old Church had, it deuied into three Orders. For out of the order of Elders were partly chosen Pastors and teachers: the rest of them had the rule of the iudgement and correction of manners. To the Deacons was committed the care of the poore, and the distributing of the almes. As for the Readers and Acolythes, were not names of certaine offices: but those whom they called Clerkes, they trained from their youth vpward in certaine exercises to serue the Church, that they might the better vnderstand to what purpose they were appointed, and might in time come the better prepared to their office: as I shall by and by shew more at large. Therefore *Hierome*, when he had appointed five orders of the Church, reckoneth vp Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Beleuers, and Catechumeni, to the rest of the Cleargie and Monkes he giueth no proper place.

2 Therefore to whome the office of teaching was inioyned, all them they named Priestes. In euery Citie they chose out of their owne number one man, to whom they specially gaue the title of Bishop: that dissensions should not grow of equalitie, as it is wont to come to passe. Yet the Bishop was not so aboue the rest in honor and dignitie, that he had a dominion ouer his fellowes. But what office the Consull had in the Senate, to propound matters, to aske opinions, to goe before the other with counselling, monishing, and exhorting, to gouerne the whole action with his authoritie, and to put in execution that which is decreed by common counsell; the same office had the Bishop in the assembly of the Priestes. And the old writers themselues confesse, that the same was by mens consent brought in for the necessitie of the times. Therefore *Hierome* vpon the Epistle to *Titus* saith. The same was a Priest which was a Bishop. And before that by the institution of the Dewill, there were dissensions in religion, and it was said among the people, I am of *Paul*, I am of *Cephas*: Churches were gouerned by common counsell of Elders. Afterward, that the seedes of dissensions might be plucked vp, all the care was committed to one man. As therefore the Priestes doe know, that by custome of the Church they are subiect to him that is set ouer them: so let the Bishops know, that they are aboue the Priestes, rather by custome, than by the truth of the Lords disposing, and that they ought to gouerne the Church in common together. But in an other place he teacheth, how auncient an institution it was. For he saith that at *Alexandria*, from *Marke* the Euangelist cuen to *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, the Priestes did alwaie choose out one of themselues, and set him in a higher degree, whom they named a Bishop. Therefore euery Citie had a company of Priestes which were Pastors, & Teachers. For they all did execute among the people that office of teaching, exhorting and correcting, which *Paul* appointed to the Bishops: and that they might leaue seed after them, they traualled in teaching the younger men, that had professed theselues souldiers in the holy warfare. To euery Citie there was appointed a certaine Countrey, that should take their Priestes from thence, and be accounted as it were into the body of that Church. Euery company (as I haue before said) onely for preservation of policie and peace were vnder one Bishop: which was so aboue the rest in dignitie, that he was subiect to the assemblie of his brethren. If the copasse of ground that was vnder his Bishoprike were so great,

In Esa. cap. 6.

A colledge or companie of Priestes in euery Citie, to teach, exhort, and correct the people: out of that companie for auoiding of dissensions one chosen to be a Bishop, the honor and dignitie which a Bishop so chosen had aboue the rest, the Countrey furnished with priestes fro the Citie, those Priestes vnder the Bishops authority, the compasse of ground committed to the care of one Bishop, searmed his Bishopricke, in the Primitive church. Epi. ad Eua.

Tit. 1. 9.

that he could not suffice to serue all the offices of a Bishop in every place of it, in the country it selfe there were in certaine places appointed priests which in finall matters should execute his authority. Them they called country bishops, because in the country they represented the Bishop.

The office of Bishops and priests to distribute the word and Sacraments.

Epi. ad Eua.

3 But, so much as belongeth to the office, whereof we now speake, as well the bishops as the priests were bound to apply the distributing of the word and sacraments. For it was ordained onely at *Alexandria*, (because *Arrius* had there troubled the Church) that the priest should not preach to the people, as *Socrates* saith in the 9. book of the *Tripartite* historie. Which yet *Hierome* confesseth that he misliketh not. Truly it shoulde bee counted monstrous, if any man had giuen out himselfe for a Bishop, that had not also in very deed shewed himselfe a true Bishop. Therefore such was the severitie of those times, that all ministers were driuen to the fulfilling of such office, as the Lord requireth of them. Neither do I rehearse the maner of one age alone. For euen in *Gregories* time, when the Church was now almost decayed (certainely it was much degenerate from the ancient purenes) it had not been tolerable that any bishop should abstaine from preaching. The priest (saith he in one place) dieth if there be no sound heard of him: because he asketh against himselfe the wrath of the secret iudge, if he go without sound of preaching. And in another place: When *Paul* testifieth that he is cleane from the blood of all: in this saying we be conuincd, we be bound, we be shewed to be guiltie, which are called priests, which beside the euils that we haue of our owne, adde also thy deaths of other: because we kil so many as we being lukewarme and silent do daily see to go to death. He calleth himselfe 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 their dutie: what thinke you he would haue done, if if a man had altogether sit idle? Therefore this was a great while holden in the church, that the chiefe duty of the Bishop was to feed Gods people with the word, or both publickly and priuately to edifie the Church with sound doctrine.

Epi. 4. Hom. in Eccl. Act. 20. 16.

For preserving of discipline, Archbishops and Patriarches ordained by them who neuer meant to forge another forme of ruling the Church, than God hath appointed in his word

4 But whereas euery prouince had among their Bishops one Archbishop: also where in the *Nicens* Synod there were ordained Patriarches, which should in degree and dignitie be aboute the Archbishops, that pertained to the preserving of discipline. Howbeit in this discourse, that which was most rarely vsed may not be omitted. For this cause therefore chiefly these degrees were ordained, that if any thing happened in any church, that could not well be ended by a few, might be referred to a prouinciall Synod. If the greatnes or difficultie of the matter required a greater discussing, the Patriarches were also called to it with the Synods, from whom there might be no appeal but to a generall Council. The government so ordered many called a *Hierarchie*, by a name (as I thinke) vnproper, and truly vnused in the scriptures. For the holy Ghost willed to prouide, that no man should dreame of a principality or dominion when the government of the church is spoken of. But, if leauing the word we looke vpon the thing, we shall finde that the old bishops ment to forge no forme of tuling the church, differing from that which the Lord appointed by his word.

The office of Deacons the same vnder the Apostles & in the primitive Church: the occasion of making Subdeacons and Archdeacons.

5 Neither was the order of the Deacons at that time any other than it was vnder the Apostles. For they receiued the dayly offerings of the Faithfull, and the yerely reuenues of the church, to bestow them vpon true vses, that is to say, to distribute them to feede partly the ministers, and partly the poore: but by the appointment of the bishop, to whom also they yeerely rendered accounts of their distribution. For whereas the Canons do euery where make the Bishop distributor of all the goods of the Church, it is not so to be vnderstanded, as though he did by himselfe discharge that care: but because it was his part to appoint to the Deacon, who should be receiued into the common almes of the Church, and of that which remained, to whom it should be giuen, and how much to euery one: because he had an ouerseeing whether the Deacon did faithfully execute that which belonged to his office. For thus it

is reade in the Canons which they ascribe to the Apostles: We commaund that the Bishop haue the goods of the Church in his owne power. For if he be put in trust with the Soules of men, which are more precious, much more it is meete that he haue charge of money: so that by his power all things may be distributed to the poore by the Elders and Deacons: that they may be all ministred with feare and carefulnes. And in the Councell of *Antioche* it is decreede, that the Bishops should be restrained that meddle with the goods of the Church, without the knowledge of the Elders and Deacons. But of that point we neede to make no longer disputation, sith it is euident by many Epistles of *Gregorie*, that euen at that time, when otherwise the ordinances of the Church were much corrupted, yet this obseruation continued, that the Deacons should vnder the Bishop be the stewards of the poore. As for Subdeacons, it is likely that at the beginning they were ioyned to the Deacons, that they should vse their seruice about the poore: but that difference was by little and little confounded. But Archdeacons began then to be created, when the plentie of the goods, required a newe and more exact manner of disposing them: Albeit *Hierome* doth say, that it was euen in his age. In their charge was the sum of their reuenues, possessions, and store, and the collection of the dayly offerings. Whereupon *Gregory* declareth to the Archdeacon of *Salon*, that he should be holden guiltie if any of the goods of the Church, perished either by his fraude or negligence. But whereas it was giuen to them to read the Gospell to the people, and to exhort them to prayer: & whereas they were admitted to deliuer the Cup in the holy Supper, that was rather done to garnish their office, that they should execute it with the more reuerence, when by such signes they were admonished that it was no prophane Bayliwike that they exercised, but a spirituall function and dedicate to God.

Cap. 35.

Epi. ad Nep.
Epi. 10. lib. 1.

6 Hereby also we may iudge what vse there was, and what manner of distribution of the Church goods. Ech where both in the decrees of Synodes, and among the olde writers it is to be found, that whatsoeuer the Church possesseth either in lands or in money, is the patrimony of the poore. Therefore oftentimes there this song is sung to the Bishops and Deacons, that they should remember, that they meddle not with their own goods, but the goods appointed to the necessitie of the poore: which if they vnfaihtfully supprest or wast, they shall be guilty of blood. Whereby 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, whereby they affirme their owne vprightnesse to the people. But sith it is equitie, and established by the Lawe of the Lord, that they which employ their seruice to the Church, should be fed with the common charges of the Church, and also many Priestes in that age, consecrating their patrimonies to God, were willingly made poore: the distributing was such, that neither the Ministers wanted sustenance, nor the poore were neglected. But yet in the meane time it was provided, that the Ministers themselves, which ought to giue example of honest sparing to other, should not haue so much, whereby they might abuse it to riotous excesse or delicioufnes, but only wherewith to susteine their owne neede. For those of the Cleargie (saith *Hierome*) which are able to liue of the goods of their Parents, if they take that which is the poores, doe commit sacriledge, and by such abuse they eate and drinke to themselves damnation.

The bestowing of
Church goods.

7 First the ministracion was free and voluntarie, whereas the Bishops and Deacons were of their owne will Faithfull, and vprightnesse of conscience and innocencie of life were to them in steede of the Lawes. Afterward when euill examples grew of the greedines or peruerse affections of some, to correct those faultes, the Canons were made, which diuided the reuenues of the Church into foure parts: of which they assigned one part to them of the Cleargie, the second to the poore, the third to the

Church goods diuided into foure parts: one assigned to the maintenance of the Cleargie, the rest to other uses.

maintenance and reparation of Churches, and other holy buildings; the fourth to the poore as well strangers as of their owne countrey. For whereas the other canons, giue this last part to the bishop, that varieth nothing from my abouesaid diuision. For they meane not that that part should be his owne, that either he himselfe alone should deuour it, or powre it out, vpon whom or what he list, but that it should suffice to maintaine the Hospitalitie which *Paul* requireth of that order. And so do *Gelasius* and *Gregorie* expound it. For *Gelasius* bringeth no other reason why the Bishop should challenge any thing to himselfe, but that he might giue it prisoners and strangers. And *Gregorie* speaketh yet more plainly. It is the maner (saith he) of the sea Apostholike, to giue commandement to the Bishop when he is ordered, that of all the reuene that ariseth, there be made foure portions: that is to say, the one to the Bisshop and his Family for Hospitalitie, and entertainment: the second to the Clergie: the third to the poore: the fourth to the repairing of Churches. Therefore it was lawfull for the Bisshop to take nothing to his owne vse, but so much as were enough for moderate and meane foode and cloathing. If any began to exceed either in riotous expence, or in ostentation and pompe, he was by and by repressed by his fellowes, and if he obeyed not, he was put from his dignitie.

1. Tim. 3. 2.

The treasures and implements of the church made away so helpe the necessities of the poore, which could not otherwise be provided for.
Tripar. hist. lib 5. Lib. 11 cap. 16. Ad Nepoc.

8 As for that which they bestowed vpon garnishing of holy things, at the first it was verie little. Afterward when the Church became somewhat richer, yet in that behalfe they still kept a meane. And yet all the mony that was bestowed thereupon, remained safe for the poore, if any greater necessitie happened. So when famine possessed the prouince of Hierusalem, and the need could not otherwise be releued, *Cyrillus* sold the vessels and garments and spent them vpon sustenance of the poore. Likewise *Acatius* bishop of *Amida*, when a great 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 nor cuppes, because he neither eateth nor drinketh, he molt the vessels, to make thereof both meat and ransome for men in miserie. *Hierom* also, when he inueigheth against the too much gorgeousnes of temples, doth with honour make mention of *Exuperius* Bishop of *Tholosa* in his time, which carried the Lords bodie in a wicker basket, and his blood in glasse, but suffered no poore man to bee hungrie. That which I euen now saide of *Acatius*, *Ambrose* rehearseth of himselfe. For when the *Arrians* charged him, for that he had broken the holy vessels to ransome prisoners, he vsed this most godly excuse: Hee that sent the Apostles without gold, gathered Churches together without gold. The Church hath gold, not to keepe it, but to bestow it, and to giue reliefe in necessities. What neede is to keepe that which helpeth not? Do we not know, how much gold and siluer the Assyrians tooke out of the temple of the Lord? Doth not the price better to melt them for the sustenance of the poore, if other reliefes do faile, than an enemy a robber of God to beare them away? Will not the Lord say: Why hast thou suffered so many needie to die for hunger? and verily thou hadst gold whereof thou mightest haue ministred them sustenance. Why were so many lead away captiue, and not ransomed? why were so many slaine by the enemy? It had been better that thou shouldest saue the vessels of liuing men, than of mettalles. To these things thou shalt not be able to answer. For what wouldst thou say? I feared least Gods temple should want garnishing. He would answer: Sacraments require not gold: neither do those things please with gold that are not bought with golde. The ransoming of prisoners is a garnishing of Sacraments. In sum, we see that it is most true which the same man saith in another place, that whatsoever the Church then possessed was the store of the needie. Again: that a Bishop hath nothing that is not the poores.

Eih. 5. epist. 31. & 32.

The institution of young Clergie men & clerkes in loyer functions, so be trained up for the higher seruices of the church

9 These that we haue rehearsed were the ministeries of the old Church. For the other of which the Ecclesiastical wryters make mention, were rather certaine exercises and preparations, than appointed offices. For those holy men, that they might

might leaue a store for the church after them, receiued into their charge, gouernance and discipline, young men which with the consent and authoritie of their parents, professed themselues souldiers of the spirituall warfare: and they so framed them from their tender age, that they should not come vnskillfull and raw to the executing of their office. But all they that were instructed with such beginnings, were called clerks I would indeed that som other proper name had rather bin giuen them. For this name grewe in error, or of corrupt affection: forasmuch as *Peter* calleth the whole Church the Cleargie, that is to say, the Lords inheritance. But the institution in selfe was very holie and profitable, that they which would consecrate themselues & their seruice to the Church, should be so brought vp vnder the keeping of the Bishop, that none should minister to the Church, but he that were well informed aforehand, and that had from his very youth both sucked holy doctrine, and by seuer discipline put in a certaine continuing 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 certaine counterfai skirmishes instructed to learne true and earnest fight, so there were also certaine iudgments, whereby they were exercised while they were Clerkes, before that they were promoted to the verie offices. Therefore first they committed to the Clerkes the charge to open and shutte the Church, and they named them *Ostiaui*, dorekeepers. Afteward they called them *Acoluthi*, followers, which waited vpon the Bishop in his household seruices, and did continuallie accompanie him, first for honours sake, and then that no suspicion shoulde 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 abide the sight of all men, and to speake before al men: that being made Priests, when they came forth to teach, they should be not be abashed with shame: therefore place was appointed them to read in the pulpit. After this manner they were promoted by degrees, to shewe prooffe true one of their diligence in all their severall exercises, till they were made Subdeacons. This onely is my meaning, that those were rather grosse beginnings, than such offices as were accounted among the true ministers of the Church.

10 Whereas we said that the first and second point in the calling of ministers, are, what maner of men they ought to choose, and how great a religious carefulnes they ought to vse in that matter: therein the old Church hath followed the prescribed order of *Paul*, and the examples of the Apostles. For they were wont to come together to chose the pastors with most great reuerence and careful calling vpon the name of God. Beside this they had a forme of examination, whereby they tried the life & doctrine of them that were to be chosen by the rule of *Paul*. Onely they somewhat offended herein with too great seueritie: because they would require more in a Bishop than *Paul* required, & specially in proccesse of time they required vnmarried life. But in the other points their obseruation was agreeing with *Pauls* description. But in this which we made the third point, that is to say, who ought to institute ministers, they kept not alway one order. In old time, none was receiued into the company of clerks, without the consent of all the people: insomuch that *Cyprian* laboureth earnestlie to excuse that hee appointed one *Aurelius* to be a Reader without asking aduise of the Church, because that was done beside the custome, though not without reason. For this he saith before: In ordering of Clerkes, deere brethren, we are wont first to aske you aduise, and by common counsell to weigh the manners and deseruings of euery one. But because in these lesser exercises, there was not much peril: because they were chosen to a long prooffe, & not to a great office, therefore the consent of the people therein ceased to bee asked. Afterwarde in the other degrees also, except the Bishoprick, the people commonlie left the iudgement and choise of them to the Bishop and the Priestes, that they should examine who were meete and woorthie:

1. Pet. 5. 3.

The care which the old church had in making choise of fit men for church offices. The order not alwaies one and the same concerning the persons by whom Church-ministers were made.

1. Tim. 3. 2.

Lib. 2. epist. 5.

sauing peraduenture when new priests were appointed for paroches: for then it be-
hooned that the multitude of that place namely should consent. Neither is it any
manuell, that the people in this behalfe was little carefull in keeping their owne right:
For no man was made a Subdeacon, that had not shewed a long prooffe of himselfe
in his being a Clerke, vnder that severitie of discipline, which then was vsed. After
that he had been tried in that degree, he was made a *Deacon*. From thence he came to
the honor of priesthood if he had behaued himselfe faithfully. So no man was pro-
moted, of whom there had not bene in deede a triall had many years before the
eyes of the people. And there were many canons to punish their faults: so that the
Church could not be troubled with euill priests or Deacons, vnllesse it neglected the
remedies. Howbeit in the priests also there was alway required the consent of them
of the same citie: which the verie first canon testifieth in the 67. distinction, which is
fathered vpon *Anacletus*. Finally, all the admissions into orders were therefore done
at certaine appointed times of the yeare, that no man should priuily creepe in with-
out witnesses.

II In choosing of Bishops the people had the libertie long preferred, that none
should be thrust in that were not accepted of all. This therefore was forbidden in
the councill at *Antioch*, that none should be thrust into them against their will.
Which thing also *Leo* the first doth diligently confirme. Heereupon came these say-
ings: Let him be chosen, whome the Cleargy, and the people, or the greater number
shall require. Againe: Let him that shall beare rule ouer all be chosen of all. For
it must needs be, that he that is made a ruler being vnknown and not examined, is
thrust in by violence. Againe, Let him be chosen, that is both chosen by the Clerks,
and desired by the people: and let him be consecrate by them of that Prouince, with
the iudgement of the Metropolitan. The holy Fathers tooke so great heede that this
libertie of the people should by no meane be diminished, that when the generall Sy-
node gathered together at *Constantinople* did order *Nestarius*, they would not do it
without the allowance of the Cleargy and people, as they testified by their epistle to
the Synode of *Rome*. Therefore when any Bishop did appoint a successor to himselfe,
it was not otherwise stablished vnlesse the whole people did confirme it. Whereof
you haue not onely an example, but also the very forme in *Augustine* in the naming
of *Eradius*. And *Theodorice*, when he rehearseth that *Peter* was named by *Athanasius*
to be his successor, by and by addeth, that the order of Priests confirmed it, and the
magistrate, and nobilitie, and the people approoued it with their allowing shoyte.

12 I graunt in deede that this also was by very good reason stablished in the
Councill at *Laodicia*, that the Election should not be left to multitudes. For it scarcely
happeneth at any time, that so many heads should well order anything with one
meaning: and commonly this is true, that the vncertaine communalitie is diuided
into contrarie affections. But for this perill there was vsed a very good remedie. For
first the Clerkes onely did choofe: whom they had chosen they presented to the Ma-
gistrate, or to the Senate and cheefe men of the people. They, after consultation had,
if they thought the election good, confirmed it: if not, they did choofe another,
whom they did rather allow. Then the matter was moued to the multitude, which al-
though they were not bound to those foreiudgements, yet thereby they could the
lesse be disordered. Or if they began at the multitude: that was done only to learne
whome they did cheefly desire. When the desires of the people were heard, then they
of the Cleargy did choofe him. So neither was it lawfull for the Cleargy to appoint
whom they listed, neither were they bound to obey the foolish desires of the people.
Leo appointeth this order in another place, when he saith: There are to be looked
for, both the desires of the citizens, the peoples testimonies, the iudgement of the ho-
nourable, and the election of the clerkes. Againe, Let there be holden the testi-

monic

mission into it.
at receyving
of gylt starre.
Epi.

The consent of the
people in the mak-
ing of Bishops.
Epi. 90. cap. 2.

Epistola. 10.
Theod. lib. 4.
cap. 20.

The order of the
Councill of *Laodicia* that the e-
lection of Bishops
should not be left
to multitudes,
whereby not with-
standing the re-
gard of the multi-
tude is not exclu-
ded.

Cap. 13.

Episto. 87.

monie of the honourable, the subscription of the clearks, the consent of the order and communalty. No reason (sayth he) suffreth it to be otherwise done. And nothing else meaneth that decree of the Synode at *Laodicia*, but that the Cleargy and cheefe of the people, should not suffer themselves to be carried away by the vndiscreeete multitude: but rather that with their wisdome and grauie they should repress the peoples foolish afflictions, if at any time neede should so require.

13 This order of choosing was yet in force in the time of *Gregory*: and it is likely that it endured long after. There remaine many Epistles of his, that giue euident testimony of this matter. For so oft as he hath to do with the creating of any new Bishop, he useth to write to the cleargy, to the order, and to the people, and sometime also to the ruler, according as the government of the city is appointed. But if by reason of the disordered state of the church, he committeth to any Bishop adioyning the charge of ouersieing in the election, yet he alway requireth a solemne decree strengthened with the subscriptions of all. Yea and when there was one *Constantius* create Byshop at *Milaine*, and that many of the Milaneis were by reason of the inuasion of the barbarous nations fled to *Genua*: he thought that the election could not otherwise be lawfull, vnlesse they also were called together and gaue their assent. Yea there are not yet five hundred yeares past, since Pope *Nicholas* decreed thus of the election of the byshop of *Rome*: that the cardinal bishops should beginne, then that they should ioyne to them the rest of the cleargy, last of all that the election should be confirmed by the consent of the people. And in the end he reciteth that decree of *Leo*, which I euen now alledged, and commaundeth it from thence forth to be in force. But if the malice of wicked men shall so preuaile, that the clearks to make a true election be compelled to depart out of the city: 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 two churches, that is, *Rome* and *Constantinople*: because there were the two seates of the Empire. For whereas *Ambrose* was sent to *Milaine* with a power from *Valentinian* to gouerne the election of the new Bishop: that was extraordinarily done, by reason of greuous factions wherewith the citizens then boyled among themselves. But at *Rome* in old time the Emperours authority was of so great force in creating of the Byshop: that *Gregory* sayeth, that he was set by his commaundement in the government of the Church: when yet by solemne vsage he was desired by the people. This was the manner, that when the cleargy and the people had appointed any Bishop, the cleargy should forthwith moue it to the Emperour, that he should either by his allowance confirme the election, or by disallowance vndo it. Neither are the decrees that *Gratian* gathereth together, repugnant to this custome: wherein is nothing else said, but that it is in no wise to be suffered, that taking away the canonically election, a king should appoint a Byshop after his owne lust: and that the Metropolitan should consecrate none that were so promoted by violent powers. For it is one thing to spoile the Church of her right, that all should be transferred to the lust of one man: and another thing to graunt this honour to a king or an Emperour, that by his authoritie he may confirme a lawfull election.

14 Now it followeth, that we treat with what forme the ministers of the Church were admitted into their office after election: this the Latines called Ordination or Consecration: the Greekes haue called it *Cheirotonia*, lifting vp of hands, and sometime also *Cheirothesia*, laying on of hands. Howbeit *Cheirotonia* is properly called that kinde of election, where mens consents are declared by holding vp of their hands. There remaineth a decree of the Nicene councill, that the Metropolitan should meete together with all the Bishops of the province to order him which is chosen. But if some of them be hindered either by length of the way, or by sicknes, or by any necessitie, that yet three at the least should meete: and that they that are absent should by letters testifye their consent, And this Canon, whic with discontinuance

How long it continued in use that the Cleargy, the cheefe rulers, and the people had all to do in the elections of Bishops.

Lib. 3. Epi. 69.

Distin. 23. cap. in nomine.

Epist. 5. lib. 7.

The auuncient manner of byshops assembling themselves to consecrate Bishops chosen.

it grew out of vse, was afterward renewed with many Synodes. But all, or at least so many as had no excuse, were therefore commanded to be present, that they might haue the grauer triall of the learning and maners, of him that was to bee ordered: for the matter was not done without triall. And it appeereth by *Cyprians* wordes, that in the olde time they were woont not to be called after the election, but to be present at the election: and to this ende that they should be as it were gouernours, that nothing should be troublesomely done in the multitude. For where he saide, that the people haue power either to choose woorthie Priests, or to refuse vnwoorthie, within a little after he addeth: Wherefore according to the 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 right celebration of orderings, all the Bishops adioyning of the same prouince should come together to the people for which a gouernor is ordered, and that the Bishop be chosen in presence of the people. But when they were sometime slowly gathered together, and there was perill least some would abuse that delay to occasion of ambitious sving: it was thought that it should be enough if after the election made, they should meete and after allowance vpon lawfull examination consecrate him.

Epist. 4. lib. 1.

The beginning of the custome for Bishops chosen to repaire to their metropolitan for consecration: the corrupt vse of coming to Rome for it: the rites and ceremonies therein vsed.
Lib. 2. Epist. 69. 46.

15 When this was each where done without exception, by litle and litle a diuers manner grew in vse, that they which were chosen should resort to the Metropolitan citie to fetch their ordering. Which 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 sea of *Rome* was now increased, there came in place yet a woorse custome, that the Bishops almost of all *Italie* should fetch their consecration from thence. Which we may note out of the Epistles of *Gregorie*. Onely a few cities, which did not so easly giue place, had their ancient right preferred: as there is an example had of *Milaine*. Peradventure the onely Metropolitan cities kept their privilege. For all the Bishops of the Prouince were woont to come together to the chiefe citie to consecrate the Archbishop. But the Ceremonie was laying on of hands. For I read of no other ceremonies vsed: sauing that in the solemne assemblie the Bishops had a certaine apparell whereby they might be distinctly knowen from other Priests. They ordered also Priests and Deacons with onely laying on of hands. But euery Bishop with the companie of priests ordered his owne Priest. But although they did all the same thing: yet because the Bishop went before, and it was all done as it were by his guiding, therefore the ordering was called his. Whereupon the olde writers haue oft this saying: that a Priest differeth from a Bishop in no other thing, but because he hath not the power of ordering.

The v. Chapter.

That the olde forme of government is vterly ouerthrowen by the tyrannie of the Papacie.

The corruption of the Church of Rome in choosing Bishops without regarde of maners, learning, or as much as yeeres of discretion.

NOW it is good to set before mens eies the order of gouerning the Church that the sea of *Rome* and all the champions thereof doe keepe at this day, and the whole image of that Hierarchie which they continually haue in their mouth, and to compare it with that order of the first and olde Church which we haue described: that by the comparison it may appeere what maner of Church they haue, which vse this onely title to charge or rather to ouerwhelme vs. But it is best to begin at Calling, that we see both who, and what manner of men, and by what order they be called to this ministerie. And then afterwarde we shall consider how faithfully they execute their office. We will giue the first place to Bishops: to whom I would to God this might be an honor, to haue the first place in this discourse. But the matter it selfe doth

doth not suffer me, once to touch this thing be it neuer so lightly, without their great shame. And yet I will remember, in what kind of writing I am now occupied: and will not suffer my talke, which ought to be framed onely to simple doctrine, to flowe abroad beyond due bonds. But let some one of them that haue not vtterly lost all shame, answer me, what maner of Bishops are at this day commonly chosen. Truly it is now growen too 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 brawle in a court, than preach in a Church. This is certaine, that these hundred yeres there hath scarcely bene euery hundreth man chosen that vnderstood any thing of holy doctrine. I doe not therefore spare the former ages, for that they were much better, but because we haue now onely the present Church in question. If iudgement be had of their manners, we shall finde that there haue bene few or almost none, whom the olde Canons would not haue iudged vnworthie. He that was not a dronkard, was a whoremonger: he that was also cleane from this wickednesse, was either a dyer, or a hunter, or dissolute in some part of his life. For there be higher faults, which by the olde Canons doe exclude a man from being a Bishop. But this is a most great absurditie, that verie children scarcely tenne yeres old, are by the Popes graunt made Bishops. They are growen to such shamelesnes and senseles dullnesse, that they dreaded not that extreme yea and monstrous wicked doing, which is vtterly abhorring from the verie sense of nature. Hereby appeareth how religious their elections were, where the negligence was so carelesse.

2 Now in election, all that right of the people is taken away. Their desirings, their assentings, their subscribings, and all such things are vanished: the whole power is transferred to the Canons onely. They bestow the Bishopricke vpon whom they will, and afterward bring him forth into the sight of the people, but to be worshipped, not to be examined. But *Leo* cryeth on the otherside, that no reason suffereth it, and he pronounceth that it is a violent imposition. *Cyprian*, when he testifieth that it proceedeth from the lawe of God that it should not be done but by the consent of the people, sheweth that the contrarie maner is repugnant to the word of God. The decrees of so many Synodes doe most seuerely forbid it to be otherwise done: and if it be done, they command it to be void. If these things be true, there now remaineth in the Papacie no Canonical election, neither by Gods law nor by the Ecclesiasticall law. But although there were no other euill, yet how shall they be able to excuse this that they haue so spoyled the Church of her right? But (say they) the corruption of times so required, that because in appointing of bishops, hatreds and affections more preuailed with the people and the Magistrates, than right and sound iudgement, therefore the rule thereof should be giuen to a few. Admit verily that this were the extreme remedie of a mischiefe in despaired case. But sith the medicine it selfe hath appeared more hurtfull than the very disease, why is not this new euill also remedied? But (say they) it is exactly prescribed to the Canons, what they ought to follow in the election. But do we doubt, but that the people in old time did vnderstand that they were bound to most holie lawes, when they saw that they had a rule set them by the word of God, when they came together to choose a bishop? For that onlie voice of God, whereby he describeth the true image of a bishop, ought worthilie to be of more value than infinite thousands of Canons. But neuertheless the people, corrupted with a most euill affection, had no regard of the law or of equitie. So at this day though there be verie good lawes written, yet they remaine buried in papers. Yet for the most part it is vsed in mens manners, yea and allowed as though it were done by good reason, that dronkards, whoremongers, dicers, are commonly promoted to this honor: (It is but little that I say) that bishopricks are the rewards of adulteries and bawderies. For when they are giuen but to hunters and falconers, it is to be thought to be gaily wel bestowed. Any way to excuse so hainous indignity,

Both magistrates and people vterly excluded in the Church of Rome from meddling in the election of Bishops: the pretense vnder which they are excluded.

Cap. 5. Of the outward meanes

indignitie, it is too much wicked. The people (say I) had in olde time a very good Canone to whom Gods word prescribed, that a Bishop ought to be vnreprovable, a teacher, no fighter, &c. Why therefore is the charge of choosing remoued from the people to these men? Because forsooth the word of God was not heard among the tumults and seditious partakings of the people. And why should it not at this day be remoued againe from these men, which not onely doe breake all lawes, but casting away all shame, doe wantonly, couetously, ambitiously, mingle and confound Gods and mens matters together?

1.Tim. 3. 1.

What occasion the Romane cleargie hath taken to defraude the Church of hir right in elections, and paines to get into their owne hands that which they sawe so grossely abused.

3 But they lie, when they say, that this was deuised for a remedie. We often read that in olde time Churches were in tumults at the choosing of Bishops: yet neuer any man durst thinke of taking away the authoritie from the people. For they had other waies whereby they might either prevent 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 this occasion to vsurpe a tyranny to themselves, which afterward they stablished by new Canons set foorth. As for their ordering, it is nothing else but a meere mockage. For the shew of examination that they there set out is so vaine and hungrie, that it wanteth euen all colour. Therefore whereas in some places Princes haue by couenant obtained of the Bishops of *Rome*, that they themselves might name Bishops, therein the Church suffered no new losse: because the election was taken away, onely from the Canons, which had by no right violently taken it, or verily stolen it. Truly this is a most foule example, that out of the Court are sent Bishops to possesse Churches: and it should be the worke of Godly Princes to absteyne from such corruption. For it is a wicked spoyling of the Church, when there is thrust vnto any people a Bishop, whom they haue not desired, or at least with free voice allowed. But that vnorderly manner which hath long agoe bene in the Churches, gaue occasion to Princes to take the presentation of Bishops into their owne hands. For they had rather that it should be their gift, than those mens, to whom it nothing more belonged, and which did no lesse wrongfully abuse it.

The abuses of the Church of Rome in making Priestes and Deacons.

4 Loe here is a noble calling, by reason whereof the Bishops boast themselves 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 corrupt the old institution: because they doe not by their ordering create Priestes to rule and feede the people, but Sacrificers to Sacrifice. Likewise when they consecrate Deacons, they doe nothing of their true and proper office, but they ordaine them onely to certaine Ceremonies about the chalice and the paten. But in the Synode at *Chalcedon*, it is contrariwise decreed, that the orderings should not be absolutely giuen, that is to say, but that a place should be therewithall assigned to them that are ordered, where they shal exercise their office. This decree is for two causes very profitable. First, that the Church should not be burdened with superfluous charges, nor that that should be spent vpon idle men which should be giuen to the poore: Secondly, that they which be ordered, should thinke that they be not promoted to an honor, but that there is an office committed vnto the, to the execution whereof they are bound by solemne protestation. But the Romish masters (which thinke that there is nothing in religion to be cared for, but their bellie) first doe expound title to be the reueneue that may suffice to sustaine them, whether it be by their own liuelyhoode or by benefice. Therefore when they order a Deacon or a Priest, without taking care where they ought to minister, they giue them the order; if they be rich enough to finde themselves. But what man can admit this, that the title which the decree of the Councell requireth, should be the yearly reueneue for their sustenance? 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 too much easie admitting: there hath bene

Dist. 70. cap. 1.

beene also a fittletie deuised to mocke out this penaltie. For he that is ordered, naming any title whatsoeuer it be, promiseth that he will be content therewith: by this shift he is driuen from his action for his finding. I passe ouer a thousand fraudes that are herein vsed: that when some doe falsely name vaine titles of benefices, whereupon they cannot make fise shillings by yeere: other some vnder secrete couenant doe borrow benefices, which they promise that they will by and by restore againe, but sometime they restore not at all. And such other mysteries.

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 the government of the Church: and a Deacon to be called to the gathering of the almes: they doe in deede with many poms shadow their doing, that in the very shew it may haue a reuerence among the simple. But among men that haue their sound wit, what can these disguisings auaille, if there be no found stasse or truth vnderneath them? For they vse ceremonies about it, either fetched out of Iewishnesse, or fained of themselues: which it were better to forbear. But of true examination, (for I nothing passe vpon that shadow which they retaine) of the peoples consent, and of other things necessarye, they make no mention. I call a shadow their foolish gesturings meete to bee laughed at, framed to a fond and colde counterfeiting of antiquitie. The Bishops haue their deputies which before the ordering may enquire of their learning. But what? whether they can reade their masses, whether they can decline a common nowne, that they shall light vpon in reading, coniugate a verbe, or doe knowe the signification of one word, for it is not necessarye that they be cunning enough to construe a verbe. And yet they be not put backe from Priesthood which faile cuen in the childish rudiments, so that they bring any mony or commendation of fauour. Of like sort it is, that when they are brought to the altar to be ordered, it is asked thrise in a toong not vnderstanded, whether they be worthie of that honor. One answereth which neuer saw them: (but because nothing should want of the forme, hee hath parte in the plate.) They are worthie. What may a man blame in these reuerend fathers, but that which mocking in so open sacrileges, they do without shame laugh to scorne both God & men? But because they are in long possession thereof, they thinke that nowe it is lawfull for them. For whosoever dare once open his mouth against these so euident and so hainous wicked doings, he is forthwith haled by them to punishment of death, as though it were one that had in old time disclosed abroad the holie mysteries of *Ceres*. Would they do this if they thought that there were any God?

6 Now how much do they behaue themselues better in bestowing of benefices: which thing was once ioyned with the ordering, but nowe it is altogether separate? There is among them a diuerse maner. For the Bishops onely do not conferre benefices: and in those whereof they are saide to haue the conferring, they haue not the full right, but other haue the presentation, and they retaine onely the title of collation for honors sake. There are also nominations out of schooles, and resignations, either simple, or made for cause of exchange, commendatorie writings, preuentions, and whatsoeuer is of that sort. But they also behaue themselues that none of them can reproch another with any thing. So I affirme, that scarcely euery hundredth benefice is bestowed at this day in the papacie without Simonie, as the old writers defined Simonie, I do not say, that they all buy them with readie monie: but shewe me one of

The disguising ceremonies which the Church of Rome vseth in making her priests

Corruption in bestowing benefices.

Epi. 1. lib. 3.

either

either get the fauour of their souldiers or reward their seruices. I omit howe these rewards are bestowed vpon barbers, cookes, moile keepers, & such dreggish men. And now iudiciall courts do ring of no matters more, than about benefices: so that a man may say that they are nothing else but a pray cast afore dogs to hunt after. Is this tolerable 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 enemy? that haue gotten it by brawling in the law? that haue bought it for money? That haue defered it by filthie seruices: which being children yet scanty able to speake, haue receiued it, as by inheritance from their vnclcs and kinsmen, and some bastards from their fathers?

*Many Churches
committed to one
mans charge un-
able to order one.*

7 Would euer the licentiousnes of the people, though they had bin neuer so corrupt and lawlesse, haue gone so farre? But this is also more monstrous, that one man, (I will not say what maner of man, but truly such a one as cannot gouerne himselfe) is set to gouern five or sixe churches. A man may see in these daies in Princes courts, yoong men that haue three Abbacies, two Bishoprikes, one Archbishoprike. But there be commonly Canons with five, sixe or seuen benefices, whereof they haue no care at all, but in receiuing the reuenues. I will not obiect, that it is ech where cried out against by the word of God, which hath long ago ceased to be of any estimation at all among them. I will not obiect, that there haue bin many most seuerenall ordinances in many Councils made against this wickednes: for those also they boldly despise as oft as they list. But I say that both are monstrous wicked dooings, which are vterly against God and nature and the gouernment of the Church, that one robber shall oppresse many Churches at once, and that he should be called a Pastor, which cannot be present with his flocke though he would: and yet (such is their shamefulness) they couer such abominable filthines with the name of the Church to deliuer themselves from all blame. But also (and God will) in these lewdnesses is contained that holy succession, by the merite whereof they boast that it is wrought that the Church may not perish.

*Monkes in the
Church of Rome
made Priestes and
still continuing
Monkes contrarie
to the ancient both
customs and Can-
ons, yet when
they are made, not
discharging the
dutie of Priestes
neither.*
Epi. 11. li. 3.

8 Now (which is the second marke in iudging a lawful Pastor) let vs see howe faithfully they exercise their office. Of the Priestes that be there created, some bee Monkes, some be (as they call them) Secular. The first of these two companies was vnknown to the old Church: and it is so against the profession of Monkes, to haue such a place in the Church, that in old time when they were chosen out of Monasteries into the clergie, they ceased to be Monkes. And *Gregorie*, whose time had much dregs, yet suffred not this confusion to be made. For he willett that they be put out of the cleargie that be made Abbots, for that no man can rightly bee together both a Monke and a clearge: sith the one is a hinderance to the other. Nowe if I aske, howe he wel fulfilleth his office, whom the Canons declare to be vnmeete, what I pray you, will they answer? they will forsooth alleage vnto mee those vntimely borne decrees of *Innocent* and *Boniface*, whereby Monkes are so receiued into the honour & power of Priesthoode, that they might still abide in their Monasteries. But what reason is this, that euerie vnlearned asse, so soone as he hath once possessed the sea of *Rome*, may with one worde ouerthrowe all antiquitie? But of this matter we shall speake heereafter. Let this suffice for this time, that in the purer Church it was holden for a great absurditie, if a Monke did execute the office of Priesthood. For *Hierome* saith that hee doth not execute the office of a Priest, while hee is conuersant among Monkes: and maketh himselfe one of the common people to be ruled by the Priestes. But, although we grant them this, what do they of their dutie? Of the mendicants some doe preach, all the other Monkes either sing or mumble vp masses in their dennes. As though either Christ willed, or the nature of the office iuffereth Priestes to be made to this purpose. Whereas the Scripture plainely testifieth, that it is the Priestes office to rule his owne Church, is it not a wicked prophonation, to turne

another way, yea vterly to change the holy institution of God? For when they are ordered, they are expressly forbidden to doe the things that God commaundeth all priests. For this song is sung to them: let a Monke content with his cloister, not presume to minister the Sacraments, not to execute any thing belonging to publike office. Let them denie, if they can, that it is an open mockerie of God, that any priest should be made to this purpose, to abstaine from his true and naturall office: and that he which hath the name may not haue the thing.

Act. 20. 23.

4 I come to the secular priests: which are partly beneficed men, (as they call them) that is to say, haue benefices whereupon to liue: and partly do let out their daily labour to hire, in massing, or singing, and liue as it were of a stipend gathered thereupon. Benefices haue either care of soules, as bishoprikes and cure of paroches: or they be the stipends of deintie men, that get their liuing with singing, as prebends, Canonships, parsonages, and dignities, chaplainships and such other. Howbeit, since things are now turned vpside downe, Abbates and priories are giuen to vey boies, by priuilege, that is to say by common and vsuall custome. As concerning the hirelings, that get their liuing from day to day, what should they doe otherwise than they doe? that is in seruile and shamefull manner to giue out themselves for gaine, specially sith there is so great a multitude as now the world swarmeth with. Therefore when they dare not beg openly, or for as much as they thinke they should but little profite that way, they goe about like hungrie dogs, and with their importunacie, as with barking, they enforce out of men against their wils somewhat to thrust into their belly. Here if I would go about to expresse in wordes, how great a dishonour it is to the Church, that the honor and office of priesthood is come to this point. I should haue no ende. Therefore it is not meete that the readers should looke for at my hand such a long declaration as may be proportionall to so hainous indignitie. Briefly I say, if it be the office of priesthood, (as the word of God prescribeth, and the ancient canons require) to feede the Church, and to gouerne the spirituall kingdome of Christ: all such sacrificers as haue none other worke 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 nothing left to them, but the altar, whereupon to sacrifice Christ: which is not to offer to God, but to duels, as we shall see in another place.

The abuses of the Church of Rome in the office of her secular priests.

1. cor. 4. 21.

10 I doe not here touch the outward faults, but onely the inward euill, which sticketh fast by the roote in their institution. I will adde a saying, which will sounde ill in their eares: but because it is true, I must speake it: that in the same degree are to be accounted Canons, Deanes, Chaplaines, Prouostes, and all they that are fed with idle benefices. For what seruice can they doe to the Church? For they haue put from themselves the preaching of the word, the care of discipline, and ministration of Sacraments, as too much troublesome burdens. What then haue they remaining, whereby they may boast themselves to be true priestes? Singing for sooth, and a pompe of Ceremonies. But what is that to the purpose? If they alleage custome, if vse, if prescription of long time: I againe on the other side doe lay vnto them the definition of Christ, whereby he hath expressed vnto vs both true priestes, and what they ought to haue that will be accounted such. But if they cannot beare so hard a lawe, to submit themselves to Christes rule: at the least let them suffer this matter to be determined by the authoritie of the Primitiue Church. But their case shall be neuer the better, if their state be iudged by the olde Canons. They that haue degenerate into Canons, should haue bene priestes, as they were in olde time, that should rule the Church in common with the Bishop, and be as it were his companions in the office of Pastor. Those Chapter dignities as they call them, doe nothing at all belong to the gouerning of the Church: much lesse, chaplainships, and the other dregs of like names. What account then shall we make of them all? Truly both the word of Christ, and the

Other idle sorts of priestes neither governing the Church nor distributing at all the worde or Sacraments.

the vsage of the Church excludeth them from the honor of priesthood. Yet they stoutly hold that they be priests: but we must plucke off their visour: so shal we finde that their whole profession is most strange and farre remoued from that office of priests, both which the Apostles describe vnto vs, and which was required in the primitive Church. Therefore all such orders, with what titles soeuer they be notified, sith they be new, being verily neither vpholden by the institution of God, nor by the ancient vsage of the Church, ought to haue no place in the description of the spiritual gouernment, which the Church hath receiued consecrate with the Lords owne mouth. Or (if they wil rather haue me to speake more simply and grossely) for as much as Chaplaines, Canons, Deacons, Prouostes, and other idle bellies of the same sort, doe not so much as with their little finger touch any small parcell of that office, which is necessarily required in priests, it is not to be suffered, that in wrongfully taking a false honor vpon themselues, they should breake the holy institution of Christ.

Abuses in the office of Bishops and parsons in parishes belonging to the Church of Rome.

11 There remaine Bishops, and parsons of Paroches: who I would to God they did striue to retaine their office. For we woulde willingly graunt vnto them, that they haue a godlie and excellent office, if they did execute it. But when they will be accounted Pastors, while they forsake the Churches committed to them, and cast the care of them vpon other, they doe as if it were the Pastors office to doe nothing. If an vsurer that neuer stirred his foote out of the citie, woulde profess himselfe a plowman, or a keeper of a vineyard: if a souldiour that had bene continually in the battell and in the campe, and had neuer seene iudiciall court or bookes, woulde boast himselfe for a lawyer, who could abide such stinking follies? But these men doe somewhat more absurdly, that will seeme and be called lawfull Pastors of the Church, and yet will not be so. For how many a one is there, that doth so much, as in shewe, exercise the gouernment of his Church? Manie doe all their life long deuoure the reuenues of Churches, to which they neuer come so much as to looke vpon them. Some other doe once by yeere either come themselues, or sende their steward, that nothing should be lost in the letting to farme. When this corruption first crept in, they that would enioy this kinde of vacation, exempted themselues by priuileges: now it is a rare example, to haue one resident in his owne Church. For they esteeme them none otherwise than farmes ouer which they set their vicars as bailifes or farmers. But this very naturall reason reiecteth, that he should be pastor of a flocke, that neuer sawe one sheepe thereof.

Hom. 17. Neghgence of Bishops and pastors in the office of preaching the word.

12 It appeereth that euen in the time of *Gregoric*, there were certaine seedes to this mischief, that the rulers of Churches, began to be negligent in teaching: for he doth in one place greuously complaine of it. The world (saith he) is full of priests, but yet in the haruest there are seldome workmen found: because in deede we take vpon vs the office of priest, but we fulfil not the worke of the office. Againe, because they haue not the bowels of charitie, they will seeme Lords: they acknowledge not themselues to be fathers. They change the place of humilitie into the aduancing of lordlinesse. Againe, but what doe we, O pastours, which receiue the rewarde, and are no workmen? We are fallen to outward businesse, and we take in hand one thing, and performe another. We leaue the ministerie of preaching: and to our punishment, as I see, we are called Bishops, that keepe the name of honour and not of vertue. Sith he vseth so great sharpnesse of words against them, which were but lesse continuing and lesse diligent in their office: What I pray you, would he say, if he sawe of the Bishops almost none, or truly very fewe, and of the rest scarcely euery hundredth man once in all his life to goe vp into a pulpit? For men be come to such madnesse, that it is commonly counted a thing too base for the dignitie of a Bishop, to make a sermon to the people. In the time of *Bernard*, things were somewhat more decayed: but we see also with how sharpe chidings he inuiceth against the whole order: which yet it is likely to haue bene then much purer than it is now.

13 But if a man do well weigh and examine this outward forme of ecclesiasticall gouernment that is at this day vnder the papacie, he shall finde that there is no theuicth corner wherein robbers do more licentiously range without lawe and measure. Truly all things are there so vnlike the institution of Christ, yea so contrarie to it, they are so degenerate from the ancient ordinances and manners 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 disordered gouernment. We (say they) are the pillars of the Church, the chiefe Bishops of religion, the vicars of Christ, the heads 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 againe, what they haue common with the Apostles. For we speake not of any inheritably descending honor that may be giuen to men euen while they lie sleeping: but of the office of preaching, which they so much flee from. Likewise when we affirme that their kingdome is the tyrannie of Antichrist, by and by they answer, that it is that reuerende Hierarchie, so oft praised of notable and holy men. As though the holy fathers, when they commended the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie or spirituall gouernment, as it was deliuered them from hande to hande from the Apostles, did dreame of this mishappen and wast disordred heape, where the Bishoppes are for the most part either rude asses, which know not the very first & cōmon principles of faith, or somtime children yet newe come from the nurse: and if any bee learneder (which yet is a rare example) they thinke a Bishoprike to be nothing else but a title of glorioufnesse and magnificence: where the parsons of Churches thinke no more of feeding the flocke, than a shoemaker doth of plowing: where all things are confounded with more than Babylonicall dispersing, that there remaineth no more any one step whole of that ordinance of the fathers.

14 What if we descende to their maners? where shall be that light of the world, which Christ requireth? where is the salt of the earth? where is that holinesse, which may be as a perpetuall rule to iudge by? There is no degree of men at this day more ill spoken of for riot, wantonnesse, deintines, finally all kind of lusses. There are of no degree men either fitter, or cunninger masters of al deceit, fraud, treason, & breach of faith: there is no where so great cunning or boldnes to doe hurt. I passe ouer their disdainfulnesse, pride, extortion, crueltie. I passe ouer the dissolute licentiousnesse in all the parts of their life. In suffering wherof the world is so wearied, that it is not to be feared, that I should seeme to enforce any thing too much. This one thing I say, which they themselues shall not be able to denie: that of Bishoppes there is almost none, of the Parsons of paroches nor the hundreth man: but if iudgement should be giuen of his maners according to the old Canons, he should be either to be excommunicate: or at least to bee put from his office. I seeme to saie somewhat incredible: so farr is that auncient discipline growen out of vse, that commanded an exacter trial to be had of the maners of the clergie: but the truth is so. Nowe let them go, that fight vnder the standerd and guiding of the sea of Rome, and let them boast among themselues of the order of priesthood. As for the order that they haue, truly it is euident, that it is neither of Christ, nor of his Apostles, nor of the fathers, nor of the old Church.

15 Now let the Deacons come soorth, and the most holy distributing that they haue of the goods of the Church. Howbeit they do not nowe create their Deacons to that purpose, for they enioyne them nothing else but to minister at the altar, to read and sing the Gospell, and do I wote not what trifles. Nothing of the almes, nothing of the care of the poore, nothing of all that function which they in old time executed. I speake of the vrie institution. For if we haue respect what they do, indeede it is not to them an office, but onely a steppe toward priesthoode. In one thing, they

Nothing more absurd, grosse, & vnlike to antiquitie, than the gouernment of the church of Rome at this day, in respect of hir priests and Bishops.

The manners of Romaine priests. Matth. 5. 14.

What Deacons do in the church of Rome.

that keepe the Deacons place at the masse, do represent a void image of antiquitie. For they receiue the offerings before the consecration. This was the ancient maner, that before the communion of the Supper, the faithfull did kisse one another, and offer their almes at the altar: so first by a signe, & afterward by very liberalitie they shewed their charitie. The Deacon, that was the poore mans stewarde, receiued that which was giuen, to distribute it. Now of those almes, there commeth no more to the poore, than if they were thrown into the sea. Therefore they mocke the Church with this lying Deaconrie. Truly therein they haue nothing like, neither to the institution of the Apostles, nor to the ancient vsage. But the very distribution of the goods they haue conueyed another way: and haue so framed it, that nothing can be deuised more vnorderly. For as the eues, when they haue cut mens throates, do diuide the pray among them: so these, after the quenching of the light of Gods worde, as though the Church were slaine, do thinke that whatsoever was dedicate to holy vses is layd for pray and spoile. Therefore making a diuision, euery one hath snatched to himselfe as much as he could.

The spoile they haue made of Church goods, and the misery they doe thereby to the poore.

16 Here all these old orders, that we haue declared, are not onely troubled, but utterly wiped out and rased. The bishops and priests of cities, which being made rich by this pray, were turned into Canons, haue made hauocke of the chiefe part among them. But it appeareth that the partition was vnorderly, because to this day they stricke about the bounds. Whatsoeuer it be, by this prouision it is prouided, that not one halpenie of the goods of the Church should come to the poore, whose had been the halfe part at least. For the Canons do giue them the fourth part by name: and the other fourth part they do therefore appoint to the 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 appointed for temples, buildings & other expences, ought to be open for the poore in necessity. I pray you, if they had one speake of the feare of God in their heart would they abide this burden of conscience, that all that they eate, and wherewith they be clothed, cometh of theft, yea of sacriledge? But sith they are little moued with the iudgement of God, they should at least thinke, that those be men endued with wit and reason, to whom they would perswade, that they haue so goodly and well framed orders in their Church, as they are wont to boast. Let them answer me shortly, whether Deaconrie be a licence to steale and rob. If they denie this, they shall also be compelled to confesse, that they haue no Deaconrie left: for as much as among them all the disposition of the goods of the Church is openly turned into a spoiling full of sacriledge.

The pretence whch they haue as if the kingdome of Christ were by these meanes made more glorious. Psa. 72. 10. Esa. 52. 1. & 60. 6.

17 But here they vse a verie faire colour. For they say, that the dignitie of the Church is by that magnificence not vncomly vpholden. And they haue of their selfe some so shamelesse, that they dare openly boast, that so onely are fulfilled those prophecies, whereby the old Prophets describe the glorious state of the kingdome of Christ, when that kingly gorgeousnes is seene in the priestly order. Not in vaine (say they) God hath promised these things to his Church. Kings shal come, they shal worship in thy sight, they shall bring thee gifts. Arise, arise, cloth thee with thy strength, O Syon: cloth thee with the garments of thy glory, O Hierusalem: All shall come from Saba, bringing gold and incense, and speaking praise to the Lord. All the caule of Cedar shall be gathered together to thee. If I should tary long vpon confusing this lewdnes, I feare least I should seeme fond. Therefore I will not lose wordes in vaine. But I aske: if any Iew would abuse these testimonies, what solution would they giue? Verily they would reprehend his dulnesse, for that he transferred those things to the flesh and the world, that are spiritually spoken of the spiriual kingdome of Christ. For we know, that the Prophets, vnder the image of earthly things, did paint out vnto vs the heauenly glorie of God, that ought to shine in the Church. For the

Church had neuer lesse abundance of these blessings, which their wordes expresse, than in the time of the Apostles: and yet all confesse, that the force of the kingdom of Christ then chiefly florished abroad. What then meane these sayings? Whatsoeuer is any where precious, high, excellent, it ought to be made subiect to the Lord. Whereas it is namely spoken of kings, that they shall submit their scepters to Christ, that they shall throw downe their Crownes before his feete, that they shall dedicate their goods to the Church: when (will they say) was it better and more fully performed, than when *Theodosius*, casting away his purple robe, leauing the ornaments of the Empire, as some one of the common people: submitted himselfe before God and the Church, to solemne penance? then when he & other like Godly Princes bestowed their endeuors and their cares to preserue pure doctrine in the Church, and to cherish and defend sound teachers? But how Priestes at that time exceeded not in superfluous riches, that only sentence of the Synode at *Aquileia*, where *Ambrose* was cheefe, sufficiently declareth: Glorious is pouertie in the Priestes of the Lord. Truly the Bishops had at that time some riches, wherewith they might haue set out the Churches honor, if they had thought those to be the true ornaments of the Church. But when they knew that there was nothing more against the office of Pastors, than to glister and shew themselues proudly with deintinesse of fare, with gorgiousnesse of garments, with great traine of seruants, with stately palaces, they followed and kept the humblenes and modestie, yea the very pouertie which Christ holily appointed among his Ministers.

18 But that we may not be too long in this pointe, let vs againe gather into a short summe, how farre that dispensation or dissipation of the goods of the Church, that is now vsed, differeth from the true Deaconrie, which both the worde of God commendeth vnto vs, and the auncient Church obserued. As for that which is bestowed vpon the garnishing of temples, I say it is ill bestowed, if that measure be not vsed, which both the very nature of holy things appointed, that the Apostles and other holy Fathers haue prescribed both by doctrine and examples. But what like thing is there seene at this day in the Temples? whatsoeuer is framed, I will not say after that auncient sparing, but to any honest meane it is reiected. Nothing at all pleaseth, but that which fauoreth of riot and the corruption of times. In the meane time they are so farre from hauing due care of the luely Temples, that they would rather suffer many thousands of the poore to perish for hunger, than they would breake the least chalice or cruit, to relieue their neede. And that I may not pronounce of my selfe any thing more greuously against them, this onely I would haue the godly readers to thinke vpon: if it should happen that same *Exuperius* Bishop of *Tholesa*, whom we euen now rehearsed, or *Acatius*, or *Ambrose*, or any such to be raised from death, what they would say. Truly they would not allow that in so great necessitie of the poore, riches in a manner superfluous should be turned another way. Admit I speake nothing how these vses vpon which they be bestowed, (although there were no poore) are many waies hurtfull, but in no behalfe profitable. But I leaue to speake of men. These goods are dedicate to Christ: therefore they are to be disposed after his will. But they shall in vaine say, that this part is bestowed vpon Christ, which they haue wasted otherwise than he commanded. Howbeit, to confesse the truth, there is not much of the ordinarie reuenuē of the Church abated for these expenses. For there are no Bishoprikes so welthy, no Abbacies so fatte, finally neither so many, nor so large benefices that may serue to fill the gluttony of Priestes. But while they seeke to spare themselves, they perswade the people by superstition, to turne that which should be bestowed vpon the poore, to builde Temples, to set vp images, to buy Iewels, to get costly garments. So with this gulfe are the dayly almes consumed.

19 Of the reuenuē, that they receiue of their lands and possessions, what else shall I say, but that which I haue already said, & which is before all mens eyes? We see

In whom you
hath bene
glorions

How far their be-
stowing of Church
goods differeth
from that which
either the Apostles
or the auncient fa-
thers vsed.

The word of God
and the auncient
Canons against the
pride of the Ro-
man Clergie.

Cap. 6. Of the outward meanes

with what faithfulness they which are called bishops and Abbots do dispose the greatest part. What madnes is it, to seeke here for an ecclesiasticall order? Was it meete that they, whose life ought to haue bene a singular example of frugalitie, modestie, continence, and humilitie, should contend with the royaltie of princes in number of goods, in gorgiounes of houses, in daintines of apparell and fare? And how much was this contrarie to their office, that they, whom the eternall and inuiolable commandement of God forbiddeth to be desirous of filthie gaine, and biddeth to be content with simple liuing, should not only lay hands vpon townes and castles, but also violently enter vpon the greatest lordships, finally possesse forceably verie empires? If they despise the word of God: what will they answer to those ancient decrees of the Synodes: whereby it is decreed that the bishop should haue a small lodging not farre from the Church, meane fare and household stuffe? what will they say to that praise of the Synode at *Aquileia*: where pouertie is reported glorious in the Priests of the Lord? For perhaps they will vtterly refuse as too much rigorons, that which *Hierom* aduiseeth *Nepotianus*, that poore men and strangers: and among them Christ as a guest, may know his table. But that which he by and by addeth, they will be ashamed to denie that it is the glorie of a Bishop to prouide for the goods of the poore: that it is the shame of all priests to studie for their owne riches. But they cannot receiue this, but they must all condemne themselves of shame. But it is not needfull in this place to speake more hardly against them, sith my meaning was nothing else, but to shew, that among them the lawfull order of deaconrie is long ago taken away: that they may no more glorie of this title to the commendation of their Church: which I thinke I haue already sufficiently shewed.

The vj. Chapter.

Of the Supremacie of the sea of Rome.

The supremacie of the sea of Rome neither deriued from Christs institution, nor from the vse of the old Church.

Hitherto we haue rehearsed those orders of the church, which were in the government of the old Church: but afterward corrupted in times, and from thenceforth more and more abused, do now in the Popish Church retaine onely their name, and indeed are nothing else but visours: that by comparison the godly reader might iudge, what maner of Church the Romanistes haue, for whose sake they make vs schismatiques, because we haue departed from it. But as for the head and top of the whole order, that is to say, the supremacie of the sea of *Rome*, whereby they trauell to prouoe that they only haue the catholike Church, we haue not yet touched it: because it took beginning neither from the institution of Christ, nor from the vse of the olde church, as those former parts did: which we haue shewed to haue so proceeded from antiquitie, that by wickednes of times they are vtterly degenerate, and haue put on altogether a new forme. And yet they go about to perwade the world, that this is the chiefe and in a maner onely bonde of the vnitie of the church, if we cleaue to the sea of *Rome*, and continue in the obedience thereof. They rest (I say) principally vpon this stay, when they will take away the Church from vs, and claime it to themselves, for that they keepe the head, vpon which the vnitie of the Church hangeth, and without which the Church must needs fall asunder and be broken in peeces. For thus they thinke that the Church is as it were a maimed and headlesse body, vnlesse it be subiect to the sea of *Rome*, as to her head. Therefore when they talk of their *Hierarchie*, they alway take their beginning at this principle: that the bishop of *Rome* (as the vicar of Christ, which is the head of the Church) is in his steede President of the vniuersall Church: and that otherwise the Church is not well ordered, vnlesse that Sea do hold the Supremacie aboue all other. Therefore this also is to bee examined of what sort it is: that we may omit nothing that pertaineth to a iust government of the Church.

2 Let this therefore be the principall point of the question: Whether it be necessarie for the true forme of *Hierarchie* (as they call it) or Ecclesiasticall order, that one Sea should be about the rest both in dignitie and in power, that it may be the head of the whole body. But we make the Church subiect to too vniust lawes, if we lay this necessitie vpon it, without the word of God. Therefore if the aduersaries will prooue that which they require, they must first shewe that this disposition was ordeined by Christ. For this purpose they alleadge out of the law the high priesthood, also the high iudgement, which God did institute at *Hierusalem*. But it is easie to giue a solution, and that many waies, if one way doe not satisfie them. First no reason compelleth to extend that to the whole world, which was profitable in one nation: yea rather, the order of one nation and of the whole world shall be farre different. Because the *Iewes* were on each side compassed with idolaters: that they should not be diuersly drawne with varietie of religions, God appointed the place of worshipping him in the middest part of the land: there he ordeined ouer them one head Bishop, whome they should haue all regard vnto, that they might be the better kept together in vnitie. Now when religion is spred abroad into the whole world, who doth not see that it is altogether an absurditie, that the gouernement of the East and West be giuen to one man? For it is in effect as much as if a man should affirme that the whole world ought to be gouerned by one Ruler, because one peece of land hath no moe rulers but one. But there is yet another reason, why that ought not to be made an example to be followed. No man is ignorant that the high Bishop was a figure of Christ. Now, since the Priesthood is remooued, that right must also be remooued. But to whom is it remooued? Truly not to the Pope (as he himselfe is so bolde shamelesly to boast) when he draweth this title to himselfe: but to Christ, which as he alone susteineth this office, without any Vicar or Successor, so he resigneth the honor to none other. For the Priesthoode consisteth not in doctrine onely, but in the appeasing of God, which Christ hath fully wrought by his death, and in that intercession which he now vseth with his Father.

*The high Priesthood
authority amongst
the Iewes no
proofe for the so-
ueraigne dignitie
of Rome.*

Heb. 7. 12.

3 There is therefore no cause why they should binde vs by this example, as by a perpetuall rule, which we haue seene to be enduring but for a time. Out of the new Testament they haue nothing to bring foorth for prooffe of their opinion, but that it was said to one: Thou art *Peter*, and vpon this stone I will build my Church. Againe, *Peter*, Louest thou me? Feede my sheepe. But admitting that these be strong proofes, they must first shew, that he which is commaunded to feede the flocke of Christ, hath power committed to him ouer all Churches: and that to binde and to loose is nothing else but to be ruler of all the world. But as *Peter* had receiued the Commandement of the Lord, so he exhortheth all other Priestes to feede the Church. Heereby we may gather, that by this saying of Christ, there was either nothing giuen to *Peter* more than to the rest, or that *Peter* did egally communicate with other the power that he had receiued. But, that we striue not vainely, we haue in another place a cleare exposition out of the mouth of Christ, what is to binde and loose: that is to say, to retaine and to forgiue sinnes. But the manner of binding and loosing, both the whole Scripture eche where sheweth, and *Paul* very well declareth, when he saith that the ministers of the Gospell, haue commandement to reconcile men to God, and also haue power to punish them that refuse this benefite.

*Things in the new
Testament spoken
to Peter, prooue
not the power
which the Bishop
of Rome challeng-
eth.
Mat. 16. 18.
Iohn. 21. 15.*

1. Pet. 5. 2.
Iohn. 20. 23.

2. Cor. 5. 18. &
10. 16.

4 How shamefully they wrest those places, that make mention of binding and loosing, I both haue already shortly touched, and a little after I shall haue occasion to declare more at large. Now it is good to see onely, what they gather of that famous answer of Christ to *Peter*. He promised him the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: he saide that whatsoever he bound in earth, should be bound in heauen. If we agree vpon the word keyes, and the manner of binding, all contention shall by and by cease. For the Pope himselfe will gladly giue ouer the charge inioyned to the

*What keyes Christ
gaue vnto Peter.*

Apostles, which being full of trauell and grieve, should shake from him his pleasures, without gaine. For as much as the heauens are opened vnto vs by the doctrine of the Gospell, it is with a very fit metaphore expressed by the name of keyes. Now men are bound and loosed in no other wise, but when faith reconcileth some to God, and their owne vnbeliefe bindeth other some. If the Pope did take this onely vpon him: I thinke there will be no man that would either enuy it or strīue about it. But because this succession being trauesome and nothing gainefull pleaseth not the Pope, hereupon groweth the beginning of the contention, what Christ promised to *Peter*. Therefore I gather by the very matter it selfe, that there is nothing meant, but the dignitie of the office of an Apostle, which cannot be seuered from the charge. For if that definition which I haue rehearsed, be receiued (which cannot but shamelesly be receiued) here is nothing giuen to *Peter*, that was not also common to his other fellowes: because other wise there should not onely wrong be done to the persons, but the very maiestie of doctrine should halt. They crye out on the other side: what auaieth it, I pray you, to run vpon this rocke? For they shall not prooue, but as the preaching of one same Gospell was enioined to all the Apostles, so they were also alike furnished with power to binde and loose. Christ (say they) appointed *Peter* prince of the whole Church, when he promised that he would giue him the keyes. But that which he then promised to one, in another place he gaue it also to all the rest, and deliuered it as it were into their hands. If the same power were granted to all, which was promised to one, wherein shall he be about his fellowes? Herein (say they) he excelleth, because he receiued it both in common together with them, and seuerally by himselfe, which was not giuen to the other, but in common. What if I answer with *Cyprian* and *Augustine*, that Christ did it not for this purpose, to prefer one man before other, but so to set out the vnitie of the Church. For thus saith *Cyprian*, that God in the person of one gaue the keyes to all, to signifie the vnitie of all: and that the rest were the same thing that *Peter* was, endued with like partaking both of honour and power: but that the beginning is taken at vnitie, that the Church of Christ may be shewed to be one. *Augustine* saith: If there were not in *Peter* a mysterie of the Church, the Lord would not say to him, I will giue thee the keyes. For if this was said to *Peter*, the Church hath them not: but if the Church haue them, then *Peter*, when he receiued the keyes, betokened the whole Church. And in another place. When they were all asked, only *Peter* answered, thou art Christ: and it is said to him, I will giue thee the keyes, as though he alone had receiued the power of binding and loosing: whereas both he being one said that one for all, and he receiued the other with all, as bearing the person of vnitie. Therefore one for all, because there is vnitie in all.

5 But this, Thou art *Peter*, and vpon this rocke I will build my Church, is nowhere read spoken to any other. As though Christ spake there any other thing of *Peter*, than that which *Paul* and *Peter* himselfe speake of all Christians. For *Paul* maketh Christ the chiefe and corner stone, vpon which they are builded together that grow into a holy temple to the Lord. And *Peter* biddeth vs to be liuely stones which being founded vpon that chosen and pretious stone, do by this ioynt and coupling together with our God, cleaue also together among our selues. He (say they) about the rest: because he hath the name peculiarly. Indeed I do willingly grant this honor to *Peter*, that in the building of the Church he be placed among the first, or (if they will haue this also) the first of all the faithfull: but I will not suffer them to gather thereupon, that he should haue a Supremacie over the rest. For what manner of gathering is this? He excelleth other in seruenticke of zeale in learning, and courage: therefore he hath power over them. As though we might not with better colour gather, that *Andrew* is in degree before *Peter*, because he went before him in time, and brought him to Christ. But I passe ouer this. Let *Peter* truly haue the first place, yet there is great difference between the honour of degree and power. We see that the Apostles

commonly

Mat. 18.20.
Iohn. 20.23.

De sim. prel.

Hom. in Iohn. 1.

Hom. 11.

Peter in some kind of honor before the rest, but not about the rest in power, because our Saviour saide, thou art Peter, & vpon this rocke I will build my Church.
Matt. 16.18.
Eph. 2.20.
1. Pet. 2.5.

Iohn. 1.40. & 42.

commonly granted this to *Peter*, that he should speake in assemblies, and after a certaine maner go before them with propounding, exhorting, and admonishing: but of his power we read nothing at all.

6 Howbeit we be not yet come to dispute of that point: only at this present I would prooue, that they do too fondly reason, when by the onely name of *Peter* they would build an Empire ouer the whole Church. For those old follies wherewith they went about to deceiue at the beginning, are not woorthie to be rehearsed, much lesse to be confuted, that the church was builded vpon *Peter*, because it was said vpon this rock, &c. But some of the Fathers haue so expounded it. But when the whole Scripture crieth out to the contrarie, to what purposes is their authoritie alleaged against God? Yea, why do we strue about the meaning of these words, as though it were darke or doubtfull, when nothing can be more plainly nor more certainly spoken? *Peter* had confessed in his owne and his brethrens name that Christ is the founne of God. Vpon this rocke Christ buildeth his Church: because it is (as *Paul* saith) the onely foundation, beside which there can be laid none other. Neither do I here therefore refuse the authoritie of the Fathers, because I want their testimonies, if I listed to alleage them: but (as I haue said) I will not with contending about so cleere a matter trouble the Readers in vaine, specially sith this point hath bene long ago diligently enough handled and declared by men of our side.

7 And yet in deed no man can better assoyle 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, how he behaued himselfe, and howe hee was accepted of them. Runne ouer all that remaineth written, you shall finde nothing else, but that hee was one of the twelue, equall with the rest and their fellow, but not their Lord. He doth in deed propound to the councill, if any thing be to be done, and giueth warning what is meeet to be done: but therewithall he heareth other, and doth not onelie graunt them place to speake their minde, but leaue the iudgement to them: when they had determined, he followed and obeyed. When he writeth to the Pastors, he doth not command them by authoritie, as Superiour: but he maketh them his companions, and gently exhorteth them, as equals are wont to do. When he was accused for that he had gone in to the Gentiles, although it were without cause, yet he answered and purged himselfe. When he was commanded by his fellowes, to go with *Iohn* into *Samaria*, he refused not. Whereas the Apostles did send him, they did thereby declare that they helde him not for their Superior. Whereas hee obeyed and tooke vpon him the Embassage committed to him, hee did thereby confesse that he had a fellowship with them, and not an authoritie ouer them. If none of these things were, yet the onelie Epistle to the Galathians maie easilie take all doubting from vs: where almost in two Chapters together *Paul* traucleth to prooue nothing else, but that he himselfe was equall to *Peter* in honour of Apostleship. Then he rehearseth that he came to *Peter*, not to profess subiection, but onelie to make their consent of doctrine approoued by testimonie to all men: and that *Peter* himselfe required no such thing, but gaue him his right hande of fellowship, to worke in common together in the Lordes vineyarde: and that there was no lesser grace giuen to him among the Gentiles, than to *Peter* among the Iewes: Finally that when *Peter* dealt not verie faithfully, hee was corrected by him, and obeyed his reproofing. All these things doe make plaine, either that there was an equalitie betweene *Paul* and *Peter*, or at least that *Peter* had no more power ouer the rest, than they had ouer him. And (as I haue already saide) *Paul* of purpose laboureth about this, that none should preferre before him in the Apostleship either *Peter*, or *Iohn*, which were fellowes, not Lords.

8 But, to grant them that which they require concerning *Peter*, that is, that hee was the Prince of the Apostles, and excelled the rest in dignitie: yet there is no cause

*Vpon what rocke
Christ hath builded
his Church.*

Matt. 16. 16.

1. Cor. 3. 11.

*The whole course
of Peters dealings
shewe him to haue
been a fellow with
the rest of the apo-
stles, & not a Lord
ouer them.*

A& 15. 5.

1. Pet. 5. 1.

A& 11. 3.

A& 3. 24.

Gal. 1. 18. & 2. 8.

*If Peter were
the Prince of the
Apostles, it followe
cause*

Cap. 6. Of the outward meanes

*weth not here-
upon that the
whole worlde
should be subiect
to the Bishop of
Rome.*

cause why they should of a singular example make an vniuersall rule, and drawe to perpetuitie that which hath bene once done: sith there is a farre differing reason. One was cheefe among the Apostles: forsooth, because they were few in number. If one were the cheefe of twelue men, shall it therefore follow that one ought to be made ruler of a hundred thousand men? It is no maruell that twelue had one among them that should rule them all. For nature beareth this, and the wit of men requirerth this, that in euery assembly, although they be all equall in power, yet there be one as a gouernour, whome the rest may haue regard vnto. There is no court without a Consull: no session of iudges without a Pretor, or Propounder, no companie without a Ruler, no fellowship without a Maister. So should it be no absurditie, if we confessed that the Apostles gaue to *Peter* such a supremacie. But that which is of force among fewe, is not by and by to be drawn to the whole world, to the ruling wherof no one man is sufficient. But (say they) this hath place no lesse in the whole vniuersalitie of nature, than in all the partes, that there be one soueraigne head of all. And hereof (and God will) they fetch a prooofe from Cranes and Bees, which alway choose to themselues one guide, not many. I allow in deede the examples which they bring forth: but do Bees resort together out of all the world to choose them one king? euery feuerall king is content with his owne hyue. So among Cranes, euery heard hath their owne king. What else shall they proue hereby, but that euery Church ought to haue their owne feuerall Bishop appointed them? Then they call vs to ciuill examples. They alleage that saying of *Homer*, It is not good to haue many gouernours: and such things as in like sense are read in prophane writers to the commendation of Monarchie. The answer is easie. For Monarchie is not praised of *Vlysses* in *Homere*, or of anie other, in this meaning, as though one ought to be Emperour of the whole world: but they meane to shew that one kingdome cannot hold two kings: and that power (as he callerh it) can abide no companion.

9 But let it be as they will, that it is good and profitable that the whole world be holden vnder Monarchie, which yet is a very great absurdity: but let it be so: yet I will not therefore graunt that the same should take place in the gouernment of the Church. For the Church hath Christ her only head, vnder whose dominion we all cleaue together, according to that order and that forme of policie which he hath prescribed. Therefore they do a great wrong to Christ, when by that pretence they will haue one man to be ruler of the vniuersall church, because it cannot be without a head. For Christ is the head of whom the whole body coupled and knit together in euery ioynt, wherewith one ministrerth to an other, according to the working of euery member in the measure thereof, maketh increase of the bodie. See you not, how he setteth all men without exception in the body, and leaueh the honor & name of head to Christ alone? See you not how he giueth to euery member a certaine measure, and a detcrmined and limited function: whereby both the perfection of the grace and the soueraigne power of gouernance may remaine with Christ only? Neither am I ignorant what they are wont to cauill, when this is objected against them: they say that Christ is properly called the only head, because he alone raigneth by his own authoritie and in his owne name: but that this nothing withstandeth, but that there may be vnder him another ministeriall head (as they terme it) that may be his vicegerent in earth. But by this cauillation they preuaile nothing, vnlesse they first shew that this ministry was ordained by Christ. For the Apostle teacheth, that the whole ministracion is dispersed through the members, and that the power floweth from the one heavenly head. Or if they will haue it any plainer spoken, sith the Scripture testifieth that Christ is the head, and claimeth that honour to him alone, it ought not to be transferred to any other, but whom Christ himselfe hath made his vicar. But that is not only no where read, but also may be largely confuted by many places.

10 *Paul* sometimes depainteth vnto vs a liuely image of the Church. Of one head

*No head of the
whole Church
but onelie Christ.*

Ephc. 4. 15.

Ephc. 1. 22. & 4.
25. & 5. 13.
Col. 1. 18. & 2.
10.
Ephc. 4. 10.

head he maketh there no mention. But rather by his description we may gather, that it is disagreeing from the institution of Christ. Christ at his ascending tooke from vs the visible presence of himselfe: yet he went vp to fulfill all things. Now therefore the Church hath him yet present, and alway shall haue. When *Paul* goeth about to shew the meane whereby he presenteth himselfe, he calleth vs backe to the ministeries which he vseth. The Lord (saith he) is in vs all, according to the measure of grace that he hath giuen to euery member. Therefore he hath appointed some Apostles, some Pastors, some Euangelists, other some Teachers, &c. Why doth he not say, that he hath set one ouer all, to be his vicegerent? For the place required that principally, and it could by no meanes haue bin omitted, if it had bin true. Christ (saith he) is with vs. How? by the ministry of men, whom he hath appointed to gouerne the Church. Why not rather by the ministeriall head, to whom he hath committed his steede? He nameth vnitie: but in God, and in the faith of Christ. He assigneth to men nothing but common ministerie, and to euery one a particular measure. In that commendation of vnitie, after that he had said that there is one body, one spirit, one hope of calling, one God, one Faith, one Baptisme, why hath he not also immediatly added one chiefe bishop, that may hold the Church together in vnitie? For nothing could haue bene more fitly spoken, if it had bene true. Let that place be diligently weighed. It is no doubt but that he meant there altogether to represent the holie and spirituall government of the Church, which 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 doubt but that he meant to expresse the manner of conioyning, whereby the faithfull cleaue together with Christ their head. There he not onely speaketh of no ministerial head, but appointeth to euery of the members a particular working according to the measure of grace distributed to euery one. Neither is there any reason why they should suttly dispute of the comparison of the heauenly and earthly *Hierarchie*. For it is not safe to know beyond measure of it. And in framing this government we must follow no other figure, than the Lord himselfe hath painted out in his word.

11 Now although I graunt them an other thing, which they shall neuer win by prooffe before sober men, that the supremacie of the Church was so stablished in *Peter*, that it should alway remaine by perpetuall succession: yet how will they prooue, that his seate was so placed at *Rome*, that whosoever is Bishop of that Church, should be set ouer the whole world? By what right do they binde this dignitie to the place, which is giuen without mention of place? *Peter* (say they) liued and died at *Rome*. What did Christ himselfe? Did not he, while he liued, exercise his Bishopricke, and in dying fulfill the office of Priesthood, at *Hierusalem*? The Prince of Pastors, the soueraigne Bishop, the head of the Church, could not purchase honor to the place: and could *Peter*, that was farre inferior to him? Are not these follies more than childish? Christ gaue the honor of supremacie to *Peter*: *Peter* late at *Rome*, therefore he there placed the sea of supremacie. By this reason the Israelites in old time might haue set the seate of Supremacie in the desert, where *Moses* the chiefe Teacher and Prince of Prophets executed his ministerie and died.

12 Let vs see how trimly they reason. *Peter* (say they) had the Supremacie among the Apostles: therefore the church where he late ought to haue that priuiledge. But where late he first? At *Antioch*, say they. Therefore the Church of *Antioch* doth rightly claime to it selfe the supremacie. They confesse that it was in old time the first: but they say, that in removing thence he removed to *Rome* the honour that he brought with him. For there is an Epistle vnder the name of Pope *Marcellus* to the bishoppes of *Antioche*, where he sayeth thus: *Peters* seate was at the beginning with you, which afterward by the Lords commaundement was removed hither. So the Church of *Antioche*, which was once the chiefe, hath giuen place to the sea of *Rome*:

The Apostles knew no monarchie in the ministeriall government of the Church.
Eph. 4. 7. & 13.

If Peter had a supremacie not onely to be confirmed vnto him but also conueied vnto others, the title of the bishop of Rome is not hereby proued.

Deut. 34. 5.

A vaine surmise that the supremacie of the Church belonging sometime to Antioch was by the Lords commaundement thence translated to Rome.
12. quart. 1. cap.

Cap. 6. Of the outwarde meanes

But by what Oracle had that good man learned, that the Lord so commaunded? For if this cause be to be determined by the lawe, it is necessarie that that they answer, whether they will haue this priuilege to be personall, or reall, or mixt. For it must be one of these three. If they say that it is personall, then it belongeth nothing to the place. If they say that it is reall, then when it is once giuen to the place, it is not taken away by reason either of the death or departure of the person. It remaineth therefore that they must say it is mixt: but then that place shall be not simply to be considered, vnlesse the person doe also agree. Let them choofe which soeuer they will, I will by and by inferre and easily prouoe, that *Rome* can by no meane take the supremacie vpon it selfe.

If the first place be granted to the Church of Rome, why the seconde vnto Alexandria before either Antioch, or Ephesus, or Ierusalem.

Gal. 2.9.

13 But be it, that as (they triflingly say) the supremacie was remooued from *Antioch* to *Rome*: yet why did not *Antioch* keepe the second place? For if *Rome* haue therefore the first place, because *Peter* sate there to the end of his life: to whome shall the second place rather be graunted, than where he had his first seate? How came it to passe then, that *Alexandria* went before *Antioch*? How agreeth it, that the Church of one discipule should be about the seate of *Peter*? If honour be due to euerie Church, according to the worthinesse of the founder, what shall we say also of the other Churches? *Paul* nameth three, that seemed to be pillars, *Iames*, *Peter*, and *Iohn*. If the first place were giuen to the sea of *Rome* in the honour of *Peter*: doe not the seas of *Ephesus* and *Hierusalem*, where *Iohn* and *J.ims* sate, deserue the second and third place? But among the Patriarches *Hierusalem* had the last place: *Ephesus* could not sit so much as in the vntermost corner. And other Churches were left out both all those that *Paul* founded, and those that the other Apostles were rulers of. The seate of *Marke*, which was but one of their discipules, obtained the honour. Therefore they must either confesse that that was a preposterous order, or they must graunt vs that this is not a perpetuall rule, that there be due to euerie Church the same degree of honour which the founder had.

Peters sitting at Rome scarce woorthie of credit.
Gal. 1.18.
Gal. 2.1.

14 Howbeit, as for that which they report of *Peters* sitting in the Church of *Rome*, I see not what credit it ought to haue. Truly that which is in *Eusebius*, that he ruled there fife and twenty yeeres, is very easily confuted. For it is euident by the first and seconde Chapter to the Galathians, that about twentie yeeres after the death of *Christ*, he was at *Hierusalem*, and that then he went *Antioch*: where how long he was, is vncertaine. *Gregorie* reckoneth seuen yeeres, and *Eusebius* twenty and fife. But from the death of *Christ*, to the ende of *Neroes* Empire, (in whose time they say that he was slaine) there shall be found but thirtie and seuen yeeres. For the Lord suffered vnder *Tiberius*, the eighteenth yeere of his Empire. If you rebate twentie yeeres, during the which *Paul* is witnesseth that *Peter* dwelt at *Hierusalem*, there will remaine but seuentene yeeres at the most, which must now bee diuided betwene two Bishopricks. If he taried long at *Antioch* he coule not sit at *Rome* but a very little while. Which thing wee may yet also more plainly prouoe. *Paul* wrote to the Romanes, when he was in his iourney going to *Hierusalem*, where he was taken and from thence brought to *Rome*. It is not likely that this Epistle was written foure yeeres before that he came to *Rome*. Therein is yet no mention of *Peter*, which should not haue bene left out, if *Peter* had ruled that Church. Yea and in the end also, when he rehearseth a great number of the godly, whom he biddeth to be saluted, where verily he gathereth together all those that he knewe, he yet saith vterly nothing of *Peter*. Neither is it needefull here to make a long or curious demonstration to men of sound iudgement: for the matter it selfe, and the whole argument of the Epistle crieth out, that he should not haue ouerpassed *Peter*, if he had bene at *Rome*.

Rom. 15.25.

Rom. 6.21.

As Peters governing the Church of Rome is hardly prouoed,

15 Then *Paul* was brought prisoner to *Rome*. *Luke* reporteth that he was received of the brethren, of *Peter* hee saith nothing. He wrote from thence to many Churches: and in some places also he writeth salutations in the names of certaine: but

but he doeth not in one word shew that *Peter* was there at that time. Who, I pray you shall thinke it likely, that he could haue passed him ouer with silence, if he had beene present? Yea to the *Philippians*, where he said that he had none that so faithfully looked vnto the worke of the Lord, as *Timothee*, he complained that they did all seeke their owne. And to the same *Timothee* he maketh a more grieuous complaint, that none was with him at his first defence, but all forsooke him: where therefore was *Peter* then? For if they say that he was then at *Rome*, how great a shame doth *Paul* charge him with, that he was a forsaker of the Gospell? For he speaketh of the beleeuers: because he addeth, God impute it not vnto them. How long therefore, and in what time did *Peter* keepe that seate? But it is a constant opinion of writers, that he gouerned that Church euen to his death. But among the writers themselves it is not certaine who was his successor, because some say *Linus*, and other some say *Clement*. And they tell many fond fables, of the disputation had betwene him and *Simon* the Magician. And *Augustine* sticketh not to confesse, when he treateth of superstitions, that by reason of an opinion rashly conceiued, there was a custome growen in vs at *Rome*, that they should not fast that day that *Peter* got the victorie of *Simon* the Magician. Finally the doings of that time are so entangled with diuersitie of opinions, that we ought not rashly to beleue where we finde anything written. And yet by reason of this consent of writers, I stitue not against this, that he died there: but yet that he was Bishop there, and specially a long time, I cannot be persuaded, neither do I much passe vpon that also: for as much as *Paul* testifieth that *Peters* Apostleship did peculiarly belong to the Iewes, and his owne to vs. Therefore that that fellowship which they couenanted betwene themselves, may be confirmed with vs, or rather that the ordinance of the holy Ghost may stand in force among vs, we ought to haue respect rather to the Apostleship of *Paul* and *Peter*. For the holy Ghost so diuided the prouinces betwene them that he appointed *Peter* to the Iewes, and *Paul* to vs. Now therefore let the Romanists go and seeke their supremacie else where than in the word of God, where it is found not to be grounded.

16 Now let vs come to the olde Church, that it may also be made to appeare plainly that our aduersaries doe no lesse causelessly, and falsely boast of the consent thereof, than they doe of the witnesse of the word of God. When therefore they bragge of that principle of theirs, that the vnitie of the Church cannot otherwise be kept together, but if there be one supreme head in earth, to whome all the members may obey, and that therefore the Lord gaue the supremacie to *Peter*, and from thence forth to the sea of *Rome* by right of succession, that the same should remaine in it to the end: they affirme, that this hath beene alway obserued from the beginning. But forasmuch as they wrongfully wrest many testimonies, I will first say thus aforehand, that I denie not but that the writers doe each where giue great honor to the church of *Rome*, and do speake reuerently of it. Which I thinke to be done specially for three causes. For that same opinion, which I wot not how was growen in force, that it was founded and ordeined by the ministerie of *Peter*, much auailed to procure fauour and estimation vnto it. Therefore in the East parts it was for honors sake called the sea Apostolike. Secondly, when the head of the Empire was there, and that therefore it was likely, that in that place were men more excellent both in learning and wisdom, and skill, and experience of many things, than any where els: there was worthily consideration had thereof, that both the honor of the cite, and also the other more excellent gifts of God should not seeme to be despised. There was beside these also a third thing, that when the Churches of the East, and of *Grecia*, yea and of *Affricke*, were in tumults among themselves with disagreement of opinions, the church of *Rome* was quieter and lesse full of troubles than the rest. So came it to passe, that the godly & holie Bishops, being driuen out of their seates, did oftentimes flee thither as into sanctuarie or certaine haue. For as the Western men are of lesse sharpnesse

so his successor in
gouernment is not
agreed vpon: his
actes and death
at *Rome* vincer-
taine: his being
Bishop of *Rome*
and that so long
most improbable.
Act. last. 16.
Phil. 2. 20.
2. Tim. 4. 16.

August. ad Sa-
nar.

Three causes why
the fathers did
attribute so much
to the church of
Rome.

and swiftnes of wit, than the Asians or Affricans be, so much are they lesse desirous of alterations. This therefore added much authoritie to the Church of Rome, that in those doubtful times it was not so troubled as the rest, and did hold the doctrine once deliuered them, faster than all the rest as we shall by and by better declare. For these three causes (I say) it was had in no small honor, and commended with many notable testimonies of the old writers.

The fathers of the Church confessing the Churches vnite neuer dreamed that the Bishop of Romes supremacie should bee the bonde to make it one.

17 But when our aduerfaries will thereupon gather that it hath a supremacie and soueraine power ouer other Churches, they doe too much amisse, as I haue already said. And that the same may the better appeare, I will first briefly shew what the olde Fathers thought of this vnity which they enforce so earnestly. *Hierome* writing to *Nepotianus*, after that he had receiued many examples of vnitie, at the last descended to the Hierarchie of the Church. Each Bishop of euery seuerall Church, each Archpriest, eche Archdeacon, and all the Ecclesiasticall order, doe rest vpon their owne rulers. Here a Romaine Priest speaketh, he commendeth vnitie in the Ecclesiasticall order, why doth he not rehearse that all Churches are knit together with one head as with one bond? Nothing could haue more fitly serued the matter that he had in hand: and it cannot be saide that it was for forgetfulnes, that he omitted it: for he would haue done nothing more willingly if the matter had suffred him. He saw therefore without doubt, that that is the true reason of vnitie which *Cyprian* excellently well describeth in these words: The Bishoprike is one, wherof ech hath a part wholly: & the Church is one, which is with increase of fruitfulness, more largely extended into a multitude. Like as there are many sun-beames and one light: and many branches of a tree, but one body grounded on a fast holding roote: and like as from one fountaine flow many streams, and though the multitude seeme to be diuersly spread abroad with largenes of ouerflowing plentie, yet the vnity is kept whole in the originall: so the Church also being ouerspread with the light of the Lord, extendeth her beames abroad throughout the whole world, yet is it but one that is ech where poured forth, and the vnitic of the body is not seuered: she spreadeth her branches ouer the whole world, she sendeth out her ouerflowing streams: yet is there but one head & one beginning, &c. Afterward: The spouse of Christ cannot be an adulteresse: she knoweth one only house, she keepeth the holines of one only chamber with chaste shamefastnes. You see how he maketh the vniuersall bishopricke to be Christs onely, which comprehendeth the whole Church vnder him: and saith that all they that execute the office of Bishop vnder this head, haue their parts thereof wholly. Where is the supremacie of the sea of Rome, if the whole bishopricke remaine with Christ onely, and each bishop hath his part thereof wholly? These things therefore make to this purpose, that the reader may vnderstand by the way, that the old fathers were vtterly ignorant of that principle, which the Romanistes do take for confessed and vndoubted, concerning the vnitic of an earthly head in the Hierarchie of the Church.

De sim. prz.

The vij. Chapter.

Of the beginning and encreasing of the Papacie of Rome, vntill it aduanced it selfe to this height, whereby both the libertie of the Church hath been oppressed, and all the right government thereof ouerthrown.

Sundry auncient Councels wherein the Bishop of Rome had not the chiefest place.

AS concerning the auncientnesse of the supremacie of the sea of Rome, there is nothing had of more antiquitie to stablish it, than the decree of the *Nicene Synode*, wherein the bishop of Rome both hath the first place among the Patriarches giuen vnto him, and is commanded to looke vnto the Churches adioyning to the citie. When the Councel maketh such diuision betweene him and the other Patriarches, that it assigneth to euerie one their bounds: truely, it doth not appoint him the head of all, but maketh him one of the chiefe. There were present *Vitus* and *Vincentius*

Vincentius in the name of *Iulius*, which then gouerned the Church of *Rome*: to them was giuen the fourth place. I beseech you, if *Iulius* were acknowledged the head of the Church, should his Legates be thrust into the fourth seate? Should *Athanasius* be chiefe in the Councell, where principally the image of the Hierarchicall order ought to be seene? In the Synode at *Ephesus* it appeereth, that *Celestinus* which was then Bishop of *Rome*, vsed a crooked futtle meane to prouide for the dignitie of his seate. For when he sent his deputies thither, he committed his steede to *Cyrellus* of *Alexandria*, which should notwithstanding otherwise haue bene the chiefe. To what purpose 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 meane time the Patriarch of *Alexandria* ioyned *Celestines* name with his owne. What shall I say of the seconde Councell at *Ephesus*: where when *Leos* Legates were present, yet *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* sate the chiefe as by his owne right? They will take exception that it was no vpright Councell, by which both the holy man *Flavianus* was condemned, and *Eutyches* acquitted, and his vngodlinesse allowed. But when the Synod was gathered, when the Bishops tooke their places in order, verily the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* sate there among the rest none otherwise than in a holy and lawfull Councell. Yet they strived not for the first place, but yielded it to another: which they would neuer haue done; if they had thought it to be theirs of right. For the Bishops of *Rome* were neuer ashamed to enter into the greatest contentions for their honors: and for this onely cause oftentimes to vex and trouble the Church with many and hurtfull strifes. But because *Leo* saw that it should be a too much vnreasonable request, if hee should seeke to get the chiefe place for his Legates, therefore he surceased it.

2 Then followed the Councell of *Chalcedon*, in which by the grant of the Emperour the Legates of the Church of *Rome* sate in the chiefe place. But *Leo* himselfe confesseth that this was an extraordinarie priuiledge. For when he made petition for it to the Emperor *Marcianus*, and *Pulcheria* the Emperesse, hee did not affirme that it was due to him, but onely pretended, that the Easterne Bishops, which sate as chiefe in the councell at *Ephesus*, troubled all thinges and ill abused their power. Whereas therefore it was needfull to haue a graue gouernour, and it was not likely that they should be meete for it, which had once bin so light and disordered: therefore hee praised, that by reason of the default and vnfitness of other, the office of gouerning might be remooued to him. Truly that which is gotten by singular priuiledge and beside order, is not by common law. Where this onely is pretended, that there needeth some newe gouernour, because the former gouernours had behaued themselves ill, it is euident that it neither was so before, nor ought to continue so for euer, but is done onely in respect of present danger. The Bishop of *Rome* therefore had the first place in the Councell at *Chalcedon*: not because it was due to his sea, but because the Synode was at that time destitute of a graue and fit gouernour, while they that ought to haue bin the chiefe, did through their owne intemperance and corrupt affection, thrust themselves out of place. And this that I say, *Leos* successour did indeed prouoe. For when he sent his Legates to the fit Synode at *Constantinople*, which was holden long time after, he brauled not for the first seate, but easily suffered *Menna* the patriarch of *Constantinople* to sit as chiefe. So in the councell at *Carthage*, at which *Augustine* was present, we see that not the legates of the sea of *Rome*, but *Aurelius* Archbishop of that place sat as chiefe: when yet the contention was about the authoritie of the Bishop of *Rome*. Yea there was also a generall councell holden in *Italie* it selfe, at which the Bishop of *Rome* was not present. *Ambrose* was chiefe there, which was in verie great authoritie with the Emperour, there was no mention made of the Bishop of *Rome*. Therefore at that time it came to passe by the dignitie of *Ambrose*, that the sea of *Milain* was more noble than the sea of *Rome*.

The chiefe place in the Councell of Chalcedon granted by the Emperour at request upon special occasion for that time to the bishop of Rome, which place in Synodes afterwards held other Bishops had as before.

The Councell at Aquileia.

The title of *supremacie* not giuen to the *bishop of Rome* in the *ancient times of the church*
 Lib. 2. epi. 2. and. lib. 4. epi. 6.

3 - As concerning the title of *supremacie*, and other titles of *pride*, whereupon it now marvellously boasteth it selfe, it is not hard to iudge, when and in what sort they crept in, *Cyprian* oftentimes maketh mention of *Cornelius*. Hee setteth him out with no other name, but by the name of brother, or fellow *Bishop*, or fellow in office. But when hee writeth to *Stephen* the successor of *Cornelius*, hee doth not onely make him egal with himselfe & the rest, but also speaketh more hardly to him, charging him sometime with *arrogancie*, fountime with *ignorance*. Since *Cyprian* wee haue with all the church of *Africa* iudged of that matter. The Councell at *Carthage* did forbid that any should be called *Prince of priestes*, or chiefe *Bishop*, but onely *bishop of the chiefe sea*. But if a man turne ouer the *ancient monuments*, he shall finde that the *Bishop of Rome* at that time was content with the common name of brother. Certainly so long as the face of the Church continued true & pure, all these names of *pride*, wherewith since that time the sea of *Rome* hath begun to waxe outrageous, were vtterly vheard of: it was not knowen, what was the highest *bishop* and the onely head of the church in earth. But if the *bishop of Rome* had bene so bolde to haue taken such a thing vpon him, there were stout and wise men that would haue by and by repressed his folly. *Hierome* forasmuch as he was a *priest at Rome*, was not ill willing to set out the *dignitie of his owne Church*, so much as the matter and state of his time suffred: yet we see how he also bringeth it down into fellowship with the rest. If *authoritie* (saith he) be sought for, the world is greater than a city. Why dost thou alleage to me the custome of one citie? Why dost thou defende smalnes of number, out of which hath growen *pride*, against the lawes of the Church? Wherefoeuer there be a *bishop*, either at *Rome*, or at *Eugubium*, or at *Constantinople*, or at *Rhegium*, he is of the same merite and of the same *Priesthood*. The power of riches or balenes of *pouertie* maketh not a *bishop* higher or lower.

Cap. 47.

Ep. ad Euag.

4 About the title of *vnierfall Bishop* the contention first began in the time of *Gregorie*, which was occasioned by the ambition of *Iohn Bishop of Constantinople*. For he (which thing neuer any man before had attempted) would haue made himself *vnierfall Bishop*. In that contention *Gregorie* doth not alleage that the right is taken away which was due to himself: but stoutly crieth out against it, that it is a *prophane name*, yea full of *sacrilege*, yea the forewarner of *Antichrist*. The whole church (saith he) falleth downe from her state, if he fall which is called *vnierfall*. In another place: It is very sorrowfull, to suffer patiently, that our brother and fellowe *Bishop*, despising all other, should onely be named *Bishop*. But in this his *pride* what els is betokened but the times of *Antichrist* neere at hand? because verily he followeth him, that despising the fellowship of *Angels*, went about to climbe vp to the top of *lingularity*. In another place he writeth to *Eulolius of Alexandria*, and *Anastafius of Antioche*. None of my predecessors at any time would vse that *prophane worde*: for if one bee called *vnierfall Patriarch*, the name of *patriarches* is abated fro all the rest. But far may this be from a *christian minde*, that any should haue a will to take that vpon him, whereby he may in any part, bee it neuer so little, diminish the honour of his brethren. To consent in this wicked worde is nothing else but to lesse the faith. It is one thing (saith he) that we owe to the preserving of the *vnitie of faith*, and another thing that we owe to the keeping downe of *pride*. But I say it boldly, because whosoever calleth himselfe or desireth to be called *vnierfall bishop*, he doth in his *proude aduancing* run before *Antichrist*, because he doth with shewing himselfe *proude* preferre himselfe aboute the rest. A gaine to *Anastafius* *bishop of Alexandria*: I haue saide that he cannot haue peace with vs, vnlesse he amended the *aduancing of the superstitious & proude word*, which the first *apostata* hath inuented. And (to speake nothing of the wrong done to your honour) if one be called *vnierfall Bishop*, the *vnierfall Church* falleth when that *vnierfall one* falleth. But whereas he writeth, that this honour was offered to *Leo* in the Synode at *Chalcedon*, it hath no colour of truth. For neither

The *bishop of Constantinople* challenging a *supremacie*, resisted by *Gregorie*.
 Lib. 4. ep. 76.
 Mauri Aug.
 Li. 4. epi. 78.
 Constantine Auguste.
 Li. 4. epi. 80.

Lib. 4. epi. 78.
 Auiano Diacono.
 Lib. 7. epi. 83.
 Mauri Aug.
 Lib. 6. ep. 188.

is there any such thing read in the actes of that Synode. And *Leo* himself, which with many Epistles impugneth the decree there made in honour of the sea of *Constantinople*, without doubt would not haue passed over this argument, which had beene most to bee liked of all other, if it had beene true, that hee refused that which was giuen him: and being a man otherwise too much desirous of honour, he would not haue omitted that which made for his praise. Therefore *Gregorie* was deceiued in this, that he thought that that title was offered to the sea of *Rome* by the Synode of *Chalcedon*: to speake nothing, how fond it is, that he both testifieth it to haue proceeded from the holy Synode, and also at the same time called it wicked, prophane, abominable, proude, and full of sacrilege, yea deuised by the duell, and published by the crier of Antichrist. And yet he addeth that his predecessor refused it, least all Priestes should be deprivied of their due honor, when any thing were priuately giuen to one. In another place: no man at any time hath willed to be called by that word. No man hath taken to himselfe that presumptuous name: least if he should in the degree of bishoprike take to himselfe a glorie of singulartie, he should seeme to haue denied the same to all his brethren.

Lib. 4. Epist. 79.

Lib. 7. Epist. 79.

5 Now I come to the iurisdiction, which the Bishop of *Rome* affirmeth that he hath ouer all Churches. I knowe howe great contentions haue beene in olde time about this matter: For there hath beene no time wherein the sea of *Rome* hath not counted to get an empire ouer other Churches. And in this place it shall not be out of season, to search by what meanes it grew then by little and little to some power. I doe not yet speake of that infinite empire, which it hath not so long agoe taken by force to it selfe: for we will deferre that to a place conuenient. But here it is good to shew briefly, how in olde time 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 *Arrius* vnder the Emperours *Constantinus* and *Constans* the sonnes of *Constantine* the Great, and *Athanasius* the chiefe defender there of the true faith was driuen out of his sea: such calumnie compelled him to come to *Rome*, that with the authoritie of the sea of *Rome*, he might both after a sort repress the rage of his enemies, and confirme the godly that were in distresse. He was honourably receiued of *Iulius* then Bishop, and obtained that the Bishops of the West tooke vpon them the defence of his cause. Therefore when the godly stood in great neede of foren aide, and saw that there was very good succour for them in the church of *Rome*, they willingly gaue vnto it the most authoritie that they coulde. But all that was nothing else, but that the communion thereof should be highly esteemed and it should be counted a great shame to be excommunicate of it. Afterwarde euill and wicked men also added much vnto it. For to escape lawfull iudgements, they fled to this sanctuarie. Therefore if any Priest were condemned by his Bishop, or any Bishop by the Synode of his prouince, they by and by appealed to *Rome*. And the Bishops of *Rome* receiued such appellations more greedily than was meete: because it seemed to be a forme of extraordinarie power, so to entremeddle with matters far and wide about them. So when *Eutyches* was condemned by *Flavianus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, he complained to *Leo* that he had wrong done vnto him. *Leo* without delay, no lesse vndiscreetly than suddenly, tooke in hand the defence of an euill cause, he greuously inueyed against *Flavianus*, as though he had, without hearing the cause, condemned an inno cent: and by this his ambition he cauled that the vngodlines of *Eutyches* was for a certaine space of time strengthened. In *Affrica* it is euident that this oftentimes chanced. For so soone as any lewde man had taken a foyle in ordinarie iudgement, he by and by flew to *Rome*, and charged his countricmen with many slanderous reports: and the sea of *Rome* was alway ready to entremeddle. Which lewdnesse compelled the Bishops of *Affrica* to make a lawe, that none vnder paine of excommunication should appeale beyond the sea.

The ground whereupon the sovereignty of the Bishop of Rome did first take roote was his intermeddling in those causes, and his readiness to aide those persons, which being bad were ready any where to seeke maintenance.

Cap. 7. Of the outward meanes

In consecrating of Bishops, the power of the Bishop of Rome no other but the same which in other places others had. Lib. 2. Epist. 68. & 70.

6 But whatsoeuer it were, let vs see what authoritie or power the sea of Rome then had. Ecclesiasticall power is contained in these fower pointes, ordering of Bishops, summoning of Councils, hearing of appeals or iurisdiction, chastising, admonitions or censures. All the olde Synodes commaund Bishops to be consecrate by their owne Metropolitanas: and they neuer bid the Bishop of Rome to be called vnto it, but in his owne Patriarchie. But by little and little it grew in vse, that all the Bishops of *Italie* came to Rome to fetch their consecration, except the Metropolitanas, which suffered not themselues to be brought into such bondage: but when any Metropolitan was to be consecrate, the Bishop of Rome sent thither one of his Priestes, which should only be present, but not president. Of which thing there is an example in *Gregorie*: at the consecration of *Constantius* Bishop of *Millaune* after the death of *Lawrence*. Howbeit I doe not thinke that that was a very ancient institution: but when at the beginning for honor and good wils sake they sent one to another their Legates, to be witnesses of the consecration, and to testifie their communion with them, afterward that which was voluntarie, began to be holden for necessaric. Howsoeuer it be, it is euident that in olde time the Bishop of Rome had not the power of consecrating, but in the prouince of his owne Patriarchie, that is to say, in the Churches adioyning to the citie, as the canon of the *Nicene* Synode saith. To the consecration was annexed the sending of a Synodicall Epistle, in which he was nothing about the rest. For the Patriarches were woont immediatly after their consecration, by solemne writing to declare their faith, whereby they professed that they subscribed to the holy and catholike Councils. So rendring an account of their faith, they did approue themselues one to another. If the Bishop of Rome had receiued of other, and not himselve giuen this confession, he had thereby been acknowledged superiour, but when he was no lesse bound to giue it, than to require it of other, and to be subiect to the common law: truly that was a token of fellowship, not of dominion. Of this thing there is an example in *Gregories* Epistle to *Anastasis* and to *Cyriacus* of *Constantinople*, and in other places to all the Patriarches together.

Lib. 1. Epist. 25.
Lib. 6 Epist. 169.
Lib. 1. Epist. 24.

The Bishop of Rome as well censured by others as others by him.

7 Then follow admonitions or censures: which as in olde time the Bishops of Rome vsed toward other, so they did againe suffer them of other. *Ireneus* grieuously reprooued *Victor*, because he vndiscreetly for a thing of no value, troubled the church with a pernicious dissention. *Victor* obeyed, and spurned not against it. Such a libertie was then in vre among the holy Bishops, that they vsed a brotherly authoritie toward the Bishop of Rome, in admonishing and chastising him if he at any time offended. He againe, when occasion required did admonish other of their dutie: and if there were any fault, rebuked it. For *Cyprian*, when he exhortheth *Stephen* to admonish the Bishops of *France*, fetcheth not his argument from the greater power, but from the common right that Priestes haue among themselues. I beseech you, if *Stephen* had then bene ruler ouer *France*, would not *Cyprian* haue saide: Restraine them, because they bee thine? but he saith far otherwise. This (saith he) the brotherly fellowship, wherewith we be bound one to another requireth that we should admonish one another. And we see also with how great sharpnesse of words he being otherwise a man of a milde nature inueieth against *Stephen* himselve, when he thinketh him to be too insolent. Therefore in this behalfe also there appeereth not yet, that the Bishop of Rome had any iurisdiction ouer them that were not of his owne prouince.

Epist. 13. lib. 3.
Ad pomp.
Contr. Epist.
Stephani.

Generall Councils summoned onely by the Emperour: prouinciall as well by other Bishops in their territories as by the Bishop of Rome.

8 As concerning the calling together of Synodes, this was the office of euerie Metropolitan, at certaine appointed times to assemble a prouinciall Synode. There the Bishop of Rome had no authoritie. But a generall Councille the Emperour onely might summon. For if any of the Bishops had attempted it, not only they that were out of his prouince, would not haue obeyed his calling, but also there would by and by haue risen an vprore. Therefore the Emperour indifferently warned them all to be present. *Socrates* indeed reporteth, that *Iulius* did expostulate with the Bishops of the East, because

Tripart. hist. lib. 4.

because they called him not to the Synode of *Antioch*, whereas it was forbidden by the Canons, that any thing should be decreed without the knowledge of the Bishop of *Rome*. But who doth not see that this is to be vnderstanded of such decrees as bind the whole vniuersall Church? Now it is no matuell, if thus much be granted both to the antiquitie and honor of the ciitie, and to the dignitie of the sea, that there shoulde be no generall decree made of religion, in the absence of the bishop of *Rome*, if hee refuse not to be present. But what is this to the dominion ouer the whole Church? For we deny not, that he was one of the chiefe: but we will not grant, that which the Romanistes now affirme, that he had a dominion ouer all.

9 Now remaineth the fourth kind of power, which standeth in appeales. It is euident that hee hath the chiefe power, to whose iudgement seate appellation is made. Many oftentimes appealed to the Bishop of *Rome*, and he himselfe also went about to draw the hearing of causes to himselfe: but hee was alway laughed to scorne, when he passed his owne bounds. I will speake nothing of the East and of *Grecia*: but it is certaine that the Bishops of *France* stoutly withstoode him, when he seemed to take to himselfe an empire ouer them. In *Affrica* there was long debate about that matter. For where at the *Mileuitane* Council, at which *Augustine* was present, they were excommunicate that appealed beyond the sea, the Bishop of *Rome* traualled to bring to passe, that that decree might be amended. Hee sent his legates to shewe that that priuilege was giuen to him by the *Nicene* Council. The Legates brought forth the actes of the *Nicene* Council, which they had fetched out of the storehouse of their owne Church. The *Affricans* withstood it, and denied that the bishops of *Rome* ought to be credited in their owne cause: and said that therefore they would sende to *Constantinople*, and into other cities of *Grecia*, where copies were to be had that were lesse suspicious. It was founde, that therein was no such thing written, as the Romanes had pretended. So was that decree confirmed, which tooke the chiefe hearing of causes from the bishop of *Rome*: In which doing the lewd shamelesnes of the Bishop of *Rome* himselfe appeered. For when he guilefully did thrust in the Synode at *Sardos* in steede of the *Nicene* Synode, he was shamefully taken in a manifest falsehood. But yet greater and more shamelesse was their wickednes, that added a forged Epistle to the Council, wherein I wore not what bishop of *Carthage*, condemning the arrogance of *Aurelius* his predecessour, for that he was so bold to withdraw himselfe from the obedience of the sea Apostolike, and yeelding himselfe and his Church, humbly craueueth pardon. These be the goodly monuments of antiquitie, whereupon the maiesty of the sea of *Rome* is founded, while they so childishly lie, vnder the pretence of antiquitie, that very blinde men may finde it out by groping. *Aurelius* (saith he) puffed vp with diuelish boldnes and stubbornnes, rebelled against Christ, and saint *Peter*, and therefore to be condemned with curse. What said *Augustine*? But what saide so many fathers that were present at the *Mileuitane* Council? But what neede is it to spende many wordes in confuting that foolish writing, which the Romanistes themselves, if they haue any face left, cannot looke vpon without great shame? So *Gratian*, I cannot tell whether of malice or of ignorance, where he rehearsed that decree that they shoulde be excommunicate that appeale beyond the sea, addeth an exception: Vnlesse peraduenture they appeale to the sea of *Rome*. What may a man doe to these beasts, which are so voide of common reason, that they except that onely thing out of the lawe, for whose cause euerie man seeth that the lawe was made? For the council when it condemneth appeales beyonde the sea, forbiddeth onely this, that none shoulde appeale to *Rome*. Heere the good expositor excepteth *Rome* out of the common lawe.

10 But (to determine this question at once) one historie shall make plaine what maner of iurisdiction the bishop of *Rome* had in old time. *Donate* of the black-houes had accused *Cecilian* bishop of *Carthage*. The man accused was condemned, his cause

The bishop of Rome mistook and withstood for ouerreaching his boundes and receiuing appeales which should not by order haue bene brought vs. to him.

2. quest. c. 4.

The Bishop of Rome appointed and ordained with him by

*Constantine to
heare an appeale
made by a bishop
of Carthage: and
in the same cause
the Bishop of Or-
leance appointed
by the same Empe-
ror to heare an ap-
peale made from
the bishop of Rome
Aug. ep. 16. 2.*

not heard. For when he knew that the bishops had conspired against him, he would not appeare. Then the matter came to the Emperor *Constantine*. He for as much as he would to haue the matter ended by ecclesiasticall iudgement, committed the hearing of it to *Melciades* bishop of *Rome*. To whom he adioined fellow commissioners, many bishops of *Italie, France, and Spaine*. If that belonged to the ordinarie iurisdiction of the sea of *Rome*, to heare an appeale in an Ecclesiasticall cause: why doth he suffer other to be ioined with him at the will of the Emperour? Yea why did he himselfe take the iudgement vpon him rather by the Emperours commandment, than by his own office? But let vs heare what hapned afterward. There *Cecilian* got the vicar. *Donat* of the blacke houses was condemned for schlander: he appealed: *Constantine* committed the iudgement of the appeale to the bishop of *Orleance*. He sat as iudge, to pronounce what he thought, after the bishop of *Rome*. If the sea of *Rome* hath the chiefe power without appellation: why doth *Melciades* suffer himselfe to receiue so great a shame, that the bishop of *Orleance* should be preferred aboue him? And what Emperour doth this? euen *Constantine* of whom they boast that he employed not onely all his endeour, but in a maner all the riches of the Empire to increase the dignity of their sea. We see therefore now, how far the bishop of *Rome* was at that time by all meanes from that supreme dominion, which he asmeth to be giuen vnto him by Christ ouer all the Churches, and which he lyingly saith that he hath in all ages possessed by the consent of the whole world.

*Forged helps to
bolster out the
Romish suprema-
cie, the ambitious
bribe of Leo,
whose power not-
withstanding was
not such as the sea
of Rome now
challengeth.
Dist. 11. cap.
Sacrosanct.*

Vide ep. 8. 5.
Epist. 8. 3.

Epist. 86.

11 I know how many epistles there be, how many writings and decrees, where-
in the bishops do giue much, and boldly challenge much vnto it. But this also all men
that haue a very little wit and learning do know, that the most part of those are so
vnfaourie, that by the first taste of them a man may soone finde out of what shoppe
they came. For what man offound wit and sober, will think that that goodly interpre-
tation is *Anacletus* his owne, which is in *Gratian* reported vnder the name of *Anacletus*:
that is, that *Cephas* is a head? The Romanistes do at this day abuse for defence
of their sea, many such trifles, which *Gratian* hath patched together without iudgement:
and yet still in so, great light they will sell such tokens, wherewith in old time
they were wont to mocke out the ignorant in darkensse. But I will not bestow much
labour in confuting those things, which do openly confute themselves by reason of
their vnfaourie folly. I graunt that there remaine also true epistles of the old Bishops,
wherein they set forth the honour of their sea with glorious titles, of which sort are
some epistles of *Leo*. For that man as he was learned and eloquent, so was he also
a little measure desirous of glorie and dominion: but whether the Churches then be-
leeued his testimonie when he so aduanced himselfe, that indeede is it that is in con-
trouersie. But it appeareth that many offended with his ambition, did also withstād his
greedie desire. Sometimes he appointed in his steed the bishop of *Thessalonica* through-
out *Grecia* & other countries adioining: sometime he appointed the bishop of *Orleance*,
or some other throughout *Fraunce*. So he appointed *Hormisdas* bishop of *Hispalis* to be
his vicar in *Spaine*: but euery where he excepteth, that he giueth out such appoint-
ments vpon this condition, that the Metropolitans may haue their ancient priuiledges
remaining safe and whole. But *Leo* himselfe declareth, that this is one of their
priuiledges, that if any doubt happen about any matter, the Metropolitan should first
be asked his aduise. Therefore those appointments of vicars in his steed were vpon
this condition, that neither any bishop should be letted in his ordinarie iurisdiction,
nor any Metropolitan in being iudge of Appeales, nor any prouincial Council in order-
ing of their Churches. What was this else but to abstaine from all iurisdiction:
but to intermeddle to the appeasing of discordes, onely so far as the Law and nature
of the communion of the Church suffereth?

*The calamitie of
other places vs
Gregories time*

12 In *Gregories* time that ancient order was already much changed. For when
the Empire was shaken, and torne in peeces, when *Fraunce* and *Spaine* were afflicted

with many overthrowes received, *Slavonia* wasted, *Italy* vexed, and *Affrica* in a manner destroyed with continuall calamities, that in so great a shaking of ciuill affaires, at least the integritie of Faith might remaine, or yet not vtterly perish, all the Bishops from ech part did the rather ioyne themselues to the Bishop of *Rome*. Thereby it came to passe, that not onely the dignitie, but also the power of that Sea greatly increased. Howbeit I doe not so much passe by what meanes it was brought about. Truly it appeareth that it was then greater than in the ages before. And yet it then greatly differed from being an vnbridled dominion, that one man might beare rule ouer other after his owne will. But the Sea of *Rome* had this reuerence, that it might with her authoritie subdue and repress the lewde and obstinate that could not by the other Bishops be kept within their ductie. For *Gregory* doth oftentimes diligently testifie this, that he doth no lesse faithfully preferue to other men their rightes, than he requireth his owne of them. Neither doe I (saith he) pricked on by ambition, plucke from any man that which is his right: but I desire in al things to honor my brethren. There is no saying in his writings wherein he doth more proudly boast of the largenes of his Supremacie, than this: I know not what Bishop is not subiect to the Sea Apostolike when he is found in fault. But he by and by adioyneth. Where fault requireth, not all according to the order of humilitie are equall. He giueth to himselfe power to correct them that haue offended: if all doe their duetie, he maketh himselfe equall with the rest. But he himselfe giueth himselfe this power: and they assented to it that would: and other that liked it not, might freely gaine say it, which it is well knowne that the most part of them did. Beside that he speaketh there of the Primate of *Constantinople*: which when he was condemned by the principall Synode, refused the whole iudgement. His fellow Bishops informed the Emperor of this stubbornnes of him. The Emperor willed *Gregorie* to be Iudge of the cause. We see therefore that he both attempteth nothing, whereby he may breake the ordinarie iurisdiction, and the same thing that he doth for the helping of other, he doth not but by the Commandement of the Emperour.

13 This therefore was then all the power of the Bishop of *Rome*, to set himselfe against obstinate and vntamed heads, when there needed any extraordinary remedie: and that to helpe and not to hinder other Bishops. Therefore he taketh no more to himselfe ouer all other, than in another place he granteth to all other ouer himselfe, when he confesseth that he is readie to be corrected of all, to be amended of all. So in another place he doth in deede commaund the Bishop of *Aquileia* to come to *Rome*, to plead his cause in a controuersie of Faith that was risen betweene him and other: but he doth not commaund him of his owne power, but because the Emperour had so commanded. Neither doth he giue warning that he alone shall be Iudge, but promised that hee will assemble a Synode by whome the whole matter may be iudged. But although there was yet such moderation, that the power of the Sea of *Rome* had her certaine boundes, which it might not passe, and the Bishop of *Rome* himselfe was no more about than vnder other: yet it appeareth how much *Gregorie* misliked such state. For he now and then complaineth, that vnder color of Bishoprike he was brought backe to the world: and that he was more entangled with earthly cares, than cuer he had serued them while he was a lay man: that he was in that honor oppressed with tumult of worldly affaires. In another place: so great burdens (saith he) of busines doe hold me downe, that my minde can nothing at all be raised vp to things aboue. I am shaken with many waues of causes: and after those leisures of rest I am tossed with tempestes of troublesome life, so that I may rightlie say, I am come into the depth of the sea, and the tempest hath drowned me. Hereby gather, what he would haue said, if he had happened to be in these times. Although he fulfilled not the office of a Pastor, yet he was doing it. He abstained from the government of the ciuill Empire, & confessed himselfe to be subiect to the Emperour as other

exalted the dignity of the Church of Rome, but without overthrowing the ordinarie iurisdiction which others had.

Lib. 1. Epist. 68.

Lib. 2. Epist. vlt.
Lib. 7. Epist. 64.

Gregorie how far unlike the Romaine Bishops at this day?
Lib. 2. epist. 37.
Epist. 16.

Lib. 1. Epi 5.

Lib. 1. epi. 7. & 15

were. He did not thrust himselfe into the cure of other Churches, but being compelled by necessitie. And yer he thinketh himselfe to be in a maze, because he cannot apply himselfe altogether onely to the office of a Bishop.

The Church of Rome risen by the Empire of Rome.

14 At that time the Bishop of *Constantinople* striued with the Bishop of *Rome* for the Supremacie, as it is already said. For after that the seate of the Empire was established at *Constantinople*, the maiestie of the Empire seemed to require that that Church also should haue the second place of honour after the Church of *Rome*. And truly at the beginning, nothing more auailed to cause the Supremacie to be given to *Rome*, but because the head of the Empire was there at that time. There is in *Gratian* a writing vnder the name of Pope *Lucinus*, where he saith, that cities were no otherwise diuided, where Metropolitanes & Primates ought to sit, than by the reason of the ciuill government that was before. There is also an other vnder the name of Pope *Clement*, where he saith, the Patriarches were ordained in those cities that had had the chiefe Flamines in them. Which, although it be false, yet is taken out of a truth. For it is certaine, that to the end there should be made as little change as might be, the prouinces were diuided according to the state of things that then were: and that Primates and Metropolitanes were set in those cities that excelled the other in honors and power. Therefore in the Council at *Taurinum* it was decreed, that those Cities which in the ciuill government were the chiefe cities of euery prouince, should be the chiefe sees of Bishops. And if it happened the honor of the ciuill government to be remooued from one citie to another, that then the right of the Metropolitan citie should therewithall be remooued thither. But *Innocentius* Bishop of *Rome*, when he saw the ancient dignitie of his citie to grow in decay, after that the seate of the Empire was remooued to *Constantinople*, fearing the abacement of his see, made a contrarie law: wherein he denieth it to be necessarie that the Ecclesiasticall mother cities should be changed as the Imperiall mother cities change. But the authoritie of a Synode ought of right to be preferred aboue one mans sentence. Also we ought to suspect *Innocentius* himselfe in his owne cause. Howsoever it be, yet by his owne prouiso he sheweth, that from the beginning it was so ordered, that the Metropolitan cities should be disposed according to the outward order of the Empire.

Dist. 80. c. 6.

Cap. 1.

The Bishop of Rome stomacking that the Bishop of Constantinople should come so neer as to be made by a councell next him in authoritie and honour. Socrat. hist. trip. lib. 9. c. 13. Decret. 22. dist.

15 According to this auncient ordinance, it was decreed in the first councell at *Constantinople*, that the Bishop of the 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 cryed out against it. And he not onely gaue himselfe leaue to esteeme as nothing that which sixe hundred Bishops or moe had decreed: but also bitterly taunted them, for that they tooke from other sees that honour which they were so bolde to gae to the Church of *Constantinople*. I beseech you, what other thing could moue a man to trouble the worlde for so small a matter, but meere ambition? He saith that that ought to bee inuolable, which the Nicene Synode hath once decreede. As though forsooth the Christian faith were endangered, if one Church be preferred before an other: or as though Patriarchies were there diuided to any other ende, but for policie. But we know that policie receiueth, yea requireth diuers changes, according to the diuersitie of times. Therefore it is sonde that *Leo* pretendeth, that the honour, which by the authoritie of the Nicene Synode was given to the see of *Alexandria*, ought not to be given to the see of *Constantinople*. For common reason telleth this, that it was such a decreed, as might be taken away according to the respect of times. Yea none of the Bishops of the East withstoode it, whom that thing most of all concerned. Truly *Proterius* was present, whom they had made Bishoppe of *Alexandria* in the place of *Dioscorus*. There were present other Patriarches, whose honor was diminished. It was their part to withstand it, not *Leos* which remained safe in his owne place. But when all they hold their peace, yea assent vnto it, and onely the Bishop of *Rome* resisteth:

resisteth: it is easie to iudge, what mooueth him: that is, he foresaw that which not long after happened, that it would come to passe, that, the glory of old *Rome* decaying, *Constantinople* not contented with the second place, would striue with *Rome* for the supremacie. And yet with his crying out he did not so much preuaile, but that the decree of the Councell was confirmed. Therefore his successors, when they sawe themselves ouercome, quietly gaue ouer that stiffenesse: for they suffered that he should be accounted the second Patriarch.

16 But within a litle after, *Iohn* which in *Gregories* time ruled the Church of *Constantinople*, brake forth so far that he called himselfe the vniuersall Patriarch. Here *Gregorie*, least he should in a very good cause faile to defend his owne sea, did constantly set him selfe against him. And truly both the pride and madnesse of *Iohn* was intollerable, which desired to make the bounds of his Bishopricke equall with the boundes of the Empire. And yet *Gregorie* doth not claime to himselfe, that which he denieth to another: but abhorreth that name as wicked, and vngodly, and abominable, who soeuer take it vpon him. Yea and also in one place he is angrie with *Eulolius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, which had honored him with such a title. Behold (saith he) in the preface of the Bpistle which he directed to my selfe that haue forbidden it, ye haue cared to imprint the worde of proude calling, in naming me vniuersall Pope, which, I pray that your holinesse will no more doe, because that is withdrawn from you, which is giuen to another more than reason requireth. I count it no honour, wherein I see the honor of my brethren to be diminished. For my honour is the honor of the vniuersall Church, and the sound strength of my brethren. But if your holines call me the vniuersall Pope, it denieth it selfe to be that which it confesseth me to be wholly. Truly *Gregorie* stodee in a good and honest cause. But *Iohn* holpen by the fauour of *Maurice* the Emperour, could neuer be remooued from his purpose. *Cyrillus* also his successor neuer suffered himselfe to be intreated in that behalfe.

The pride of the Bishop of Constantinople seeking to equall his Bishopricke with the boundes of the Empire constantly resisted by Gregory.

Lib. 7. cpi. 32.

17 At the last *Phocas*, which when *Maurice* was slaine, was set in his place (I wore not for what cause being more friendly to the Romanes, but because hee was there crownd without strife) granted to *Boniface* the third that which *Gregorie* neuer required, that *Rome* should be the head of all Churches. After this manner was the controuersie ended. And yet this benefite of the Emperour, could not so much haue profited the sea of *Rome*, vnlesse other things also had afterward happened. For *Grecia* and all *Asia* were within a litle after cut off from the communion of *Rome*. *France* so much reuerenced him, that it obeyed no further than it lusted. But it was then first brought into bondage when *Pipine* vsurped the kingdome. For when *Zacharie* Bishop of *Rome* had benee his helper to the breach of his Faith, and to robbetrie, that thrusting out the lawfull King, he might violently enter vpon the kingdome as laid open for a pray: he received this reward that the sea of *Rome* should haue iurisdiction ouer the Churches of *France*: As robbers are wouted in parting to diuide the common spoile: so these good men ordered the matter betweene themselues, that *Pipine* should haue the earthly and ciuill dominion, spoyling the true king: and *Zacharie* should be made head of all Bishops and haue the spirituall power: which, when at the beginning it was weake: (as it is wout to be in newe things) was afterward confirmed by the authoritie of *Charles*, in manner for a like cause. For he was also indebted to the Bishop of *Rome*, for that by his endeuour he had attained to the honor of the Empire. But although it be credible, that Churches ech where were before that time much deformed, yet it is certaine that the olde forme of the Church was then first vterly defaced in *France* and *Germanie*. There remaine yet in the recordes of the Court of *Paris* breefe notes of these times, which, where they intreate of the matters of the Church, make mention of the couenant both of *Pipine* and of *Charles* with the Bishop of *Rome*. Thereby we may gather that then was an alteration made of the old state.

The headship of the Church granted by Phocas to the bishop of Rome, and the Churches of Fraunce by Pipine made subiect to his authoritie.

Cap. 7. Of the outward meanes

*The state of the
Church of Rome
in Bernardes time.*

18 Since that time, when things did each where daily fall from woofe to woofe, the tyrannie of the sea of Rome was now and then also established and increased, and that partly by the ignorance, and partly by the slothfulness of the bishops. For when one man tooke all things vpon him, and without measure proceeded more and more to aduance himselfe against law and right: the bishops did not with such zeale as they ought, endeour themselves to refraine his lust, and though they wanted not courage, yet they were destitute of true learning and knowledge: so that they were nothing fit to attempt so great a matter. Therefore we see what and how monstrous an vnholie desiring of all holy things, and a scattering abroad of the whole order of the Church, was in Bernardes time. He complaineth that there resort by heaps to Rome out of all the world, ambitious men, couetous, Simonians, robbers of God, keepers of concubines, committers of incest, and all such monsters, to obtaine or retaine ecclesiasticall honours by the Apostolike authoritie: and that fraude and vndermining, and violence were grown in force. He saith that that maner of iudging which then was vsed, was abhominable, and vnseemely, not onely for the Church, but also for a iudiciall court. He crieth out that the Church is full of ambitious men: and that there is none that more dreadeth to commit mischieuous acts, than robbers do in their caue, when they diuide the spoiles of waifaring men. Few (saith he) do looke vnto the mouth of the Lawgiuer, but vnto his hands. But not without cause. For those hands do all the Popes businesse. What a thing is this, that they are bought of the spoiles of Churches, that say to thee, oh well done, well done! The life of the poore is sowed in the streetes of the rich: siluer glistereth in the mire: men run to it from all places: not the poore, but the stranger taketh it vp, or he peraduenture that runneth fastest before. But this maner, or rather this death, came not of thee, I would to God it might ende in thee. Among these things thou a Pastor goest forward compassed with much and precious array. If I durst say it, these are rather the Pastors of diuels, than of sheepe. Forsooth Peter did thus, Paul played thus. Thy court is more accustomed to receiue men good than to make them good. For the ill do not there profit, but the good do decay. Now as for the abuses of appeals that he rehearseth, no godly man can read them without great horror. At the last he thus concludeth of that vnbridled greedinesse of the sea of Rome in the vsurping of iurisdiction: I speake the murmur and common complaint of the Churches. They crie out that they be mangled and dismembred. There are either none or few that do not either bewaile or feare this plague. Askest thou what plague? The Abbots are plucked from the bishops, the bishops from the Archbishops, &c. It is maruellous if this may be excused. In so doing ye prooue that ye haue fulnes of power, but not of righteousnes. Ye do this, because ye can do it: but whether ye also ought to do it, is a question. Ye are set to preferue, not to enuy to euery man his honour and his owne degree. These fewe things of many I listed to rehearse, partly that the readers may see, how fore the Church was then decayed, and partly that they may know in how great sorrow and mourning this calamitie held all the godly.

*Lib. 1. de consi.
ad Euag.*

Lib. 3.

*The vsurped po-
wer ecclesiasticall
which the Bishop
of Rome holdeth
and doth exercise
at this day.*

19 But now, albeit that we graunt to the Bishop of Rome at this day that preeminence and largenes of iurisdiction, which that sea had in the meane times, as in the times of Leo and of Gregorie: what is that to the present state of the Papsie? I do not yet speake of the earthly dominion, nor of the ciuill power thereof, which we will afterwarde consider in place fit for it: but the verie spirituall government that they boast of, what hath it like to the state of those times? For they define the Pope none otherwise than the Supreme head of the Church in earth, and the vniuersall Bishoppe of the whole world. And the Bishops themselves, when they speake of their owne authoritie, doe with great stoutnesse of countenance, pronounce that to them belongeth the power to commaund, and other are bound to the necessitie to obey, that so all their decrees are to be holden as confirmed with the diuine

diuine voice of *Peter*, that the prouinciall Synodes are without force, because they want the presence of the Pope: that they may order clerkes of any Church that they will: and may call them to their sea that haue been ordered else where. Innumerable of that sort are in *Gratians* packe, which I do not now rehearse, least I should be too tedious to the Readers. But this is the summe of them, that only the Bishop of *Rome* hath the supreme hearing and determining of all ecclesiasticall causes, whether it bee in iudging and defining of doctrines, or in making of lawes, or in stablishing of discipline, or in executing of iudgements: It were as long and superfluous to rehearse the priuileges that they take to themselves in reseruations, as they call them. But (which is most intollerable of all other) they leaue no iudgement in earth to restraine and bridle their outrageous lust, if they abuse so immeasurable power. It is lawfull for no man (say they) to reuoke the iudgement of that sea, because of the Supremacie of the Church of *Rome*. Againe, The iudge shall be iudged neither by the Emperor, nor by kings, nor by all the clergie, nor of the people. That is indeede too imperiously done that one man maketh himselfe iudge of all men, and suffereth himselfe to obey the iudgement of no man. But what if he vse tyrannie ouer the people of God? if he scatter abroad and waste the kingdom of *Christ*? if he trouble the whole Church? if he turne the office of Pastor into robbrie? Yea though hee be neuer so mischieuous, he saith that he is not bound to yeeld account. For these be the sayings of the Bishops: Gods will was to determine the causes of other men by men, but hee hath without question reserued the bishop of this sea to his owne iudgement. Againe, The doings of subiects are iudged of vs but ours of God onely.

20 And that such decrees might haue the more weight, they haue falsly thrust in the names of the old bishops, as though things had bene so ordained from the beginning: whereas it is most certeine, that it is newe and lately forged whatsoeuer the bishop of *Rome* giueth to himselfe more than wee haue rehearsed to be given him by the ancient Councils. Yea, they are come to so great shamelesnesse, that they haue set foorth a writing vnder the name of *Anastasis* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, wherein he testifieth that it was decreed by the old rules, that nothing should be done euen in the furthest prouinces, that were not first moued to the sea of *Rome*. Beside this, that it is certeine that is most vaine, what man shall thinke it likely, that such a commendation of the sea of *Rome* proceeded from the aduersarie and enuier of honour and dignitie thereof? But verily it behooued that these Antichristes should be carried on to so great madnes and blindnes, that their lewdnes might be plain for all men to see, at least so many as wil open their eies. But the decretal epistles heaped together by *Gregory* the ninth, againe the *Clemētines*, & *Extravagants* of *Martine*, do yet more openly and with fuller mouth ech where breath foorth their outrageous fiercenes, and as it were the tyrannic of barbarous kings. But these be the oracles, by which the Romanists will haue their papacie to be weyed. Heereupon arose those notable principles, which at this day haue euery where in the papacie the force of oracles: that the Pope cannot erre: that the Pope is aboue the Councils: that the Pope is the vniuersall bishop of all bishops, and the supreme head of the Church in earth: I passe ouer the much absurder follies, which the foolish Canonists babble in their schooles, to which yet the Romish diuines do not onely assent, but do also clap their hands at them, to flatter their idoll.

21 I will not deale with them by extremitie of right. Some other man woulde against this their so great insolencie set the saying of *Cyprian*, Which hee vsed among the bishops, at whose Council he sat as chiefe. None of vs calleth himselfe Bishop of Bishops, or with tyrannous feare compelleth his fellow bishops to necessitie to obey. Hee woulde object that, which a little after was decreed at *Carthage*. That none should be called Prince, Priest, or chiefe Bishop. Hee woulde gather manie testimonies out of Histories, Canons out of Synodes, and many sentences out of

Decret 17. quæst.
3. cap. Nemi.
Innoc. 9. quæst.
3. ca. nemo.
Sym. 2. quæst. 3.
cap. Aliorum.
Anther.
Ibid. c. facta.

The forgeries used
in the Papacie to
make the world be-
leeue that they
claime that they
claime at this date
no more than they
haue had in an-
cient times.
Ibid. ca. Ant.

The Popes usur-
pation not onely
against the iudge-
ment of all anti-
quarie, against the
mind of *Gregorie*,
but euen repug-
nant to all huma-
nity.

the bookes of olde writers, by which the bishop of *Rome* should be brought downe into the fellowship of the rest. But I passe ouer all these, least I should seeme too precisely to presse them. But let the best patrones of the sea of *Rome* aunswere me, with what face they dare defend the title of vniuersall Bishop, which they see so oft to be condemned with curse by *Gregorie*. If *Gregories* testimonie ought to be of force, they doe thereby declare that Antichrist is there bishop, because they make him vniuersall. The name also of head was no more vsuall. For thus he sayeth in one place: *Peter* is the chiefe member in the bodie, *John*, *Andrew*, and *Iames* the heads of particular peoples: yet they all are members of the Church vnder one head: yea the holie ones before the lawe, the holie ones vnder the lawe, and the holie ones vnder grace, are set among members, altogether making vp the bodie of the Lord: and no man euer willed to haue himselfe called vniuersall. But whereas the Bishop of *Rome* taketh vpon himselfe the power of commaunding, that thing finally agreeth with that which *Gregorie* saith in another place. For whereas *Eulolius* bishop of *Alexandria*, had saide that he was commaunded by him, he aunswered in this wise, I pray ye, take away this word of commanding from my hearing. For I know what I am, and what ye be. In place, ye he to me brethren: in manners ye be to me fathers. Therefore I commaunded not, but I cared to tell you those things that I thought profitable. Whereas he so extendeth his iurisdiction without end, he doeth therein great and hainous wrong, not onely to the other bishops, but also to all particular Churches, which he so teareth and plucketh in peeces, that he may build his seate of their ruines. But whereas he exempteth himselfe from all iudgements, and will so raigne after the manner of tyrants, that he accounteth his owne onely lust for lawe, that verily is so hainous, and so farre from ecclesiastick order, that it may in no wise be borne: for it vtterly abhorreth not onely from all feeling of godlinesse, but also from all humanitie.

Lib. 4. Ep. 91.

Lib. 7. Epi. 28.

22 But that I be not compelled to goe through and examine all things particularly, I doe againe appeale to them, that will at this day be accompted the best and most faithfull patrones of the sea of *Rome*, whether they be not ashamed to defend the present state of the Papacie: which it is certaine to be an hundred times more corrupt, than it was in the time of *Gregorie* and *Bernard*: which state yet did then so much displease those holie men. *Gregorie* each where complaineth, that he is too much diuersly drawn away with foraine busines: that he is vnder the colour of bishopricke brought backe to the world: wherein he serueth so many cares of the world as he neuer remembreth that he serued when he was a laie man: that he is pressed downe with tumult of worldly affaires, that his minde is nothing raised vp to things aboue, that he is shaken with many waues of causes, and tossed with tempests of troublesome life: so that he may worthily say, I am come into the depth of the sea. Truly among those earthly busineses, he might yet teach the people with Sermons, privately admonish and correct such as it behooued, order the Church, giue counsell to his fellow bishops and exhort them to their durie: beside these things there remained some time to write: and yet he lamenteth his calamitie, that he is drowned in the deepest sea. If the government of that time was a sea: what is to be saide of the papacie at this time? For what likenesse haue they together? Here be no preachings, no care of discipline, no zeale to the Churches, no spirituall doing, finally nothing but the world. Yet this maze is praised, as though there could nothing be found more orderly and better framed. But what complaints doeth *Bernard* poure out, what groanes doth he viter, when he looketh vpon the faultes of his age: What then would he do if he beheld this our age of iron, and worse if any be worse than iron? What obstinate wickednesse is this, not onely stiffely to defend as holy and diuine, that which all the holy men haue with one mouth condemned: but also to abuse their testimonie to the defence of the papacie, which it is certaine that they neuer know

The state of Rome
an hundred times
more corrupt now
than in the dayes
of *Gregorie* or
Bernard.

Lib. 1. epi. 5. 7.
& 25. & alibi.

knew of? Howbeit of *Bernards* time I confesse, that then the corruption of all things was so great, that it was not much vnlike our time. But they are without all shame, that fetch any pretence for it, out of that meane age, that is the time of *Leo*, *Gregorie*, and such other. For they do like as if one, to stablish the Monarchie of Emperors, would praise the old state of the Empire of *Rome*: that is, would borrow the praises of libertie, to set forth the honor of tyrannie.

23 Finally, although all these things were graunted them: yet there ariseth of fresh a new strife for them, when we deny that there is a Church at *Rome*, in which such benefites may be resident: when we denie that there is a bishop, which may beare these priuileges of dignitie. Admit therefore all those things to be true, (which yet we haue already wrung from them) that *Peter* was by the mouth of Christ appointed head of the vniuersall Church: and that he left the honour that was giuen him in the sea of *Rome*: that the same was stablished by the authoritie of the auncient Church, and confirmed with long continuance: that the Supreme power hath benee alway by one consent giuen of all men to the bishop of *Rome*, that he hath benee the iudge of all both causes and men, and himselfe subiect to the iudgement of none: let them haue also more, if they will: yet I answer in one word, that none of these things auale, vnlesse there be at *Rome* a Church and a bishop. This they must needs graunt me, that it cannot be the mother of Churches, which is not it selfe a Church: that he cannot be chiefe of bishops, which is not himselfe a bishop. Will they therefore haue the sea Apostolike at *Rome*? Then let them shew me a true and lawfull Apostleship. Will they haue the chiefe Bishop? Then let them shew me a Bishop. But what? where will they shew vs any face of a Church? They name one indeede, and haue it oft in their mouth. Truly the Church is knowne by her certaine markes: and bishopricke is a name of office. I speake not here of the people: but of the government it selfe, which ought continually to shine in the Church. Where is the ministerie in their Church, such as Christes institution requireth? Let vs call to remembrance that which hath before benee spoken of the office of Priests and of a bishop. If we shall bring the office of Cardinals to be tried by that rule, we shall confesse that they are nothing lesse than Priests. As for the chiefe bishop himselfe, I would faine know what one thing at all he hath bishoplike. First it is the principall point in the office of a bishop, to teach the people with the word of God: another 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 things doth he? yea, what doth he faine himselfe to do? Let them tell therefore, by what meane they would haue him to be counted a bishop, that doth not with his little finger, nor not once so much as in outward shew, touch any part of a bishops office.

24 It is not so of a bishop as it is of a king. For a king although he do not execute that which belongeth to a king, doeth neuertheles retaine the honor and title. But in iudging of a bishop respect is had to Christes commaundement, which alway ought to be of force in the Church. Therefore let the Romanists loose me this knot. I deny that their high bishop is the chiefe of bishops, forasmuch as he is no bishop. They must needs prooue this last point to be false, if they will haue the victorie in the fist. But how saie they to this, that he not onely hath no property of a bishop, but rather all things contrarie? But here, O God, whereat shall I beginne? at his learning, or at his manners? What shall I saie, or what shall I leaue vnfaide? where shall I make an end? This I saie, that whereas the world is at this day, stuffed with so many peruerse and wicked doctrines, full of so manie kindes of superstitions, blinded with so many errors, drowned in so great idolatrie: there is none of these any where, that hath not either flowed from thence: or at least benee there confirmed. Neither is there any other cause, why the bishops are carried with so great rage against the doctrine

The Bishop of Rome no Bishop.

In the Bishop of Rome all things contrarie vnto that which should be in a Bishop.

Cap.7. Of the outwarde meanes

doctrine of the Gospel newly springing vp againe, why they bend all their strengthes to oppresse it, why they kindle vp kings and princes to crueltie, but because they see that their whole kingdome decayeth and falleth downe, so soone as the Gospell of Christ commeth in place. *Leo* was cruell: *Clement* was bloudie: *Paul* is a fierce murtherer. But nature hath not so much moued them to fight against the truth, as for that this was their onely meane to maintaine their power. Therefore sith they cannot be safe, till they haue driuen away Christ, they trauell in this cause, as if they did fight for their religion and countries, and for their owne liues. What then? Shall that be to vs the sea Apostolike, where we see nothing but horrible Apostasie? Shall he be Christs vicar, which by persecuting the Gospell with furious enterprises, doth openly professe himselfe to be Antichrist? Shall hee be *Peters* successeur, that rangeth with sword and fire, to destroy all that euer *Peter* hath builded? Shall he be head of the Church that cutting off and dismembing the Church from Christ the onely true head thereof, doth in it selfe plucke and teare it in peeces. Admit verily that in the olde time *Rome* was the mother of all Churches: yet since it hath begun to be the seate of Antichrist, it hath ceased to be that which it was.

The Pope Antichrist.

25 We seeme to be too much euill speakers and railers, when we call the Bishop of *Rome* Antichrist. But they that so thinke, doe not vnderstande that they accuse *Paul* of immodestie, after whom we so speake, yea out of whose mouth we so speake. And least any man obiect, that we doe wrongfully wrest against the Bishop of *Rome*, these wordes of *Paul* that are spoken to another intent, I will briefly shew, that they cannot be otherwise vnderstanded, but of the Papacie. *Paul* writeth, that Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God. In another place also the holy Ghost describing his image in the person of *Antiochus*, sheweth that his kingdome shall consist in hawtnesse of speech, and blasphemings of God. Hereupon we gather, that it is rather a tyrannic ouer soules, than ouer bodies, that is raised vp against the spirituall kingdome of Christ. Then, that it is such, as doth 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 visage. But although all the heresies and sectes that haue bene from the beginning, belong to the kingdome of Antichrist: yet whereas *Paul* prophecieth, that there shall come a departing, by this description he signifieth, that that seate of abomination shall then bee raised vp, when a certaine vniuersall departing shall possesse the Church: howsoever many members 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 mysterie to set vp the worke of iniquitie, which he woulde afterwarde shew openly: thereby we vnderstand, that this calamitie was neither to be brought in by one man, nor to be ended in one man. Now whereas he doth set out Antichrist by this marke, that he shoulde plucke away from God his due honour, to take it to himselfe: this is the chiefe token that we ought to followe in seeking out of Antichrist, specially where such pride proceedeth euen to the publike dilipation of the Church. Sith therefore it is certaine that the Bishop of *Rome* hath shamelesly conueyed away to himselfe that which was the chiefe proper thing to God alone and Christ, it is not to be doubted but that he is the captaine and standardbearer of the wicked and abominable kingdome.

Nothing left in the papacy but onely the place where the order of a Church hath been. Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 5.

26 Now let the Romanists go, and obiect antiquitie against vs: As if in so great alteration of all things, the honour of the sea might stand where there is no sea. *Eusebius* telleth, how God, that there might be place for his vengeance, remoued the Church that was at *Hierusalem* to *Pella*. That which we heare to haue bene once done, might be after done. Therefore so to binde the honor of supremacie to a place, that he which is in deede the most hatefull enimie of Christ, the highest aduersarie of the Gospell, the greatest waster and destroyer of the Church, the most cruell slaughterman and butcher of the saints, shoulde neuertheless be accounted the vicar of Christ,

Christ, the successor of *Peter*, the chiefe bishop of the Church, only because he occupieth the sea that was once the chiefest of all: that verely is too much to be scorned and foolish. I speake not, how great difference there is betweene the Popes chauncery, and a wel framed order of the Church. Howbeit this one thing may well take away all doubt of this question. For no man that hath his right wit, will thinke the bishoprike enclosed in lead and bulles: much lesse in that schoole of fraudes and deceites, in which things the Popes spirituall gouernment consisteth. Therefore it was very well said by a certaine man, that that church of *Rome* which is boasted of, is long ago turned into a court, which only is now seene at *Rome*. Neither do I here accuse the faults of men: but I shew that the papacie it selfe is directly contrary to the true order of a Church.

27 But if we come to the persons of men, it is well enough knowen what maner of vicars of Christ we shall finde. *Iulius* forsooth, and *Leo*, and *Clement* and *Paul*, shall be pillars of the christian faith, and the chiefe expositors of religion, which neuer knew any other thing of Christ, than that which he had learned in *Lucians* schoole. But why do I reckon vp three or foure Popes? as though it were doubtfull, what manner of forme of religion the popes with their whole college of Cardinals haue since long ago professed, and at this day do professe. For first this is the principall article of that secret Diuinitie that raigeth among them, That there is no God: the second, That all things that are written and taught concerning Christ, are lies and deceits: the third, That the doctrine of the life to come, and of the last resurrection are meere fables. They do not all thinke so: and few of them speake so. I graunt. But this hath long ago begun to be the ordinary religion of popes. Whereas this is very well knowen to all that know *Rome*, yet the Romish Diuines cease not to boast, that by Christs priuilege it is provided, that the Pope can nor erre, because it was said to *Peter*: I haue praied for thee, that thy faith should not faint. What, I pray you, win they by mocking so shamelesly, but that the whole world may vnderstand, that they are come to that extremity of wickednesse, that they neither feare God, nor stand in awe of men?

The atheisme of Popes.

Luke. 22. 32.

28 But let vs imagine, that the vngodlines of those popes v home I haue spoken of, is hidden, because they haue neither published it by preaching, nor by writings: but only haue bewraied 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, which they pretend, they must needes wipe *John* the xxii. out of the number of Popes, who openly affirmed that soules are mortall, and that they die together with the bodies vntill the day of resurrection. And that you may perceiue that the whole sea with her principall stayes was then wholly fallen: none of all the Cardinals withstood so great a madnesse, but the schoole of *Parise* moued the king of *Fraunce* to compell him to recant it. The king forbad his subiects to communicate with him, vnlesse he did out of hand repent: and the same, as the manner is, he proclaimed by a herald. The Pope compelled by this necessitie, abiured his errour. This example maketh that I neede not to dispute any more with my aduersaries about this that they say, that the sea of *Rome* and the bishops thereof, can not erre in the faith, because it was said to *Peter*, I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith may not faint. Truly, 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* which succede after *Peter* in the bishopricke. Howbeit this is also of it selfe so childish, that it needeth no answer. For if they will drawe to *Peters* successors whatsoever was spoken to *Peter*, it shall follow that they are all Satans, forasmuch as the Lord said this also to *Peter*: Go behind, thou Satan, because thou art an offence to me. For it shall be as easy for vs to turne backe this latter saying against them, as it shall be for them to obiekt the other against vs.

The fall of Iohn the xxii.

Gerson which lued then.

Luke. 22. 32.

Matt. 16. 23.

29. But I list not to strue with them in playing the foole. Therefore I returne thither.

Cap. 7. Of the outward meanes

The vncleane ma-
ners of the Romane
Bishops.

thither from whence I made digression. So to binde the place, and Christ, and the holy Ghost, and the Church together, that whosoeuer sit in that place, although he be the Deuill, yet he must be iudged the Vicar of Christ and the head of the Church, because it was once the seate of *Peter*: I say this is not onely wicked and slaundersous to Christ, but also too great an absurdity and against common reason. It is already long agoe since the Bishops of *Rome* are either without all religion, or the greatest enemies of Religion. Therefore they are no more made the 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 manners be to be iudged vpon, let the Popes themselues answer for themselues: what one thing at all there is in them, wherein they may be knowie for Bishops. First, whereas there is such life at *Rome*, they not onely winking at it, but also as it were with secreete countenance allowing it, this is vterly vnmeet for Bishops, whose duetie is with seueritie of discipline to restrain the licentiousnesse of the people. But I will not be so rigorous against them, to charge them with other mens faults. But whereas they themselues, with their own household, with almost the whole Colledge of Cardinals, with the whole flocke of their Cleargie, are so giuen foorth to all wickednesse, filthinesse, vncleannesse, to all kindes of lewde and mischicuous dooings, that they resemble rather monsters than men: therein truly they bewray themselues to be nothing lesse than Bishops. And yet they neede not to feare least I should further disclose their filthinesse. For both I am werie to haue to doe in so stinking mire, and I must fauour chaste eares, & I thinke that I haue already enough and more proued that which I went about: that is, that although *Rome* had in olde time been the head of Churches, yet at this day she is not worthy to be iudged one of the smallest toes of the Churches feete.

2. Theſ. 1. 4.

The rising of Car-
dinals.

30 As concerning the Cardinals, (as they call them) I cannot tel how it is come to passe, that they be so soderly risen vp to so great dignitie. This name in *Gregories* time belonged to Bishops onely. For so oft as he maketh mention of Cardinals, he meaneth it not of them of the Church of *Rome*, but of any other: so that briefly, a Cardinall Priest is nothing else but a Bishop. In the writers before that age I finde not this name at all. But I see that they were then lesse than Bishops, whom they be now far about. This saying of *Augustine* is well known: Although according to the names of honor, which the vic of the Church hath already obtained, Bishoprike is greater than Priesthood, yet in many things *Augustine* is lesse then *Hierome*. Here indeede he maketh difference betweene a Priest of the Church of *Rome* and other: but he indifferently setteth them all behinde the Bishops. And that was so long obserued, that in the Councell of *Carthage*, when there were present two Legates of the sea of *Rome*, the one a Bishop, the other a Priest, the Priest was thrust backe into the last place. But not to follow too old examples, there remaineth a Councell holden vnder *Gregorie* at *Rome* at which the Priestes sate in the lowest place, and subscribed feuerally by theselues: as for the Deacons, they had no place at all in subscribing. And truly they had then no office, but to be present and vnder the Bishop at ministring of doctrine and of the Sacraments. Now the case is so changed, that they are become the cousins of Kings and Emperors. And it is no doubt but that they grew vp by little and little together with their head, till they were aduanced to this high top of dignitie. But this also I thought good to touch shortly by the way that the readers might the better vnderstand, that the Sea of *Rome*, such as it is at this day, doth much differ from that ancient one, vnder presence whereof, it doth now maintaine and defend it selfe. But of what sort soeuer they were in olde time, forasmuch as they haue now nothing of the true and lawfull office in the Church, they retaine onely a deicefull colour & vaine visour: yea forasmuch as they haue all things vterly contrary, it was necessary that that should happen to them, which *Gregorie* writeth so oft. I say it (saith he) weeping: I giue warning of it, groning: that sith the order of Priesthood is fallen within,

Lib. 4. Epist. 25.
&c 55.

Lib. 5. Epist. 7.

it shal also not be able to stand long without. But rather it behooued that this should be fulfilled in them which *Malachie* saith of such: Ye haue gone back out of the way, & haue made manie to stumble in the law. Therefore ye haue made void the couenant of *Leui*, saith the Lord. Therefore behold, I haue giuen you out of estimation, and vile to all the people. Now I leaue it to all the godly to thinke of what sort is that supreme height of the Hierarchie of *Rome*, whereunto the Papisfes with abhominable shamelesnesse sticke not to make subiect the very word of God, which ought to haue bene honourable and holy both to heauen and earth, men and Angels.

Mal. 2. 8.

The viij. Chapter.

Of the power of the Church as touching the articles of faith: and with how vnbridled licentiousnesse it hath in the pacapie bene wrested to corrupt all purenesse of doctrine.

NOW followeth the thirde place of the power of the Church, which partly consisteth in all the Bishops, and parily in the Councils, and those either prouinciall or generall. I speake onely of the spirituall power, which is proper to the Church. That consisteth either in doctrine, or in iurisdiction, or in making of Lawes. Doctrine hath two partes, the authoritie to teach articles of Doctrine, and the expounding of them. Before that wee begin to discourse of euery one of these in specialtie, wee will that the godly Readers bee warned, that whatsoeuer is taught concerning the power of the Church, they must remember to apply it to that ende, whereunto (as *Paul* testifieth) it was giuen: that is, to edification, and not to destruction: which who so lawfully vse, they thinke themselues no more than the ministers of Christ, and therewithall the ministers of the people in Christ. Now of the edifying of the Church, this is the onely way, if the ministers themselues endeavour to preserue to Christ his authoritie, which can not otherwise bee safe vnlesse that bee left vnto him, which he receiued of his Father: that is, that he be the onely schoolemaister of the Church. For it is written, not of any other but of him alone, Heare him. The power of the Church therefore is not to be sparingly set forth, but yet to be enclosed within certain boundes, that it bee not drawn hither and thither after the lust of men. Hereunto it shall be much profitable to note, how it is described of the Prophets and Apostles. For if we simplie grant vnto men such power as they list to take vpon them, it is plaine to all men, what a slipperie readines there is to fall into tyrannie, which ought to be farre from the Church of Christ.

A caution touching things spoken of the power of the Church.

2. Cor. 10. 8. & 13. 10.

Matt. 19. 5.

2 Therefore heere it must be remembred, that whatsoeuer authoritie or dignity the holy Ghost in the Scripture giueth either to the priestes or to the Prophets, or to the Apostles, or to the successors of the Apostles, all that same is giuen, not properly to the men themselues, but to the ministerie ouer which they are appointed, or (to speake it more plainly in one worde) whereof the ministerie is committed to them. For if we go through them all in order, we shall not finde that they had any authority to teach or to answer, but in the name and word of the Lord. For when they are called to the office, it is also enioyned them, that they shoulde bring nothing of themselves, but speake out of the mouth of the Lorde. And hee himselfe doth not bring them forth to be heard of the people, before that he haue giuen them instructions what they ought to speake, to the intent that they should speake nothing beside his worde. *Moses* himselfe, the prince of all the prophets, was to be heard about the rest: but he was first instructed with his commandements, that he might not declare any thing at all, but from the Lorde. Therefore it is saide, that the people when they embraced his doctrine, beleueed in God, and in his seruant *Moses*. Also that the authoritie of the Priestes should not grow in contempt, it was stablished with most grieuous

All the priests authoritie depended wholly vpon him whose priestes they were.

Exod. 34.

Exod. 14. 31.

Deut. 16. 9.

uous

Cap.8. Of the outward meanes

Mal.2.4.&6.

uous penalties. But therewithall the Lord sheweth vpon what condition they were to be heard, when he saith that he hath made his couenant with *Leui*, that the lawe of truth should be in his mouth. And a litle after he addeth: The lips of the priest shall keepe knowledge, & they shall require the law at his mouth: because he is the angell of the God of hosts. Therefore if the priest wil be heard, let him shew himselfe the messenger of God: that is, let him faithfully report the commandements that he receiued of his author. And where it is specially entreated of the hearing of them, this is expressly set, That they may answer according to the law of God.

Deut.17.10.

The power of prophesie consisted in deliuering that which God had giuē them in charge. Ezc.3.17.

3 What manner of power the prophets generally had, is very well described in *Ezechiel*: Thou son of man (saith the Lord) I haue giuen thee to be a watchman to the house of *Israel*. Therefore thou shalt heare the word out of my mouth, and thou shalt declare it to them from me. He that is commanded to heare out of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to inuent any thing of himselfe? But what is to declare from the Lord, but so to speake as he may boldly boast, that it is not his own, but the Lords word that he hath brought? The selfe same thing 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 word speake my word true. Certainly he appointeth a lawe to them all. And that is such, that he permiteth not any to teach more than he is commanded. And after he calleth it chaffe, all that is not from himselfe onely. Therefore none of the Prophets the *Ielues* opened his mouth, but as the Lord told him the words before. Whereupon these sayings are so oft found among them: the word of the Lord, the burden of the Lord, so saith the Lord, the mouth of the Lord hath spoken. And worthily. For *Esaie* cried out that he had defiled lips. *Ieremie* confessed that he could not speake, because he was a childe: What could proceede from the defiled mouth of the one, and the foolish mouth of the other, but vnclene and vnwise, if they had spoken their owne speech? But his lips were holy and pure, when they began to be the instruments of the holy Ghost. When the Prophets are bounde with this religion, that they deliuer nothing, but that which they haue receiued, then they bee garnished with notable power and excellent titles. For when the Lord testifieth, that he hath set them ouer nations and kingdomes, to plucke vp and to roote out, to destroy and plucke downe, to bulde and to plant, he by and by adioyneth the cause: because he hath put his words in their mouth.

Hier.23.28.

Esa.6.5.
Ioh.1.6.

Esa.6.5.
Icr.1.6.

Icr.1.10.

The apostles aushoritie restrained & limited within the boundes of his commandement which gaue them aushoritie. Matt.28.9.

4 Now if you looke to the Apostles: they are indeede commended with manie and notable titles, that they are the light of the worlde, and the salt of the earth, that they are to bee heard in steed of Christ, that whatsoever they binde or loose in earth shall be bound or loosed in heauen. But in their verie name they shewe how much is permitted them in their office: that is, if they be apostles, that they shoulde not prate whatsoever they list: but shoulde faithfully report his commandements from whom they are sent. And the words of christ are plaine enough, in which he hath determined their embassage: when he commanded them to go & teach all nations, all those things that he had commanded. Yea, and he himselfe also receiued this law, and laid it vpon himselfe, that it should be lawfull for no man to refuse it. My doctrine (saith he) is not mine, but his that sent mee, my fathers. Hee that was alway the onely and eternall counsellor of the father, and he that was appointed by the father the Lord & schoolmaster of all men, yet because he executed the ministerie of teaching, prescribed by his owne example to all ministers, what rule they ought to follow in teaching. Therefore the power of the Church is not infinite, but subiect to the word of the Lorde, and as it were enclosed in it.

Ioh.7.16.

now a signature
in finite.

The ancient patriarches and fathers taught by Christ.

5 But sith this hath from the beginning been of force in the church, and at this day ought to be in force, that the seruants of God shoulde teach nothing which they haue not learned of him: yet according to the diuersitie of times they haue diuers orders of learning. But that order which is nowe, much differeth from those that were

were

were before. First if it be true which Christ saith, that none hath seene the Father, but the Sonne, and he to whom it hath pleased the Sonne to shew him, it behooued verily that they should be alway directed by the eternal wisdom of the father, which would come to the knowledge of God. For how should they either haue comprehended in minde, or vttered the mysteries of God, but by his teaching, to whome alone the secrets of the Father are open? Therefore the holy fathers in olde time knewe God no otherwise 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 himselfe to men but by the Sonne, that is, his only wisdom, light and truth. Out of this fountaine did *Adam, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob,* and the other draw all the knowledge that they had of heauenly doctrine. Out of the same fountaine haue also all the Prophets themselves drawn all the heauenly Oracles that they vttered. For verily this wisdom hath alway disclosed it selfe by moe waies than one. To the Patriarches he vsed secret reuelations: but therewithall to confirme their mindes, he adioyned such signes, that it could not be doubtfull to them, that it was God that spake. The Patriarches conueyed ouer from hand to hand to posteritie, that which they had receiued. For the Lorde left it with them to this intent, that they should so spread it abroad. But the children and childrens children, by God secretly informing them, did knowe that that which they heard was from heauen, and not from the earth.

6 But when it pleased God, to raise a more apparant forme of a Church he willed to haue his worde put in writing and noted, that the priests should fetch from thence what they might deliuer to the people, and that all the doctrine that should be taught should be tried by that rule. Therefore after the publishing of the lawe, when the priestes are commaunded to teach out of the mouth of the Lord, the meaning is, that they should teach nothing strange or differing from that kind of learning, which the Lorde comprehended in the lawe: and to adde and diminish was vnlawfull for them. Then followed the Prophets, by whome in deece the Lord published newe Oracles to be added to the lawe: but yet not so new, but that they came out of the Lawe, and had respect vnto it: For, as touching doctrine, they were onely expositors of the lawe, and added nothing vnto it, but prophecies of things to come. Those excepted, they vttered nothing else but a pure exposition of the law. Because it pleased the Lord that there should be a plainer and larger doctrine, that weake consciences might be the better satisfied: he commaunded that the Prophecies also should be put in writing, and accounted part of his word. And hereunto were added the histories, which are also the works of the Prophets, but made by the ending of the holy ghost. I reckon the Psalmes among the Prophecies, because that which we attribute to the Prophecies is also common to the Psalmes. Therefore that whole body compacted of the lawe, prophecies, psalmes and histories, was the worde of the Lorde to the olde people, by the rule whereof the priestes and teachers euen vnto Christs time were bound to examine their doctrine: neither was it lawfull for them to swaue either to the right hand or to the left: because al their office was inclosed within these bounds, 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 mindfull of the lawe, and

to giue heede to it, euen to the preaching of the Gospell. For thereby he forbiddeth them all new found doctrines, and graunteth them no leaue to swaue neuer so little out of the way which *Moses* had faithfully shewed them. And this is the reason why *David* so honourably setteth out the excellencie of the lawe, and rehearseth so many praises of it: that is, that the Iewes should couet no forren thing without it, sith within it was all perfection inclosed.

7 Euen when at last the wisdom of God was openly shewed in the flesh, that same wisdom with full mouth declared vnto vs all that euer can with mans wit be comprehended, or ought to be thought concerning the heauenly Father. Now there-

Mat. 11. 27.

Mala. 2. 7.

*Great part of
Eim (Part by
in and E*

*The doctrine which
Christe taught the
fathers without
booke, in the law
committed vnto
writing: upon
the law the pro-
phets grounded
their doctrine.*

Mal. 4. 4.

*Christ manifested
in the flesh hath
added the last
book to the reue-
lation of truth.*

fore,

Cap. 8. Of the outward meanes

fore, since Christ the son of righteousnes hath shined, we haue a perfect brightnesse of the truth of God, such as the cleerenesse is wont to be at mid-day, when the light was before but dim. For verily the Prophet meant not to speake of any meane thing, when he wrote that God in olde time spake diuersly and many waies to the fathers by the Prophets: but that in these last daies he began to speake to vs by his beloued Sonne. For he signifieth, yea he openly declareth, that God will not here after, as he did before, speake sometime by some, and sometime by other, nor will adde Prophecies to Prophecies, or reuelations to reuelations: but that he hath so fulfilled all the partes of teaching in the Sonne, that they must haue this of him for the last and eternall testimone. After which sort all this time of the new Testament wherein Christ hath appeared to vs with the preaching of his Gospell euen to the day of iudgement, is expressed by the last houre, the last times, the last daies: to the end verily that contented with the perfection of the doctrine of Christ, we should learne neither to faine vs any new beside it, or receiue it fained of other. Therefore not without cause the Father hath by singular prerogatiue ordained the Sonne to be our teacher: commanding him, and not any man, to be heard. He did in deede in few words set out his schoole-mastership vnto vs, when he said, Hear him: but in which there is more weight and force than men commonly thinke. For it is as much in effect, as if leading vs away from all doctrines of men, he should bring vs to him only, and command vs to looke for all the doctrine of saluation at him alone, to hang vpon him alone, to cleaue to him alone, finally (as the very words doe sound) to harken to the voice of him alone. And truly what ought there now to bee either looked for or desired at the hande of man, when the very word of life hath familiarly and openly disclosed himselfe vnto vs? Yea but it is meete that the mouthes of all men be shut, after that he, in whome the heavenly Father willed to haue all the treasures of knowledge and wisdom to bee hidden, hath once spoken, and so spoken as became both the wisdom of God (which is in no part vnperfect) and *Messias* at whose hand the reuelation of all things is hoped for: that is to say, that he left nothing afterwarde for other to be spoken.

8 Let this therefore be a stedfast principle: that there is to be had no other word of God, whereunto place should be giuen in the Church, than that which is contained first in the lawe and the prophets, and then in the writings of the Apostles: and that there is no other manner of teaching rightly, but according to the prescription and rule of that worde. Hereupon also we gather, that there was no other thing graunted to the Apostles, but that which the prophets had had in olde time: that is, that they should expounde the olde Scripture, and shew that those things that are therein taught are fulfilled in Christ: and yet that they should not doe the same but of the Lord, that is to say, the spirite of Christ going before them, and after a certaine manner enditing wordes vnto them. For Christ limited their embassage with this condition when he commaunded them to goe and teach, not such things as they themselves had rashly forged, but all those things that he had commaunded them, and nothing could be more plainly spoken, than that which he saith in another place: but be not ye called maisters, for onely one is your maister, Christ. Then, to imprint this more deeply in their minde, he repeateth it twise in the same place. And because their rudenesse was such, that they could not conceiue those things that they had heard and learned of the mouth of their maister, therefore the spirite of truth is promised them by whome they shoulde be directed to the true vnderstanding of all things. For that same restraining is to be diligently noted, where this office is assigned to the holy Ghost, to put them in minde of all those things that hee before taught them by mouth.

9 Therefore *Peter* who was very well taught howe much hee might lawfully doe, leaue nothing either to himselfe or other, but to distribute the doctrine deliuered of God. Let him that speaketh (saith he) speake as the wordes of God, that

Heb. 1. 1.

Math. 17. 5.

Iohn. 4. 25.

*The written word
the onely rule of
sound teaching.*

Mat. 28. 10.

Mat. 23. 8.

Iohn. 14. 26.
& 16. 13.

*No other ground
the scripture
either for men
particularly, or*

is to say, not doubtingly, as they are wont to tremble whose owne conscience misgiueeth them, but with sure confidence, which becommeth the seruant of God furnished with assured instructions. What other thing is this, but to forbid auenutions of mans minde, from what head soeuer they haue proceeded, that the pure word of God may be heard and learned in the Church of the faithfull? to take away the ordinances or rather the feined deuises of all men, of what degree soeuer they bee, that the decrees of God onely may remaine in force? These bee those spirituall armoures, mightie through God to cast down holds: by which the faithfull seruants of God may throw downe counsels, and all height that aduanceth it selfe against the knowledge of god, and may lead all knowledge captiue to obey Christ. Lo this is the soueraigne power, wherewith it behooueth the Pastors of the Church to be endued, by what name soeuer they be called, that is, that by the worde of God they may with confidence bee bolde to do all things: may compell all the strength, glorie, wisdom and height of the worlde to yeelde and obey to his maiestie: being vpholden by his power, may command all euen from the highest to the lowest: may build vp the house of Christ and pull downe the house of satan: may feed the sheepe & driue away the wolues: may instruct & exhort the willing to learne: may reprove, rebuke and subdue the rebellious & stubborne: may binde, & loose: finally may thunder and lighten, if need be: but all things in the worde of God. Howbeit there is, as I haue saide, this difference betweene the Apostles and their successors, that the Apostles were the certaine & authentike secretaries of the holy Ghost, and therefore their writings are to be esteemed for the oracles of God: but the other haue none other office, but to teach that which is set forth & written in the holy Scriptures. We determine therefore, that this is not now left to faithfull ministers, that they may coine any new doctrine, but that they ought simple to cleaue to the doctrine, wherunto the Lord hath made all men without exception subiect. When I say this, my meaning is not onely to shew what is lawfull for all particular men, but also what is lawfull for the whole vniuersall Church. Now as touching all particular men: *Paul* verily was ordeined by the Lorde Apostle to the Corinthians: but he denieth that he hath dominion ouer their faith. Who now dare take a dominion vpon himselfe, which *Paul* testifieth that it belonged not to him? If he had acknowledged himself to haue this liberty of teaching, that whatsoeuer the Pastor teacheth he may therein of right require to be beleued: he would neuer haue taught the Corinthians this discipline, that while two or three prophets speak, the rest should iudge, & if it were reuealed to any that saie, the first should hold his peace. For so he spared none, whose authority he made not subiect to the iudgment of the word of God. But, wil som mā say, of the whole vniuersal church the case is otherwise. I answer that in another place *Paul* meeteth with this doubt also, where he saith, that faith is by hearing, & hearing by the word of God. Truly, if faith hang of the word of God onely, hath respect vnto & resteth vpon it alone, what place is there nowe left to the word of the whole world? For herein no man may doubt that hath wel known what faith is. For Faith ought to be staied vpon such assurednesse, whereby it may stande inuincible against Saren, and all the engines of the hels, and against the whole worlde. This assurednes we shall no where finde but in the onely worde of God. Againe, it is a generall rule which wee heere ought to haue respect vnto: that God doth therefore take from men the power to set forth a newe doctrine, that hee onely may be our schoolemaster in heauenly learning, as hee onely is true which can neither lie nor deceiue. This rule belongeth no lesse to the whole Church than to euerie one of the faithfull.

10 But if this power of the Church, which we haue spoken of, be compared with that power, wherof the spirituall tyrants, that haue falsly called themselves Bishops and Prelates of Religion, haue in certaine ages past boasted themselves among the people of God, the agreement shall be no better than Christ hath with

for the whole bodie
of the church to
build vpon.
1. Pet. 4. 21.
2. Cor. 10. 4.

2. Cor. 1. 14.

1. Cor. 14 19.

Rom. 10.

Their tyrannie
who binde the
world to beleuee
whatsoeuer plea-
seth them to teach.

Belial. Yet it is not in this place my purpose to declare in what sort and with how wicked meanes they have exercised their tyranny: I wil but rehearse the doctrine, which at this day they defend, first with writings, and then with Iword and fire. Because they take it for a thing confessed, that a generall Councell is the true image of the Church, when they haue taken this principle, they do without doubt determine, that such councils are immediately governed of the holy Ghost, and that therefore they cannot erre. But whereas they themselves do rule the councils, yea and make them, they do indeed challenge to themselves whatsoever they affirme to be due to the councils. Therefore they wil haue our faith to stand and fall at their wil that whatsoever they shall determine on the one side or the other, may be stablished & certaine to our mindes: so that if they allow any thing we must allow the same without doubting: if they condemne any thing we must also hold it for condemned. In the meane time after their owne lust, and despising the word of God, they coine doctrines, to which afterward they require by this rule to haue faith giuen. For they also say that he is no Christian, that doth not certainly consent to all their doctrines as well affirmatiue as negatiue: if not with expressed yet with vnexpressed faith: because it is in the power of the Church to make new articles of the Faith.

Promises made to the Church abused to bolster up a most unchristianfull power in the Church.

II First let vs heare by what arguments they prooue that this authoritie is giuen to the Church: and then we shall see how much that maketh for them which they alleage of the Church. The Church (say they) hath notable promises, that it shall neuer be forsaken of Christ her spouse, but that it shall be guided by his spirit into all truth. But of the promises which they are wont to alleage, many are giuen no lesse to euery one of the faithful particularly, than to the whole Church vniuersally. For though the Lord spake to the twelue Apostles, when he said: Behold I am with you euen to the end of the world: Againe: I will aske my father, and he shall giue you an other comforter, namely the Spirit of truth: yet he made the promise not only to the whole number of the twelue, but also to euery one of them: yea to the other disciples likewise, either those that he had already receiued, or those that should afterward be added to them. But when they expound such promises full of singular comfort, as though they were giuen to none of the Christians, but to the whole Church together: what do they else, but take away from all Christians that confidence which they all ought to receiue thereby to encourage them? Yet I do not here deny, but that the whole fellowship of the faithfull furnished with manifold diuersitie of gifts, is endued with much larger and more plentifull treasure of the heauenly wisdom, than each one severally: neither is it my meaning, that this is spoken in common to the faithful, as though they were all alike endued with the spirit of vnderstanding and doctrine: but because it is not to be graunted to the aduersaries of Christ, that they should for the defence of an euill cause wrest the Scripture to a wrong sense. But, omitting this, I simply confesse that which is true, that the Lord is perpetually present with his, and ruleth them with his spirit. And that this spirit is not the spirit of error, ignorance, lying or darkenes: but of sure reuelation, wisdom, truth, and light, of whom they not deceitfully may learne those things that are giuen them, that is to say, what is the hope of their calling, and what be the riches of the glorie of the inheritance of God in the Saints. But whereas the faithfull, euen they that are endued with more excellent giftes aboue the rest, do in this flesh receiue onely the first fruits and a certaine taste of that Spirit: there remaineth nothing better to them than knowing their owne weakenes, to hold themselves carefully within the bounds of the worde of God: least, if they wander farre after their owne sense, they by and by stray out of the right way, insomuch as they be yet void of that spirit, by whose onely teaching truth is discerned from falshood. For all men do confesse with *Paul*, that they haue not yet attained to the marke. Therefore they more endeouour to daily profiting, than glorie of perfection.

Mat. 28. 20.
Ioh. 1. 14. 19.

1. Cor. 1. 12.

Eph. 1. 18.

Phil. 3. 11.

12 But they will take exception, and say that whatsoever is particularly attributed to every one of the holy ones, the same doth thoroughly and fully belong to the Church it selfe. Although this hath some seeming of truth, yet I deny it to be true. God doth indeed so distribute to every one of the members the gift of his spirit by measure, that the whole body wanteth nothing necessarie, when the giftes are given in common. But the riches of the Church are alway such, that there euer wanteth much of that highest perfection, which our aduersaries doe boast of. Yet the Church is not therefore so left destitute in any behalfe, but that the alway hath so much as is enough. For the Lord knoweth what her necessitie requireth. But, to hold her vnder humilitie and godly modestie, he giueth her no more than he knoweth to be expedient. I know what here also they are wont to obiekt, that is, that the Church is cleansed with the washing of water in the word of life, that it might be without wrinkle and spot, and that therefore 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 dayly worketh in it, than what he hath already done. For if he dayly sanctifieth, purgeth, polisheth, wipeth from spots all them that be his: truly it is certaine that they are yet besprinkled with some spots and wrinkles, and that there wanteth somewhat of their sanctification. But how vaine and fabulous is it, to iudge the Church already in euery part holy and spotles, whereof all the members are spotty and very vnclane? It is true therefore that the Church is sanctified of Christ. But onely the beginning of that sanctifying is here seene: but the end and full accomplishment shall be, when Christ the holiest of holy ones shall truly and fully fill it with his holines. It is true also that the spots and wrinkles of it are wiped away: but so that they be dayly in wiping away, vnill Christ with his comming doe vterly take away all that remaineth. For vnlesse we grant this, we must of necessitie affirme with the Pelagians, that the righteousnes of the Faithfull is perfect in this life: and with the Cathari and Donatists we must suffer no infirmities in the Church. The other place, as we haue else where seene, hath a sense vtterlie differing from that which they pretend. For when *Paul* hath instructed *Timothee*, and framed him to the true office of a Bishop, he saith that he did it to this purpose, that he should know how he ought to behaue himselfe in the Church. And that hee should with the greater religiousnes & endeuor bend himselfe thereunto, he addeth that the Church is the very pillar and stay of truth. For what else doe these words meane, but that the truth of God is preserved in the Church, namely by the ministry of preaching? As in another place he teacheth, that Christ gaue Apottles, Pastors, and Teachers, that we should no more be carried about with euery winde of doctrine, or be mocked of men: but that being enlightened with the true knowledge of the Sonne of God, we should altogether meete in vnitie of Faith. Whereas therefore the truth is not extinguished in the world, but remaineth safe, that same commeth to passe because it hath the Church a faithfull keeper of it, by whose helpe and ministerie it is sustained. But if this keeping standeth in the ministry of the Prophets and Apottles, it followeth that it hangeth wholly hereupon, if the word of the Lorde be faithfullie preserved and doe keepe his puritie.

13 But that the readers may better vnderstand, vpon what point this question chiefly standeth, I will in few words declare what our aduersaries require, and where in we stand against them. Where they say that the Church can not erre, it tendeth hereunto, and thus they expound it, that forasmuch as it is governed by the Spirit of God, it may goe safely without the word: that whithersoever it goeth, it cannot think nor speake any thing but truth: that therefore if it determine any thing without or beside Gods word, the same is no otherwise to be esteemed than as a certaine oracle of God. If we graunt that first point, that the Church can not erre in things necessarie to saluation, this is our meaning, that this is therefore because forsaking all hir owne wisdom, she suffereth her selfe to be taught of the holy Ghost

The Church not so perfect by vertue of any promise made vnto it but that still it remaineth in this world subiect as to other infirmities so to error.

Eph. 5.25.
1.Tim. 3.15.

Eph. 4.11.

The drift of the Church of Rome in maineining that the Church cannot erre.

by the worde of God. This therefore is the difference. They set the authoritie of the Church without the worde of God, but we will that it be annexed to the word, and suffer it not to be seuered from it. And what maruel is it, if the spouse and scholler of Christ be subiect to her husband and schoolemaster, that she continually and earnestly hangeth of his mouth? For this is the order of a well gouerned house, that the wife shoulde obey the authoritie of the husbände: and this is the rule of a well ordered schoole, that the teaching of the schoolemaster alone should there be heard. Wherefore let the Church not be wife of her selfe, nor thinke any thing of her selfe: but determine the end of her wisdom where he hath made an end of speaking. After this maner she shall also distrust all the inuentions of her owne reason: but in those things wherein it standeth vpon the word of God, she shall wauer with no distrustfulness or doubting, but shall rest with great assurednes and stedfast constancie. So also trusting vpon the largenesse of those promises that she hath, she shall haue whereupon abundantly to sustaine her faith: that she may nothing doubt that the best guide of the right way, the holy spirit, is alway present with her: but therewithall she shall keepe in memorie what vsē the Lord would haue vs to receiue of his holy spirit. The spirit (saith he) which I will send from my father shall lead you into all truth. But how? because (saith he) he shall put you in mind of all those things that I haue told you. Therefore he giueth warning that there is nothing more to be looked for of his spirit, but that he should enlighten our mindes to perceiue the truth of his doctrine. Therefore *Chrysofome* saith excellently well. Many (saith he) do boast of the holy spirit: but they which speake their owne do falsly pretende that they haue him. As Christ testified that he spake not of himselfe: because he spake out of the law and the Prophets: so if any thing beside the Gospell be thrust in vnder the title of the spirit, let vs not beleue it, because as Christ is the fulfilling of the law and the Prophets: so is the spirit, of the gospell. These be his words. Now it is easie to gather how wrongfully our aduersaries do, which boast of the holy Ghost to no other end but to set forth vnder his name strange and forraine doctrines from the word of God, whereas hee will with vspeakable knot be conioined with the word of God, and the same doth Christ professe of him when he promiseth him to his Church. So is it truly. What sobrietie the Lord hath once prescribed to his Church, the same he will haue to be perpetually kept. But he hath forbidden her, that she should not adde any thing to his word, nor take any thing from it. This is the inuiolable decree of God and of the holy Ghost, which our aduersaries go about to abrogate, when they saine that the Church is ruled of the spirit without the word.

14 Heere againe they murmure against vs, and say that it behooued that the Church should adde some things to the writings of the Apostles, or that they themselves should afterward with liuely voice supply many things which they had not clearly enough taught, namely sith Christ said vnto them. I haue many things to be said to you, which you cannot now beare, and that these be the ordinances, which without the scripture haue beene receiued onely in vsē and maner. But what thamelesnesse is this? I grant the disciples were yet rude, and in a manner vnapt to learne, when the Lorde said this vnto them. But were they then also holden with such dulnes, when they did put their doctrine in writing, that they afterward needed to supply with liuely voice that which they had by fault of ignorance omitted in their writings? But if they were already lead by the spirit of truth into all truth when they did set forth their writings: what hindered that they haue not therein contained and left written a perfect knowledge of the doctrine of the Gospell? But go to: let vs graunt them that which they require. Only let them point out what be those things that it behooued to be reuealed without writing. If they dare enterprise that, I will assaile them with *Augustines* words: that is, When the Lord had said nothing of them, which of vs dare say, these they be, or those they be? or if any dare say so, wherby doth he prouoe

Iohn. 16. 7. & 13.

Serm. de sancto
& ador. Spiritu.
Ioh. 12. 50. &
14. 10.In doctrine no-
thing to be added
by the Church vn-
to that which the
Apostles haue left
in writing.
Iohn. 16. 2.Hom. in
Iohn 96.

it? But why doe I strive about a superfluous matter? For a very child doth know, that in the writings of the Apostles, which these men doe make in a manner lame and but halfe perfect, there is the fruite of that regulation which the Lorde did then promise them.

15 What? say they, did not Christ put out of cōtrouersie whatsoever the Church teacheth and decreeth, when he commandeth him to be taken for a heathen man and a Publicane that dare say against her? First in that place is no mention made of doctrine, but onely the authoritie of the censures is established for correcting of vices, that they which haue beene admonished or rebuked should not resist his iudgement. But omitting this, it is much maruell, that these losels haue so little shame, that they dare be proud of that place. For what shall they get thereby, but that the consent of the Church is neuer to be despised, which neuer consenteth but vnto the truth of the word of God? The Church is to be heard, say they. Who denieth it? forasmuch as it pronounceth nothing but out of the word of the Lord. If they require any more let them know that these words of Christ doe nothing take their part therein. Neither ought I to be thought too much contentious because I stand so earnestly vpon this point, That it is not lawfull for the Church to make any new doctrine, that is, to teach and deliuer for an Oracle any more than that which the Lord hath reuealed by his word. For men of sound wit doe see how great danger there is, if so great authoritie be once graunted to men. They see also how wide a window is opened to the mockings and caullations of the wicked, if we say that that which men haue iudged is to be taken for an Oracle among Christians. Beside that, Christ speaking according to the consideration of his owne time, giueth this name to the Synagoge, that his disciples should afterward learne to reuerence holy assemblies of the church. So should it come to passe that euery Citie and village should haue equall authoritie in coyning of doctrines.

16 The examples which they vse, doe nothing helpe them. They say that the Baptising of infantes, proceeded not so much from the expresse commandement of the Scripture as from the decree of the Church. But it were a very miserable succour, if we were compelled to flee to the bare authoritie of the Church for defence of the Baptesime of infantes: but it shall in another place sufficiently appeare that it is far otherwise. Likewise whereas they obiekt that that is no where found in the Scripture, which was pronounced in the *Niceene* Synode, that the Sonne is consubstantiall with the Father: therein they doe great wrong to the fathers, as though they had rashly condemned *Arius*, because he would not sweare to their words, when he professed all that doctrine which is comprehended in the writings of the Prophetes, and Apostles. This word, I grant, is not in the Scripture: but when therein is so oft affirmed, that there is but one God; againe, Christ is so oft called the true and eternall God, one with the Father: what other thing doe the Fathers of the *Niceene* Council when they declare that he is of one substance, but simply set out the naturall sense of the Scripture? But *Theodorite* reporteth that *Constantine* vsed this preface in their assembly, In disputations (saith he) of Diuine matters, there is a prescribed doctrine of the holy Ghost: the Bookes of the Gospels and of the Apostles, with the Oracles of the Prophetes, doe fully shew vs the meaning of God. Therefore laying away discord, let vs take the discussing of questions out of the wordes of the Spirit. There was at that time no man that spake against these holy monitions. No man tooke exception, that the Church might adde somewhat of her owne: that the Spirit reuealed not all things to the Apostles, or at least vttered them not to those that came after: or any such thing. If it be true which our aduersaries would haue: first, *Constantine* did euill, that tooke from the Church her authoritie: then, whereas none of the Bishops at that time rose vp to defend it, this was not without breach of their Faith? for so they were betrayes of the right of the Church. But sith *Theodorite* rehearseth that

*The Church not
authorised to coine
new doctrines, be-
cause Christ doth
number them with
heathens that de-
spise the iudg-
ment of the
Church.
Mat. 18. 17.*

*Baptizing of in-
fantes and the con-
substantialitie of
Christ with God
the Father, are not
warranted by the
sole authoritie of
the Church, but
haue their suffici-
ent grounds in
Scripture.*

*Hmo. Eccle. lib.
1. cap. 5.*

Cap. 9. Of the outward meanes

they willingly embraced that which the Emperour saide, it is certaine that this new doctrine was then vterly vnknown.

The ix. Chapter.

Of Councils and of their authoritie.

A protestation concerning the estimation of Councils.

NOW, although I graunt them all things concerning the Church: yet they shall thereby not much preuaile for their intent. For whatsoever is said of the Church, the same they by and by giue to the Councils, forasmuch as in their opinion those represent the Church. Yea, where they so stiffly contend for the power of the church, they do it of no other purpose, but to giue all that they can get to the Bishop of Rome and his garde. But ere I beginne to discusse this question, I must needs here make protestation of two things aforesaid. First, that where I shall in this point be somewhat rough, it is not because I lesse esteeme the olde Councils than I ought to doe. For I reuerence them from my heart, and wish them to be had in their due honor with all men. But herein is some mean, that is, that there be nothing withdrawn from Christ. Now this is the right of Christ, to be the head in all Councils, and to haue no man fellow with him in this dignity. But I say that then only he is the head, when he governeth the whole assembly with his word and spirit. Secondly, whereas I giue lesse to Councils than the aduersaries require. I doe not for this cause that I am afraid of the Councils, as though they did make for their side, and were against ours. For as we are abundantly furnished with the word of the Lord to the full proofe of our doctrine fully, and to the ouerthrow of the whole Papisitie that we neede not much to desire any other thing beside it: so if the matter require, the olde Councils do for a great part minister vnto vs so much as may suffice for both.

Christ in the midst of Councils but not except they be gathered in his name.
Marc. 18. 20.

2 Now let vs speake of the thing it selfe. If it be sought of the Scriptures, what is the authoritic of Councils: there is no plainer promise than in this saying of Christ: Where two or three shall be gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them. But that doth no lesse belong to euery particular assembly than to a generall Council. But the doubt of the question standeth not therein: but because there is a condition added, that God will so onely be in the midst of the Council, if it be gathered together in his name. Therefore although our aduersaries do a thousand times name Councils of Bishops, they shall little preuaile: neither shall they make vs to beleue that which they affirme, that is, that they be governed of the holy Ghost, vntill they haue prooued that they are gathered together in the name of Christ. For it is as possible that wicked and euill Bishops may conspire against Christ, as good and honest bishops may come together in his name. For a verie cleere proofe hereof are many decrees that haue proceeded from such Councils. But this shal be seen hereafter. Now I do but answer in one word that Christ promiseth nothing, but to them that are gathered together in his name. Let vs therefore define what that is. I deny that they be gathered together in the name of Christ, which casting away the commandement of God, wherein he forbiddeth any thing to be added to his word, or taken from it, do decreet euery thing after their owne wil: which being not contented with the Oracles of the Scripture, that is to say the only rule of perfect wisdom, do imagine some new thing of their own head. Surely, sith Christ hath not promised that he will be present at all Councils, but hath adioined a peculiar marke, whereby to make true and lawfull Councils different from other: it is meete that we should not neglect this difference. This is the covenant, which in old time God made with the Leuiticall priests, that they should teach out of his mouth. This he alway required of the prophets: this law also we see to haue bin laid vpō the Apostles. Who so break this covenant, God doth not vouchsafe, to let them haue the honor of priesthood, nor any authority.

Deut. 4. 2.
Reuc. 22. 18.

Mal. 2. 7.

authoritie. Let the aduersaries vndoo me this knot, if they will make my faith bounde to the decrees of men beside the word of God.

3 For whereas they thinke not that truth remaineth in the Church vnlesse it bee among the Pastors: and that the Church it selfe standeth not, vnlesse it appeere in generall Councils: that is farre from hauing beene alway true, if the Prophets haue left vnto vs true testimonies of their owne times. There was in the time of *Esaie* a Church at *Hierusalem*, which God had not yet forsaken. But of the Pastors hee saith thus: The watchmen are all blinde, neither know they any thing. They are all dum dogs, neither are they able to bark. They lie along and sleepe, and loue sleeping: and the pastors themselues know nothing, nor do vnderstande: and they doe altogether looke backe vnto their owne waies. After the same maner *Osee* saith: The watchman of *Ephraim* with God, the snare of the fouler, hatred in the house of God. Where ioyning them with God by way of mockage, hee teacheth that their pretence of the priesthoode is vaine. The Church also endured vnto the time of *Hieremie*. Let vs heare what he saith of the Pastors. From the prophet euen to the priest, euerie one followeth lying. Againe: The prophets do prophecie a lie in my name, when I haue not sent them nor commanded them. And least we shoulde bee too long in reciting his words, let those things be read that he hath written in the whole xxij. and xl. Chapters. At that time on the other side *Ezechiel* did no more gently inuey against the same men. The conspiracie (saith he) of the prophets in the mids of hir as a roaring lion, & that violently taketh his pray. Her priests haue broken my lawe, and haue defiled my holy things, and haue made no difference betweene holy and prophane: and the rest that he adioyneth to the same effect. Like complaints are euery where in the prophets, so that nothing is offer found in them.

4 But perhaps it might be that th it was so among the Iewes: but our age is free from so great an euill. I would to God indeed it were so: but the holy Ghost hath giuen warning that it shall be farre otherwise. The wordes of *Peter* are plaine. As (saith he) there were in the old people false prophets, so shall there also bee among you false teachers, slily bringing in sectes of perdition, see you not howe hee saith, that there is danger to come, not by men of the common people, but by them that shall boast themselues with the title of teachers and pastors? Moreouer howe oft hath it bene forespoken by Christ and his apostles, that there shoulde very great dangers hang ouer the Church by the pastors? Yea, *Paul* plainly sheweth, that Antichrist shall sit in no other place than in the temple of God. Whereby hee signifieth, that the horrible calamitie of which he there speaketh, shall come from no where else but from them that shall sit in steed of pastors in the church. And in another place he sheweth, that the beginnings of so great a mischiefe are euen already neere at hande. For when he speaketh to the bishop of *Ephesus*, I know (saith he) that after my departure there shall enter into you rauening wolues not sparing the flocke. And they shall be of your own selues, that shall speake peruerse things, to lead away disciples after them. How much corruption might a long course of yeeeres bring among pastors, when they coulde so farre go out of kinde in so small a space of time? And, not to fill much paper with rehearsing them by name: we are admonished by the examples in a maner of all ages, that neither the truth is alway nourished in the bosome of the pastors, nor the safetie of the Church doth hang vpon their state. They ought indeed to haue beene the gouernors and keepers of the peace and safetie of the Church, for preferuation whereof, they are ordeined: but it is one thing for a man to performe that which hee ought, and another thing to owe that which he performeth not.

5 Yet let no man take these our wordes in such part, as though I woulde euerie where and rashly without any choise diminish the authoritie of Pastors. I do but onely admonish that euen among pastors themselues there is a choise to be had, that wee shoulde not immediately thinke them to be pastors that are so called. But the

Truth may be in the Church although the pastors of the church bee corrupt as in the times of the Prophets they were.
Esaie 56. 10.

Osee 9. 8.

Hier. 6. 13.
Hier. 14. 4.

Ezc. 22. 25.

That which was in the first may be also in the last daies of the church, and is.
2. Pet. 2.

Matt. 24. 11. & 24. 2.
Thes. 2. 4.

AQ. 20. 19.

Bishops in the Church of Rome presuming vpon their titles as if God coulde not

strike them now
with amased dul-
ness as well as o-
thers in the olde
world.

Zach. 12. 4.

Hier. 18. 18.

The blinde priests
and false prophets
that were of olde
being assembled in
a counsell together
might no doubt
haue erred, & did.

Hier. 4. 9.

Ezech. 7. 26.

Mich. 3. 6.

1. King 22. 5.

& 22.

A counsell of Bi-
shops & pharisees
assembled together
against Christ in
Ierusalem.

Iohn. 11. 47.

2. Thel. 2. 3.

How farre coun-
cels to be recei-
ued.

Pope with all his flocke of bishops, vpon none other reason, but because they are called Pastors, shaking away the obedience of the word of God, do tumble and tosse all things after their owne lust: and in the meane time they trauaile to perswade, that they cannot be destitute of the light of truth, that the spirit of God perpetually abideth in them, that the church consisteth in them and dieth with them. As though there be now no iudgements of the Lord, whereby he may punish the world at this day with the same kinde of punishment, wherewith sometime he tooke vengeance of the vnthankfulnes of the old people, that is, to strike the pastors with blindness and amased dulnesse. Neither do they most foolish men vnderstand, that they sing the same song, which those in old time did sing that warred against the word of God. For the enemies of *Hieremie* did thus prepare themselves against the trueth: Come, and we will imagine imaginations against *Hieremie*: forasmuch as the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsell from the wise man, nor the word from the prophet.

6 Hereby it is easie to answere to that other obiection concerning generall coun-
cels. It can not be denied but that the Iewes had a true Church in the time of the prophets. But if there had then beene a generall counsell gathered together of the priests, what maner face of the church had there appeared? We heare what God saith, not to one or two of them but to the whole order: The priests shall be astonied, and the prophets shall be made afraide. Againe, the law shall perish from the priest, and counsell from the Elders. Againe, Night shall be to you in steede of a vision, and darknesse in steede of prophecyng: and the sunne shall fall downe vpon the prophets, and be darkened vpon these daies &c. Well: if all such had then beene gathered together in one, what Spirit should haue governed in that assemblie? Of that thing we haue a notable example in that counsell which *Achab* called together. There were present foure hundred prophets. But, because they were come together of no other mind but to flatter the wicked king: therefore Satan was sent of the Lord to be a lying spirit in the mouth of them all. There by all their voices the trueth was condemned. *Micha* was condemned for an heretike, striken and cast in prison: So was done to *Hieremie*, so to the other prophets.

7 But let one example suffice for all, which is more notable than the rest. In that counsell which the bishops & Pharisees gathered at *Ierusalem* against Christ, what can a man say that there wanted, in so much as pertained to the outward shew? For if there had not then beene a Church at *Ierusalem*, Christ would neuer haue communicate with their sacrifices and other ceremonies. There was made a solemne summoning of them together: the high bishop saue as chiefe: the whole order of priests saue by him: yet Christ was there condemned, and his doctrine driuen away. This doing is a prooffe that the Church was not enclosed in that counsell. But there is no perils that any such thing should happen to vs. Who hath giuen vs assurance thereof? For it is not without fault of sluggishnes, to be too careles in so great a matter. But where the holy Ghost doth with expresse words prophecy by the mouth of *Paul*, that there shall come a departing (which cannot come but that the pastors must be the first that shall forsake God) why are we herein wilfully blinde to our own destruction? Wherefore it is in no wise to be granted, that the Church consisteth in the company of pastors, for whome the Lord hath no where yndertaken that they shall perpetually be good, but he hath pronounced that they shall sometime be euill. But when he warneth vs of the danger, he doth it to this intent to make vs the wiser.

8 What then? wilt thou say: Shall the counsels haue no authoritie in determining? Yes forsooth. For neither doe I here argue that all counsels are to be condemned, or all their actes to be repelled, or (as the saying is) to be defaced with one blot. But (thou wilt say to me) thou bringest them all into subiection, that it may be free for euery man to receiue or refuse that which the counsels haue determined.

Not so. But so oft as the decree of any councell is brought forth, I would haue it first to be diligently weighed, at what time it was holden, for what cause it was holden, what manner of men were present: and then the very thing that is intreated of, to be examined by the rule of the scripture: and that in such sort as the determination of the councell may haue his force, and be as a foreiudged sentence, and yet not hinder the aforesaid examination. I would to God all men did keepe that moderation which *Augustine* prescribeth in the third booke against *Maximus*. For when he minded breefly to put to silence this heretike contending about the Decrees of councels: Neither (saith he) 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 another by foreiudged sentence, neither am I bound by the authoritie of the one, nor thou of the other. By authorities of Scriptures, not such as are proper to either one, but such as are common to both, let there striue matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason. So should it come to passe, that councels should haue the maiestie that they ought: but in the meane season the Scripture should be alone in the higher place, that there might be nothing that should not be subiect to the rule thereof. So these olde Synodes, as of *Nice*, of *Constantinople*, the first of *Ephesus*, of *Chalcedon*, and such other, which were holden for confuting of errorrs, we willingly embrace and reuerence as holy, so much as belongeth to the doctrines of faith: for they containe nothing but the pure and naturall exposition of Scripture, which the holy fathers with spirituall wisdom applied to the subduing of the enemies of Religion that then rose vp. In some of the latter councels also, we see to appeare a true zeale of godlinesse, and plaine tokens of wit, learning, and wise dome. But as things are wont commonly to grow to worse, we may see by the latter Councels, how much the Church hath now and then degenerate from the purenesse of that golden age. And I doubt not but that in these corrupter ages also, councels haue had some bishops of the better sort. But in these the same happened which the Senators themselues complained to be not well done in making of ordinances of the senate of *Rome*. For while the sentences are numbred, not weighed, it is of necessitie that oftentimes the better part is ouercome of the greater. Truly they brought forth many wicked sentences. Neither is it here needefull to gather the speciall examples, either because it should be too long, or because other haue done it so diligently, that there cannot much be added.

9 Now, what neede I to rehearse Councels disagreeing with Councels? And it is no cause that any should murmur against me, and say, that of those councels that disagree the one is not lawfull. For, how shall we iudge that? By this, if I be not deceiued, that we shall iudge by the Scriptures, that the decrees thereof are not agreeable with true doctrine. For this is the onely certaine lawe to discern them by. It is now about nine hundred yeares ago, since the Synode of *Constantinople* gathered together vnder *Leo* the Emperour, iudged that images set vp in Churches should be ouerthrowen, and broken in peeces. A little afterward, the councell of *Nice*, which *Frene* the Emperesse assembled in spite of him, decreed that they should be restored. Whether of these two shall we acknowledge for a lawfull Councell? The latter which gaue images a place in Churches, hath preuailed among the people. But *Augustine* saith that that cannot be done without most present perill of idolatrie. *Epiphanius* which was before in time, speaketh much more sharply: for he saith that it is wickednesse and abomination to haue images seene in a Church of Christians. Would they that so speake, allow that councell, if they were alieue at this day? But if both the historians tell truth, and the very actes be beleened, not only images themselues, but also the worshipping of them was there receiued. But it is euident that such a decree came from Satan. How say you to this, that in deprauing and tearing the Scripture, they shew that they made a mocking stocke of it? Which thing I haue before sufficiently made open. Howsoeuer it be, wee shall no otherwise be able to discern be-

*The disagreement
betweene the
councell of Con-
stantinople and
Nice, of Chalce-
don and Ephesus.*

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twene contrarie and disagreeing Synodes, which were many, vnlesse we trie them all by that ballance of all men and Angels, that is, by the worde of the Lorde. So we embrace the Synode of *Chalcedon*, refusing the second Synode of *Ephesus*, because in this latter one the wickednesse of *Eutiches* was confirmed, which the other former condemned. This thing holy men haue iudged none otherwise but by the scripture: whome we so followe in iudging; that the worde of God which gaue light to them doth also now giue light to vs. Nowe let the Romanistes goe and boast, as they are wont, that the Holy Ghost is fastened and bound to their councils.

The great weaknes of the fathers assembled in the councill of Nice against Arrius.

10 Howbeit there is also somewhat which a man may well thinke to be wanting in those ancient and purer councils: either because they that then were at them, being otherwise learned and wise men, wholly bent to the businesse then in hand, did not foresee many other things, or for that many things of lighter importance escaped them being busied with weightier and more earnest matters: or for that simply, as being men they might be deceiued with vnskillfulnesse: or for that they were sometime carried headlong with too much affection. Of this last point (which seemeth 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 woorthie, bene received with most high reuerence. For when the principal article of our faith was there in danger, *Arrius* the enimie was present in readinesse, with whome they must fight hande to hande, and the chiefe importaunce laye in the agreement of them that came prepared to fight against the error of *Arrius*, this notwithstanding, they carelesse of so great dangers, yea, as it were hauing forgotten grauitie, modestie and all humanitie, leauing the battell that they had in hand, as if they had come thither of purpose to doe *Arrius* a pleasure, began to wound themselves with inward dissentions, and to turne against themselves the stile that should haue bene bent against *Arrius*. There were heard foule obiections of crimes, there were scattered books of accusations, & there would haue bene no end made of contentions, vntill they had with mutuall wounds one destroyed another, vnlesse the Emperour *Constantine* had preuented it, which professing that the examining of their life was a matter about his knowledge, and chastised such intemperance rather with praise than with rebuking. How many waies is it credible that the other councils also failed, which followed afterwarde? Nether doth this matter neede long prooffe. For if a man reade ouer the actes of the councils, hee shall note therein many infirmities: though I speake of nothing more grieuous.

The Synode of Chalcedon charged with ambition and vnauided rashnesse: infirmities apparent in holy Synodes least we shoulde soo much rest vpon men.

11 And *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* sticketh not to charge with ambition and vnauided rashnesse, the Synode of *Chalcedon*, which yet he confesseth to be found in doctrines. He doth in deede not denie that it was a lawfull Synode: but he openly affirmeth, that it might erre. Some man peradventure will thinke me sonde, for that I busie myselfe in shewing such errors: for as much as our aduersaries doe confesse, that councils may erre in those things that are not necessarie to saluation. But this labour is not yet superfluous. For although because they are compelled, they doe in deede confesse it in word: yet when they thrust vnto vs the determination of al councils in euery matter whatsoeuer it be, for an Oracle of the holy Ghost, they doe therein require more than they tooke at the beginning. In so doing what doe they affirme, but that councils cannot erre: or if they erre, yet it is not lawfull for vs to see the truth, or not to sooth their errors? And I intend nothing else, but that it may thereby be gathered that the holy Ghost, so gouerned the godly and holy Synodes, that in the meane time he suffered somewhat to happen to them by the nature of men, least wee shoulde too much trust to men. This is a much better sentence, than that of *Gregorie Nazianzene* that he neuer sawe a good ende of any councill. For he that affirmeth that all without exception ended ill doth not leaue them much authoritie. It is now nothing needfull to make mention severally of prouinciall councils: for asmuch as it is easie

easie to iudge by the generall, how much authoritie they ought to haue to make new articles of faith and to receiue what kinde of doctrine soeuer it pleaseth them.

12 But our Romanists, when they see that in defence of their cause all help of reason doth faile them, do resort to that extreme and miserable shift: that although the men themselues be blockish in wit and counsell, and most wicked in minde and will, yet the word of God remaineth, which commandeth to obey Rulers. Is it so? what if I deny that they be rulers that are such? For they ought to take vpon themselves no more than *Iosua* had, which was both a prophet of the Lord, and an excellent pastor. But let vs heare with what words he is set by the Lord into his office. Let not (saith he) the volume of this lawe depart from thy mouth: but thou shalt studie vpon it daies and nights. Thou shalt neither bow to the right hand nor to the left: then shalt thou direct thy way and vnderstand it. They therefore shall be to vs spirituall rulers which shall not bow from the law of the Lord, neither to the one side nor to the other. But if the doctrine of all pastors whatsoever they be, is to be receiued without any doubting, to what purpose was it that we should so oft and so earnestly be admonished not to harken to the speech of false prophets. Heare not (saith he by *Hieremie*) the words of the prophets that propheticie to you. For they teach you vanitie, and not out of the mouth of the Lord. Againe. Beware you of false prophets, that come vnto you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly are rauening wolues. And *Iohn* should in vaine exhort vs, that we should proue the spirits, whether they be of God. From which iudgement the very Angels are not exempted, much lesse Satan with all his lies. What is to be said of this saying: if the blinde leade the blinde, they shal both fall into the ditch? Doth it not sufficiently declare, that it is of great importance what maner of prophets be heard, and that not all are rashly to be heard. Wherefore there is no reason that they should make vs afraid with their titles, thereby to draw vs into partaking of their blindness: forasmuch as we see on the other side, that the Lord had a singular care to fray vs away from suffering our selues to be led with other mens error, vnder what visor of name soeuer it lurketh. For if the answer of Christ be true, then all blind guides, whether they be called fathers of the Church, or prelats, or bishops, can do nothing but draw their partners into the same headlong downefall. Wherefore let no names of councils, Pastors, bishops (which may as well be falsely pretended as truely vsed,) hinder vs, but that being taught by lessons both of words and examples, we may examine all spirits of all men by the rule of the word of God, that we may prouue whether they be of God or no.

13 Forasmuch as we haue proued that there is not giuen to the church a power to set vp a new doctrine, now let vs speake of the power which they attribute vnto it in expounding of scripture. Truly we do willingly graunt, that if there happen debate about any doctrine, there is no better nor surer remedy than if a Synode of true bishops assemble together, where the doctrine in controuersie may be discussed. For such a determination, wherunto the pastors of Churches shall agree in common together, calling vpon the spirite of Christ, shall haue much greater force, than if every one seuerally should conceiue it at home, and so teach it to the people, or if a few priuate men should make it. Againe, when bishops are gathered in one, they doe the more commodiously take aduise in common, what and in what forme they ought to teach, least diuersitie should breede offence. Thirdly *Paul* prescribeth this order in discerning of doctrines: For whereas he giueth to every seuerall Church a power to discern, he sheweth what is the order of doing in weightier causes, that is, that the Churches should take vpon them a common triall of the matter together. And so doth the very feeling of godlines instruct vs, that if any man trouble the church with an vnwonted doctrine, and the matter proceede so farre that there be perill of greater dissention, the churches should first meete together, and examine the question propounded: at last, after iust discussing had, bring forth a determination

Spirituall rulers no further to be followed than themselues doe follow the conduct of their heauenly guide.
Ioh. 2. 7.

Hier. 23. 16.

Matt. 7. 15.

1. Ioh. 4. 1.

Matt. 15. 10.

The vse of councils in setting downe the true sense of scripture when controuersies rise & trouble the Church.

1. Cor. 14. 25.

taken.

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taken out of the Scripture, such as may both take away doubting out of the people, and stop the mouthes of wicked & greedy men, that they may not be so hardie to proceed any further: So when *Arrius* was risen, the *Nicene* Synode was gathered together, which with the authoritie thereof both did breake the wicked endeouours of the vngodly man, and restored peace to the Churches which he had vexed, and defended the eternall godhead of Christ, against his blasphemous doctrine. When afterwarde *Eunomius* and *Macedonius* stirred vp new troubles, their madnesse was resisted with like remedie by the Synode of *Constantinople*. In the Councell at *Ephesus* the wickednesse of *Nestorius* was banished. Finally this hath bene from the beginning the ordinarie meane in the Church to preferre vntie, so oft as Satan began to worke any thing. But let vs remember, that not in all ages or in all places are found *Athanasius*, *Basilis*, *Cyrrilles*, and such defenders of true doctrine whom the Lord then raised vp. But let vs thinke what happened at *Ephesus* in the second Synode, where the heresie of *Eutiches* preuailed, the man of holy memorie *Flavianus* was banished with certaine other godly men, and many such mischiefs committed: euen because *Dioscorus* a seditious man and of a very naughty nature, was there the cheefe, and not the Spirit of the Lord. But there was not the Church. I graunt. For this I determine vtterly that the truth doth not therefore die in the Church, although it be oppressed of one councell: but that the Lord maruellously preseruet it, that it may againe in due time rise vp, and get the ouerhand. But I denie that this is perpetuall, that that is a true and certaine exposition of Scripture which hath bene received by consents of a Councell.

Not every determination of a Councell to be received as a true and sound exposition of the scripture, some councels hauing expressly defined things against Scripture: so far off it is that Councels should haue power to authorise Scripture.

Mat. 26. 26.

1. Tim. 4. 1.

Heb. 13. 4.

14 But the Romanists shoote at an other marke, when they teach that the power to expound the Scripture belongeth to the Councelles, yea and that without appellation from them. For they abuse this colour, to call it an exposition of the Scripture whatsoeuer is decreed in the Councels. Of purgatory, of the intercession of Saintes, of auricular confession, and such other there cannot be found one syllable in the Scriptures. But because all these things haue bene established by the authority of the Church, that is to say (to speake truly) received in opinion and vse, therefore euery one of them must be taken for an exposition of Scripture. And not that one-ly: But if a Councell decree any thing, though Scripture cry out against it, yet it shall beare the name of an exposition thereof. Christ commandeth all to drinke of the cup, which he reacheth in the Supper. The councell of *Constance* forbade that it should not be given to the lay people, but willed that the Priest only should drinke of it. That which so directly fighteth against the institution of Christ, they will haue to be taken for an exposition of it. *Paul* calleth the forbidding of marriage, the hypocrisie of deuiils: And the holy Ghost in another place pronounceth that marriage is in all men holy and honorable. Whereas they haue afterward forbidden Priestes to marrie, they require to haue that taken for the true and naturall exposition of the Scripture, when nothing can be imagined more against it. If any dare once open his mouth to the contrary, he shall be iudged an heretike: because the determination of the church is without appellation: and to doubt of her exposition, that it is not true, is a hainous offence. Why should I inuey against so great shamelesnesse? For the very shewing of it is an ouercomming of it. As for that which they teach of the power to allow 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 vnwoorthie to be rehearsed: and I haue before touched the same matter already. Yet I will aske them one thing: If the authoritie of the Scripture be founded vpon the allowance of the Church, what Councels decree will they alleadge of that matter? I thinke they haue none. Why then did *Arrius* suffer himselfe to be ouercome at *Nice* with testimonies brought out of the Gospell of *Iohn*? For after these mens saying, it was free for him to haue refused them,

them, for as much as there had no allowance of a general council gone before. They allege the olde roll, which is called the Canon, which they say to haue proceeded from the iudgement of the Church. But I aske them againe, in what council that Canon was set fourth. Here they must needes bee dumbe. Howbeit I desire further to know, what manner of Canon they thinke that was. For I see that the same was not very certainly agreed among the old writers. And if that which *Hierom* saith ought to be of force, the bookes of *Machabees*, *Tobie*, *Ecclesiasticus* and such other shall be thrust among the Apochrypha: which those Canons doe in no wise suffer to be done.

The x. Chapter.

Of the power in making of Lawes: wherein the Pope and his haue vsed a most cruell tyrannie and butcherie vpon soules.

NOW followeth the seconde part, which they will haue to consist in making of Lawes, out of which spring haue flowed innumerable traditions of men, euen so many snares to strangle poore soules. For they haue had no more conscience, than had the Scribes and Pharisees to lay burdens vpon other mens shoulders, which they themselues would not touch with one finger. I haue in another place taught howe cruell a butcherie is that which they command concerning auricular confession. In other lawes there appeereth not so great violence: but those which seeme the most tolerable of all, doe tyrannously oppresse consciences. I leaue vsspoken how they corrupt the worship of God, and doe spoile God himselfe of his right; which is the onely lawmaker. This power is now to bee intreated of, whether the Church may binde consciences with her lawes. In which discourse the order of policie is not touched, but this onely is intended, that God bee rightly worshipped according to the rule which himselfe hath prescribed, and that the spirituall libertie, which hath regarde vnto God, may remaine safe vnto vs. Vse hath made that all those decrees be called traditions of men, whatsoever they be that haue concerning the worshipping of God proceeded from men beside his word. Against these do we strue, nor against the holy and profitable ordinances of the Church which make for the preservation either of discipline or honestie or peace. But the ende of our struing is, that the immeasurable and barbarous Empire may be restrained, which they vsurpe vpon soules, that would be counted pastors of the Church, but in very deede are most cruell butchers. For they say that the lawes which they make are spirituall, and pertaining to the soule, and they affirme them to be necessarie to eternall life. But so (as I haue euen now touched) the kingdome of Christ is invaded, so the libertie by him giuen to the consciences of the faithfull is vterly oppressed & thrown abroad. I speake not now with how great vngodlines they stablish the obseruing of their lawes, while out of it they teach men to seeke both forgiveness of sins, and righteousness & saluation, while they set in it the whole sum of religion and godlines. This one thing I earnestly hold, that there ought no necessitie to be laide vpon consciences in those things wherein they are made free by Christ, and vnles they be made free, as we haue before taught, they cannot rest with God. They must acknowledge one onely king Christ their deliuerer, and be gouerned by one law of libertie, euen the holy word of the Gospell, if they will keepe still the grace which they haue once obtained in Christ: they must be holden with no bondage, and bound with no bonds.

2 These *Solons* doe indeede saie that their constitutions are lawes of libertie, a sweete yoke, a light burden: but who cannot see that they be meere lies? They themselues in deed do feele no heauines of their owne lawes, which casting away the feare of God, doe carelesly and stoutly neglect both their owne and Gods lawes. But they that are touched with any care of their saluation, are farr from thinking them-

The tyrannie of the Church of Rome in charging the consciences of men with the burthen of their lawes. Math. 23.6.

The libertie which Christ hath giuen abridged in the Church of Rome by many harde and heauie constitutions: which notwithstanding they call sweete and easie burthens.

selues

Cap. 10. Of the outward meanes

1. Cor. 7. 2. 5.

selues free so long as they be intangled with these snares. We see with how great wa-
rines *Paul* did deale in this behalfe, that he durst not so much as in any one thing laie
vpon men any snare at all, and that not without cause. Truly he foresawe with how
great a wound consciences should be striken, if they should be charged with a necessi-
tie of those things whereof the Lord had left them libertie. On the other side the
constitutions are almost innumerable, which these men haue most greuously sta-
blished with threatening of eternall death, which they most seuerely require as ne-
cessary to saluation. And among those there are many most hard to be kept, but all of
them (if the whole multitude of them be laid together) are impossible: so great is the
heape. How then shall it be possible, that they vpon whom so great a weight of diffi-
cultie lieth, should not bee vexed in perplexitie with extreme anguish and terror?
Therefore my purpose is heere to impute such constitutions, as tend to this ende, in-
wardly to bind soules before God, and charge them with a religion, as though they
taught them of things necessarie to saluation.

What consci-
ence is.

Rom. 13. 1.

3 This question doth therefore incumber the most part of men, because they do
not suttly enough put difference betweene the outward court (as they call it) and
the court of conscience. Moreouer this increaseth the difficultie, that *Paul* teacheth
that the magistrate ought to bee obeyed not onely for feare of punishment, but for
consciencs sake. Whereupon followeth, that consciences are also bounde with the
politike lawes. But if it were so, then all shoulde fall that wee haue spoken in the last
Chapter, and intend now to speake concerning the spirituall gouernment. For the
loosing of this knot, first it is good to learne what is conscience. The definition is to be
gathered of the proper deriuation of the word. For, as when men do with mind & vn-
derstanding conceiue the knowledge of things, they are thereby said *scire*, to knowe,
whereupon is deriued the name of science knowledge: so when they haue a feeling of
Gods iudgement as a witnes adioyned with them which doth not suffer them to hide
their sins, but that they be brought accused to the iudgement fear of God, that same
feeling is called conscience. For it is a certaine meane betwene God and man: be-
cause it suffereth not man to suppress that which hee knoweth, but pursueth him
so far till it bring him to guiltinesse. This is it that *Paul* meaneth when he teacheth
that conscience doth together witnesse with men, when their thoughts doe accuse
or acquire them in the iudgement of God. A simple knowledge might remaine in
man as inclosed. Therefore this feeling which presenteth man to the iudge-
ment of God, is as it were a keeper ioyned to man, to marke and watch all his se-
cretes, that nothing shoulde remaine buried in darkenesse. Whereupon also com-
meth that olde prouerbe, conscience is a thousande witnesse. For the same reason
also *Peter* hath set the examination of a good conscience, for quietnesse of minde,
when we being perswaded of the grace of Christ, do without feare present our selues
to God. And the author of the Epistle to the Hebrewes vseth these wordes, to haue
no more conscience of sinne, in steed of, to be deluered or acquitted, that sinne may
no more accuse vs.

Rom. 2. 15.

1. Pet. 3. 23.

Heb. 10. 2.

How a law is saide
to binde the con-
science.

2. Tim. 1. 5.

Act. 24. 16.

4 Therefore as workes haue respect to men, so the conscience is referred to
God: so that conscience is nothing else but the inwarde purenesse of the hart. In
which sense *Paul* writeth that charitie is the fulfilling of the lawe, out of a pure con-
science, and faith not fained. Afterward also in the same chapter hee sheweth howe
much it differeth from vnderstanding, saying that some had lusted shipwrack from
the faith, because they had forsaken good conscience. For in these wordes hee signifi-
eth, that it is a liuely affection to worship God, and a sincere desire to lue godlyly &
holily. Sometime indeede it is referred also to men, as in *Luke*, when the same *Paul*
testifieth, that he induoured himselfe that he might walke with a good conscience
toward God and men. But this was therefore saide, because the frutes of good con-
science doe slowe and come euen to men. But in speaking properly, it hath respect
to

to God onely, as I haue already said. Hereupon commeth that a lawe is said to binde conscience, which simply bindeth a man, without regarde of men, or not hauing any consideration of them. As for example. God commaundeth not onely to keepe the mind chaste and pure from all lust, but also forbiddeth all maner of filthines of words & outward wantonnesse whatsoeuer it be. To the keeping of this law my conscience is subiect, although there liued not one man in the world. So he that behaueth himselfe intemperately, doth not onely sinne in this that he giueth euill example to his brethren, but he hath his conscience bound with guiltinesse before God. In things that are of themselves meane, there is another consideration. For we ought to abstain from them, if they breed any offence: but the conscience stil being free. So *Paul* speaketh of flesh consecrate to idols. If any (saith he) make doubt, touch it not, for consciences sake. I say for conscience, not thine own, but the others. A faithfull man should sinne, which being first warned should neuertheless eate of such flesh. But howsoeuer in respect of his brother, it be necessary for him to abstaine, as it is prescribed of God, yet he ceaseth not to keepe still the libertie of conscience. We see how this lawe binding the outward worke, leaueh the conscience vnbound.

1, Cor. 10. 28.

5 Now let vs returne to the lawes of men. If they be made to this end, to charge vs with a religion, as though the obseruing of them were of it selfe necessarie, then we say that that is laide vpon conscience which was not lawfull to be laide vpon it. For our consciences haue not to doe with men, but with God onely: whereunto pertaineth that common difference betweene the earthly court and the court of conscience. When the whole world was wrapped in a most thicke mist of ignorance, yet this small sparkle of light remained, that they acknowledged a mans conscience to be aboue all iudgements of men. Howbeit the same thing that they did with one word confesse, they did afterwarde in deede ouerthrowe: yet it was Gods will that there should then also remaine some testimony of Christian libertie, which might deliuer consciences from the tyrannie of men. But that difficultie is not yet dissolued, which ariseth out of the wordes of *Paul*. For if we must obey Princes not onely for penalties sake, but also for conscience, it seemeth thereupon to follow that Princes lawes haue also dominion ouer conscience. If this be true, then the same also ought to be saide of the lawes of the Church: I answer that first here we must put a difference betweene the generallie and specialtie. For though all speciall lawes doe not touch the conscience, yet we are bound by the generall commaundement of God, which commaundeth vnto vs the authoritie of magistrates. And vpon this point standeth the disputation of *Paul* that magistrates are to be honored because they are ordained of God. In the meane time he teacheth not that those lawes that are prescribed by them, doe belong to the inward government of the soule: whereas he each where extolleth both the worshipping of God and the spirituall rule of liuing righteously, aboue all the ordinances of men whatsoeuer they be. Another thing also is woorthie to be noted, (which yet hangeth vpon the former) that the lawes of men, whether they be made by the magistrate or by the Church, although they be necessarie to be kept, (I speake of the good and righteous lawes) yet therefore doe not by themselves binde conscience, because the whole necessitie of keeping them: is referred to the generall ende, but consisteth not in the things commaunded. From this sort doe fare differ both those that prescribe a new forme of the worshipping of God, and those that appoint necessitie in things that be at libertie.

Rom. 13. 1.

5 But such are those that at this day be called Ecclesiasticall constitutions in the Papacie, which are thrust in, in steede of the true and necessarie worshipping of God. And as they be innumerable: so are there infinite bonds to catch and snare soules. But although in the declaration of the law we haue somewhat touched them: yet because this place was fitter to inreate fully of them, I will nowe trauell to gather together the whole summe in the best order that I can. And because we haue already

How men for conscience sake are bound to obey the lawes of men.

The authoritie which the popish prelatie challengeth in making lawes.

already discoursed so much as seemed to be sufficient, concerning the tyranny which the false Bishops doe take vpon themselves, in libertie to teach whatsoeuer they list. I will now omit all that part: and I will here tarrie onely vpon declaring the power, which they say they haue, to make lawes. Our false Bishops therefore doe burden consciences with new lawes, vnder this pretence, that they are ordained of the Lorde spirituall lawmakers, since the government of the Church is committed vnto them. Therefore they affirme that whatsoeuer they commaunde and prescribe, ought necessarily to be obserued of the Christian people: and that he that breaketh it, is guiltie of double disobedience, for that he is rebellious both to God and to the Church. Certainly, if they were true Bishops, I would in this behalfe graunt to them some authoritie, not so much as they require, but so much as is requisite to the well ordering of the policie of the Church. Now sith they are nothing lesse than that which they would be accounted, they cannot take any thing to them, be it neuer so little, but that they shall take too much. But because this hath bene elsewhere considered, let vs graunt them at this present, that whatsoeuer power true Bishops haue, the same rightly belongeth to them also: yet I denie that they be therefore appointed lawmakers ouer the faithfull, that may of themselves prescribe a rule to liue by, or compell to their ordinances the people committed vnto them. When I say this, I meane, that it is not lawfull for them, to deliuer to the Church to bee obserued of necessitie, that which they haue deuised of themselves without the worde of God. For as much as that authoritie both was vnknown to the Apostles, and so oft taken away from the ministers of the Church by the Lords owne mouth: I maruell who haue bene so bolde to take it vpon them, and at this day are so bolde to defend it, beside the example of the Apostles, and against the manifest prohibition of God.

*All things needful
to the perfect rule
of well liuing con-
tained in the lawe.*

Iam. 4. 12.

Esay. 33. 22.

1. Pet. 5. 2.

7 As touching that that pertained to the perfect rule of well liuing, the Lorde hath so contained all that in his lawe, that he hath left nothing for men that they might adde to that sum. And this he did first for this purpose, that because the whole vprightnesse of liuing standeth in this point, if all works be governed by his will as by a rule, he should be holden of vs the onely maister and director of life: then, to declare that he requirith of vs nothing more than obedience. For this reason *Iames* saith: he that iudgeth his brother iudgeth the law: he that iudgeth the law, is not an obseruer of the law, but a iudge. But there is one onely lawmaker, that can both saue and destroy. We heare that God doth claime this one thing as proper to himselfe, to rule vs with the government and lawes of his word. And the same thing was spoken before of *Esay*, although somewhat more darkly: The Lord is our king, the Lorde is our lawmaker, the Lord is our iudge, he shall saue vs. Truly in both these places is shewed, that he that hath power ouer the soule, hath the iudgement of life & death. Yea *Iames* pronounceth this plainly: Now, no man can take that vpon him. Therefore God must be acknowledged to be the onely king of soules, to whom alone belongeth the power to saue and destroy, as those words of *Esay* expresse, and to be the king, and iudge, and lawmaker and Sauour. Therefore *Peter*, when he admonisheth the Pastors of their dutie, exhorteth them so to feede the flocke, not as vsing a Lordship ouer the Clergie, by which word Clergie he signifieth the inheritance of God, that is to say the faithfull people. That if we rightly weigh, that it is not lawfull, that that should be transferred to man, which God maketh his owne onely: we shall vnderstand that so all the power is cut off whatsoeuer it be, that they challenge, which aduaunce themselves to commaund any thing in the Church without the word of God.

*The way to iudge
what ordinances
of men be repug-
nant to the word
of God.*

8 Now, for as much as the whole cause hangeth thereupon, that if God be the onely lawmaker, it is not lawfull for men to take that honour to themselves: it is meete also therewithall to keepe in minde those two reasons which we haue spoken, why the Lorde claimeth that to himselfe alone. The first is that his will may be to vs a perfect rule of all righteousnesse and holinesse: and that so in the knowing of him

may be the perfect knowledge to liue well. The other is, that (when the manner is sought how to worship him rightly and well) he onely may haue authoritie ouer our soules, whom we ought to obey, and vpon whose becke we ought to hang. These two reasons being wel marked, it shal be easie to iudge, what ordinances of men are contrarie to the word of God. Of that sort be all those which are fained to belong to the true worshipping of God, and to the obseruing whereof consciences are bounde, as though they were necessary to be obserued. Let vs therefore remember that all lawes of men ought to be weighed with this balance, if we will haue a sure tryall that may neuer suffer vs to erre. The first of these reasons *Paul* in the Epistle to the Colossians vseth in contending against the false apostles that attempted to oppresse the churches with new burthens. The second reason lie more vseth with the Galathians in the like case. This therefore he traueleth to prooue in the Epistle to the Colossians, that the doctrine concerning the true worshipping of God is not to be sought at mens hands: bicause the Lord hath faithfully and fully instructed vs how he ought to be worshipped. To prooue the same in the first Chapter, he saith that in the Gospel is contained all wisdom, whereby the man of God may be made perfect in Christ. In the beginning of the second chapter he saith, that all the treasures of wisdom and vnderstanding are hidden in Christ. Thereupon he afterward concludeth, let the faithfull beware that they be not by vaine Philosophie led from the flocke of Christ, according to the constitutions of men. But in the end of the Chapter, hee doth yet with greater boldnes condemne all *Ethelothreshias*, that is to saye, all fained worshippings, which men deuise to themselues, or receiue of other, and whatsoever precepts they dare of themselues giue concerning the worshipping of God. Wee haue therefore, that all those ordinances are wicked, in obseruing whereof the worshipping of God is fained to be. As for the places in the Galathians wherewith he earnestly affirmeth that consciences, which ought to be ruled of God onely, ought not to be intangled with snares, they are open enough, specially in the fifth Chapter. Therefore let it be sufficient to haue but noted them.

Col. 1.8.

9 But because the whole matter shall better bee made open by examples, before that we go any further, it is good also to apply this doctrine to our owne times. We say that the constitutions which they call Ecclesiasticall, wherewith the Pope and his do burden the Church, are pernicious and wicked: our aduersaries defende that they be holy and auailable to saluation. There be two kinds of them: for some concerne Ceremonies and rites, other some pertaine more to discipline. Is there then a iust cause to moue vs to impugne them both? Truly a iuster than we would. First doe not the authors themselues cleerely define, that the very worshipping of God is contained in them? To what purpose do they apply their ceremonies, but that God should be worshipped by them? And that commeth to passe not by the onely error of the ignorant multitude, but by their allowance that haue the place of teaching. I doe not touch the grosse abominations, wherewith they haue gone about to ouerthrowe all godlines. But it should not be imagined among them to be so hainous an offence, to haue failed in any of the least petite traditions, vnlesse they did make the worshipping of God subiect to their fained deuises. What do we then offend, if at this day we can not beare that which *Paul* taught to be intollerable, that the lawful order of the worshipping of God should be reduced to the will of men: specially when they command men to worship according to the elements of the world, which *Paul* testifieth to be against Christ? Again, it is not vnknown, with how precise necessity they bind consciences to keepe whatsoever they command. Here when we crie out to the contrarie, we haue all one cause with *Paul*, which in no wise suffereth faithfull consciences to be brought into bondage of men.

The cause why the Ecclesiasticall constitutions of the Pope as well concerning ceremonies as disciplines are impugned.

Colof. 2.20.
Gal. 5.1.

10 Moreouer this worst of all is added, that when religion hath once begun to be defiled with such vaine inuentions, there euer followeth after that peruerse

A lesse fault in the Papacie so transgresseth to another

*law of God than
to misse in the
keeping of humane
constitutions.*

another abhominable frowardnesse, whereof Christ reproched the Pharisees that the commaundement of God is made void for the traditions of men. I will not vse mine own words in fighting against our lawmakers at these daies. Let the victorie, if they can by any meane purge themselves from this accusation of Christ. But how should they excuse them, when among them it is thought infinitely more hainous, to haue omitted auricular confession when the time of yeere commeth about, than to haue continued a most wicked life a whole yeere together? to haue infected their tooing with a little tasting of flesh on a Friday, than to haue defiled their bodie with whoredome all the daies of the weeke? to haue put their hand to an honest worke vpon a day consecrate to I uer not what petie Saintes, than to haue continually exercised their members in most wicked offences? for a priest to be coupled with one lawfull mariage, than to be entangled with a thousand adulteries? not to haue performed a vowed pilgrimage, than to breake faith in all promises? not to haue wasted somewhat vpon monstrous and no lesse superfluous and vnprofitable excessive gorgeouslyeste of temples, than to haue failed to helpe the extreme necessities of the poore? to haue passed by an Idole without honour, than to haue despitefully intricated all kindes of men? not to haue mumbled vp at certaine howers a great number of words without vnderstanding, than neuer to haue conceiued a true prayer in their heart? What is to make void the commaundement of God for the traditions of men, if this be not: when commending the keeping of Gods commaundements but coldly and as it were lightly by the way, they do no lesse earnestly and busily exact the obeying of their owne, than if they contained in them the whole pithe of godlines? when reuenging the transgressing of Gods law, with light penalties of satisfactions, they punish the very least offence of one of their owne decrees with no lesse paine than with prisonment, banishment, fire or sword? Being not so sharpe and hard to entreat against the despisers of God, they persecute the despisers of themselves with vnappealeable hatred to the extremitie, and doe so instruct all those, whose simplicitie they hold captiue, that they would with more contented minde see the whole law of God ouerthrowen, that one small tittle (as they call it) in the commaundements of the Church to be broken. First in this point is grieuous offence committed, that for small matters, and such as (if it should be tried by Gods iudgement) are at libertie, one man despiseth, iudgeth and casteth away another. But now as though that were not euill enough, those trifling elements of the worlde (as Paul calleth them in writing to the Galathians) are weighed of more value than the oracles of God. And he that is in a maner acquited in adulterie, is iudged in meate: he that hath leaue to vse a harlot, is forbidden to haue a wife. This profit verily is gotten by that transgressing obedience, which is so much turned from God as it declineth to men.

Gal. 4. 9.

*Humane ordinances
though vnprofitable
in respect
of their quality,
for their number
burdensome, yet
embraced by man
because they are
most agreeable to
his vanity, because
they seeme inro-
dusions to humi-
lity, and because
they make a shew
of restraining
fleshy desires.*
Col. 2. 23.

II There be also other two not slender fautes, which we disallow in the same ordinances. First, because they prescribe for the most part vnprofitable, and sometime also fond obseruations: then, because godly consciences are oppressed with the infinit multitude of them, and being rouled backe into a certaine Iewishnes, they so cleaue to shadowes, that they cannot attaine to Christ. Whereas I call them fond and vnprofitable, I know that that will not seeme credible to the wisdomed of the flesh, which so wel liketh them, that it thinketh the church to be vterly deformed when they be taken away. But this is it, that Paul writeth of, to haue a resemblance of wisdomed in counterfeit worshipping, in humility, & in this that they thinke that with their sharpnesse they be able to tame their flesh. This is truly a most wholesome admonition, such as ought neuer to slip away from vs. Mens traditions (saith he) do deceiue vnder the shew of wisdomed, whence haue they this colour? because they are fained of men, therefore the wit of man doth therein acknow his owne, and acknowledging it doth more gladly embrace it, than any thing were it neuer so good, that lesse agreeed with

his vanitie. Again they haue hereby another commendation, because they seeme to be fit introductions to humilitie, for that with their yoke they hold the mindes of men pressed downe to the ground. Last of all, because they seeme to tend to this end to restrain the daintines of the flesh, and to subdue it with rigor of abstinence, therefore they are thought to be wisely deuised. But what saith *Paul* to these things? doth he not shake off those visors: lest the simple should be deceiued with false pretence? Because he iudged this enough for confutation of them, that he had said that they were the inuentions of men, he passeth ouer all these things without confutation, as though he esteemed them for nothing: Yea, because he knew that all fained worshipings in the Church were condemned, and are so much more suspicious to the faithfull as they more delight the wit of man: because he knew that that fained image of outward humilitie doth so much differ from true humilitie, as it might easilie be discerned: finally because he knew that that childish introduction was no more esteemed than an exercise of the body: therefore he willed that the very same things should be to the faithfull in steed of a confutation of mens traditions, by fauour of which they were commended among the ignorant.

12 So at this day not onely the vnlearned common people, but euery man as he is most puffed vp with worldly wisdom, so is he most maruellously delighted with beholding of ceremonies. But hypocrites and foolish women thinke that there can be nothing deuised more glorious nor better. But they which do more deeply search, and more truly weigh according to the rule of godlines, of what value so many and such ceremonies are, doe vnderstand first that they are trifles, because they haue no profit: then, that they are deceits, because they doe with vaine pompe beguile the eyes of the beholders. I speake of those Ceremonies, vnder which the Romish masters will that there be great misteries: but we find them by experience to be nothing else but mery mockeries. And it is no maruell that the Authors of them haue fallen so far as to mocke both themselues and other with trifling follies: because they partly tooke their examplar out of the dotages of the Gentiles, and partly after the manner of Apes did vndiscreetly counterfaite the old vsages of the Law of *Moses*, which no more pertained to vs than the sacrifices of beastes and such other things. Truly although there were none other argument, yet no man that hath his sound wit wil look for any goodnes of a heape so ill patched together. And the thing it selfe plainly sheweth that many Ceremonies haue no other vse but to amuse the people rather than to teach them. So in these new found Canons, that doe rather peruert than preserue discipline, the hypocrites repose great importance: but if a mā do better looke into the he shal find that they are nothing else but a shadowish & vanishing shew of discipline.

13 But now (to come to the other point) who doth not see that traditions with heaping one vpon another, are ouergrown into so great a number, that the Christian Church may in no wise beare them. Hereby it is come to passe, that in Ceremonies there appeareth I wor not what Iewishnes, and the other obseruations bring a grieuous butchery to Christian Soules. *Augustine* complained that in his time, the Commandements of God neglected, all things were full of so many presumptions, that he was more grieuously rebuked that in his Ostaues had touched the ground with bare foote, than he that had buried his wit with drunkennes. He cōplaineth that the Church, which the mercy of God willed to be free, was so burdened, that the state of the *Iewes* was much more tolerable. If that holy man had happened to liue in our age, with what complaints would he haue bewailed the bondage that now is? For both the number is ten times greater, and euery small tide is a hundred times more rigorously looked vnto, than at that time. So is wont to be done: when these peruerse lawmakers haue gotten the dominion, they make no end of bidding and forbidding, till they come to extreme peeuishnes. Which thing *Paul* hath also very well declared in these words: If ye be dead to the world, why are ye holdē as though ye were liuing

Vaine men, hypocrites and fooles delighted, the wiser sort offending with the ioyish Ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

The number of ceremonies growen intolerable in the Church.

Ad Ian. Epi. 119.

Cap. 10. Of the outward meanes

Col. 2. 20.

with traditions, as eate not, taste not, handle not? For whereas the Greeke word *apteschai*, signifieth both to eate and to touch, doubtles in this place it is taken in the first of these two significations, least there should be a superfluous repetition. Therefore he doth here excellently wel describe the proceedings of the false Apostles. They begin at superstition, so that they do not only forbid to eat, but also euen slenderly to chaw: when they haue obtained this, they then also forbid to taste. When this is also granted them, they reckon it not lawfull so much as to touch with a finger.

Christianitie buried under heapes of ceremonies.

14 This tyrannie in the ordinances of men we do at this day woorthily blame, by which it is come to passe that poore consciences are maruellously tormented with innumerable decrees & immeasurable exacting of keeping of them. Of canons pertaining to discipline we haue spokē in another place. Of the ceremonies what shal I say, by which it is brought about that Christ being halfe buried, we are returned to Iewish figures? Our Lord Christ (saith *Augustine*) hath bound together the fellowshippe of the newe people, with Sacraments very fewe in number, most excellent in signification, most easie in obseruing. How farre the multitude and diuersitie of vsages wherewith at this day we see the church to be entangled, doth differ from this simplicity, it cannot be sufficiently declared. I know with what craftie thrust some suttile men do excuse this peruerfnesse. They say that among vs there are many as rude as they were in the people of Israell: that such introduction was ordained for their sakes, which although the stronger may well want, yet they ought not to neglect it, for as much as they see it to be profitable for the weake brethren. I answer, that we are not ignorant, what we owe to the weaknesse 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 should be ouerwhelmed with great heapes of Ceremonies. The Lord did not in vaine put his difference betweene vs and the olde people, that his wil was to instruct them like children with signes and figures, but vs more simply without such outward furniture. As (saith *Paul*) a childe is ruled of his schoolemaster, and kept vnder custodie, according to the capacity of his age: so the Iewes are kept vnder the law. But we are like vnto full grown men, which being set at libertie from tutorshippe and government, haue no more neede of childish introductions. Truly the Lord did forsee what maner of common people there should be in his Church, and how they should be ruled. Yet he did in this manner as we haue said, make difference betweene vs and the Iewes. Therefore it is a foolish way, if we will prouide for the ignorant, in raising vp Iewishnes which is abrogate by Christ: Christ also touched in his owne words this difference of the olde and new people, when he said to the woman of Samaria, that the time was come wherein the true worshippers should worship God in Spirit and truth. This verily had alway beene done: but the new worshippers differed from the old in this point, that vnder *Moses* the Spirituall worshipping of God was shadowed and in a maner entangled with many Ceremonies, which being abolished, he is now more simply worshipped. Therefore they that confounde this difference, do ouerthrow the order institute and stablished by Christ. Shall there then (wilt thou say) no ceremonies be giuen to the ruder sort to helpe their vnskillfulnes? I say not so: for I verily thinke that this kind of helpe is profitable for them. I do here trauell only that such a meane may be vsed, as may brightly set out Christ and not darken him. Therefore there are giuen vs of God few Ceremonies, and those not laborosome, that they should shew Christ being present. The Iewes had moe giuen them, that they should be images of him being absent. Absent I say he was, not in power, but in maner of signifying. Therefore, that meane may be kept, it is necessarie to keepe that fewnes in number, easines in obseruing, and dignitie in signifying, which also consisteth in clearnes. What need I to say that this hath not beene done? For the thing it selfe is in all mens eies.

Epi. 11 8. ad Januar.

Gal. 4. 2.

The Lord did not in vaine put his difference betweene vs and the olde people, that his wil was to instruct them like children with signes and figures, but vs more simply without such outward furniture. As (saith *Paul*) a childe is ruled of his schoolemaster, and kept vnder custodie, according to the capacity of his age: so the Iewes are kept vnder the law. But we are like vnto full grown men, which being set at libertie from tutorshippe and government, haue no more neede of childish introductions. Truly the Lord did forsee what maner of common people there should be in his Church, and how they should be ruled. Yet he did in this manner as we haue said, make difference betweene vs and the Iewes. Therefore it is a foolish way, if we will prouide for the ignorant, in raising vp Iewishnes which is abrogate by Christ: Christ also touched in his owne words this difference of the olde and new people, when he said to the woman of Samaria, that the time was come wherein the true worshippers should worship God in Spirit and truth. This verily had alway beene done: but the new worshippers differed from the old in this point, that vnder *Moses* the Spirituall worshipping of God was shadowed and in a maner entangled with many Ceremonies, which being abolished, he is now more simply worshipped. Therefore they that confounde this difference, do ouerthrow the order institute and stablished by Christ. Shall there then (wilt thou say) no ceremonies be giuen to the ruder sort to helpe their vnskillfulnes? I say not so: for I verily thinke that this kind of helpe is profitable for them. I do here trauell only that such a meane may be vsed, as may brightly set out Christ and not darken him. Therefore there are giuen vs of God few Ceremonies, and those not laborosome, that they should shew Christ being present. The Iewes had moe giuen them, that they should be images of him being absent. Absent I say he was, not in power, but in maner of signifying. Therefore, that meane may be kept, it is necessarie to keepe that fewnes in number, easines in obseruing, and dignitie in signifying, which also consisteth in clearnes. What need I to say that this hath not beene done? For the thing it selfe is in all mens eies.

15 Heere I omit with how pernicious opinions mens mindes are filled in thinking

king that they be sacrifices when with oblation is rightly made to God, whereby sins are cleansed, whereby righteousness and saluation is obtayned. They will deny that good things are corrupted with such forcine errors: forasmuch as in this behalfe a man may no lesse offend in the very workes also commanded of God. But this hath hainoulnes, that so much honor is giue to works rashly fained by the wil of man, that they are thought to be things deseruing eternall life. For the workes commanded of God haue reward therefore, because the lawmaker himselfe in respect of obedience accepteth them. Therefore they receive not their value of their owne woorthines, or of their owne deseruing, but because God so much esteemeth our obedience toward him. I speake here of the perfection of workes which is commanded of God, and is not performed of men. For therefore the very workes of the law which we doe, haue no thinke but of the free goodnes of God, because in them our obedience is weake and lame. But because we doe not here dispute, of what value workes are without Christ, therefore let vs passe ouer that question. I come backe againe to that which properly belongeth to this present argument, that whatsoeuer commendation workes haue in them, they haue it in respect of the obedience, which onely the Lord doth looke vpon, as he testifieth by the Prophet: I gaue not commandement of sacrifices and burnt offerings, but onely that ye should with hearing, heare my voice. But of fained workes he speaketh in another place, saying: Ye wey your siluer and not in bread. Againe, They worship me in vaine with the precepts of men. This therefore they can by no waies excuse, that they suffer the silly people to seeke in those outward trifles the righteousness whereby they may stand against God and vphold themselues before the heauenly iudgement seat. Moreouer, is not this a fault woorthy to be inueted against, that they thew forth ceremonies not vnderstanded as it were a stage play, or a magicall enchantment? For it is certaine that all ceremonies are corrupt and hurtfull, vnlesse men be by them directed to Christ. But the Ceremonies that are vsed vnder the Papacy, are seuered from doctrine, that they may the more hold men in signes without all signification: Finally (such a cunning craftsman is the bellie) it appeareth that many of them haue beene inuented by conetous sacrificing Priests, to be snares to catch money. But what beginning soeuer they haue, they are all so giuen forth in common for filthie gaue, that we must needes cut off a great part of them, if we will bring to passe that there be not a prophane market, and full of sacrilege vsed in the Church.

16 Although I seeme not to teach a continuall doctrine concerning the ordinances of men, because this speaking is altogether applied to our owne time: yet there is nothing spoken that shall not be profitable for all times. For so oft as this superstition creepeth in, that men will worship God with their owne fained deuises, whatsoeuer the lawes be that are made to that purpose, they doe by and by degenerate to those grosse abuses. For the Lord threateth not this curse to one or two ages, but to all ages of the world, that he will strike them with blindness and amafed dulnes that worship him with the doctrines of men. This blinding continually maketh that they flee from no kinde of absurditie, which despising so many warnings of God, doe wilfully wrap themselues in those deadly snares. But if, setting aside circumstances, you will haue simply shewed what be the mens traditions of all ages, which it is meet to be reiected of the Church, and to be disallowed of all the godly, that same shall be a sure and plaine definition which we haue aboue set: that all lawes without the word of God are made by men to this end, either to prescribe a maner of worshipping God, or to bind consciences with religion, as though they gaue commandement of things necessarie to saluation. If to the one or both of these there be adioyned other faults: as, that with the multitude they darken the brightnes of the Gospel: that they nothing edifie, but be rather vnprofitable and trifling occupations than true exercises of godlines: that they be laide abroad to filthinesse and vn honest gaue: that they be too

Righteousnesse sought in the Church of Rome by the obseruation of ceremoniall ordinances seuered from the doctrine that should direct men vnto Christ, & inuened many of them onely to make money of.

Hier. 7. 22.

Esa. 55. 2. & 29. 13.

Mat. 15. 9.

What humane ordinances are, and the inconueniences whereunto they are subiect.

Esa. 29. 13.

hard to be kept : that they be defiled with euil superstitions : these shall be helpes that we may the more easly finde how much euil is in them.

The defense which the Church of Rome maketh for traditions, that a great part of them were deliuered by Christ and his Apostles, that for the rest the Church is aushorised to make ordinances, and to inioine men to obserue them as the Apostles did inioine the Gentiles.
Act. 15. 20. & 29.

17 I heare what they answere for themselves, that their traditions are not of themselves, but of God. For, they say that the Church is gouerned of the holy Ghost, that it cannot erre : and that the authoritie thereof remaineth with them. When this is obtained, it therewithall followeth, that their traditions are the reuelations of the holy Ghost, which cannot be despised but wickedly and with the contempt of God. And that they should not seeme to haue attempted any thing without great authority, they will haue it beleued that a great parte of their obseruations came from the Apostles: and they affirme that by one example is sufficiently declared what the Apostles did in other things, when being assembled in one Councell, they did by the decree of the Councell command the Gentiles to abstaine from things offered to idols, from blood and strangled. We haue already in another place declared, how falsly for boasting of themselves they lyingly vsurpe the title of the Church. So much as concerning this present cause : if, plucking away visors ; and deceitfull colours, we truly looke vpon that which we ought principally to care for, and which chiefly is for our behoofe, that is, what maner of Church Christ will haue ; that we may fashion and frame our selues to the rule thereof : it shal easily be euident vnto vs, that it is not the church, which passing the bounds of the word of God, doth outrage and runne at riot in making of newe Lawes. For doth not that lawe which was once prescribed to the Church, remaine eternall? What I commaunde thee, that thou shalt keepe that thou maest do it. Thou shalt not adde any thing nor take any thing from it. And in another place : Ad not to the word of the Lord, nor minish any thing : least he peraduenture reprocue thee, and thou be found a lyer. Sith they cannot deny that this was spoken to the church, what do they else but report the stubbornnes of that church, which they boast to haue been so bold as after such prohibitions neuertheles to adde and mingle of her owne with the doctrine of God? But God forbid that we should assent to their lies, whereby they burden the church with so great a slander : but let vs vnderstand, that the name of the Church is falsly pretended, so oft as this lust of mens rashnesse is spoken of, which cannot hold it selfe within the prescribed bounds of God, but that it wildly rangeth and runneth out into her own inuentions? There is nothing entangled, nothing dark, nothing doubtful in these words, in which the whole Church is forbidden to adde to the word of God, or to take any thing from it, when the worshipping of God, and precepts concerning saluation, are entreated of. But this (say they) was spoken of the law onely, after which followed the propheties and the whole ministracion of the Gospell. I graunt in deede : and I adde also, which are rather fulfillings of the law, than additions or diminutions. But if the Lord suffred nothing to be added to or taken from the ministerie of *Moses*, which was (as I may so terme it) darke by reason of many doubtful enwrappings, till by his seruants, the Prophets, and at length by his beloued sonne, he ministrif a clearer doctrine : why should we not thinke it much more seuerely forbidden vs, that we should adde nothing to the lawe, the Prophetes, the Psalmes, and the Gospell? The Lord is not gone out of kinde from himselfe, which hath long ago declared, that he is with nothing so highly offended, as when he is worshipped with the inuentions of men. Whereof came those notable sayings in the Prophets, which ought to haue continually founded in our eares : I spake no words to your fathers, in the day that I brought them out of *Ægypt*, concerning sacrifice and burnt offering. But this worde I commanded them, saying : With hearing heare my voice : And I will be your God, and you shal be my people, and you shall walke in all the way that I shall command you. Again, I haue with protesting protested vnto your fathers, Heare my voice. And other like sayings : but this is notable aboue the rest. Will God haue burnt offerings & sacrifices, & not rather that his voice be obied? For obedience is better than sacrifice,

Deut. 12. 32.
Pro. 30. 6.

Iere. 7. 2. 1.

Iere. 11.
1. Sam. 15. 22.

sacrifice, & to hearken is better than to offer the fat of Rams. For, to resist is as the sin of soothsaying: and not to obey is as the wickednes of idolatry. Therefore whatsoeuer inuencions of men are in this behalfe defended with the authoritie of the church, forasmuch as the same cannot be excused from the crime of vngodlines, it is easie to prouue that it is falsly imputed to the Church.

18 After this sort we freely inuey against this tyrannie of mens traditions, which is proudly thrust in among vs, vnder the title of the church. For neither do we scorne the Church (as our aduerfaries, to bring vs in harred, do vniustly he vpon vs) but wee giue vnto her the praise of obedience, than which she knoweth no greater praise. They rather are very fore wrong doers to the Church, which make her obstinate against her Lorde, while they saie that she hath proceeded further then the lawfullie might do by the word of God: though I speake nothing howe it is a notable shamelesnes ioyned with as great malice, continually to crie out of the authoritie of the Church, and in the meane time dissemblingly to hide both what is commaunded by the Lord, and what obedience she oweth to the commandement of the Lorde. But if we haue a minde, as it is meete we should haue, to agree with the Church, this pertaineth rather to the purpose, to haue an eie vnto and remember what is commaunded by the Lord both to vs and the Church, that wee shoulde with one agreement obey him. For there is no doubt but we shall very well agree with the Church, if we do in all things shew our selues obédient to the Lord. But now to father vpon the apostles, the originall of the traditions wherewith the Church hath bene hitherto oppressed, was a point of meere deceite: forasmuch as the doctrine of the apostles trauaileth wholly to this end, that consciences should not be burdened with new obseruations, nor the worshipping of God bee defiled with our inuencions. Moreouer if there be any faithfulness in histories and ancient monuments, the apostles not onelie neuer knewe, 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 & in mens behauiours, which neuer were put in writing: euen those things forsooth, which, while Christ was yet liuing, they could not vnderstand, after his ascending they learned by the reuelation of the holy Ghost. Of the exposition of that place wee haue else where already seene. So much as is sufficient for this present cause: truly they make themselues worthy to be laughed at, while they saie that those great mysteries, which so long time were vnknown to the apostles, were partly obseruations either Iewish or Gentile (of which all the one sort had bene long before published among the Iewes, and all the other sort among the Gentiles, and partly foolish gesturings and vaine petie ceremonies, which foolish sacrificing priests that can neither skill of swimming nor of letters, vse to do very trimly: yea such as children and fooles do so aptly counterfeit that it may seeme that there be no fitter ministers of such holy mysteries. If there were no histories at all: yet men that haue their sound wit might consider by the thing it self, that so great a heape of ceremonies and obseruations did not suddenly hurst into the Church, but by litle and litle crept in. For when those holier bill-ops, which were next in time to the Apostles, had ordeined some things that belonged to order and discipline, afterward there followed men, some after other, not discrete enough, and too curious and greedy, of which the later that euery one was, so he more strived with his predecessors in foolish enuious counterfaying, not to giue place in inuencing of new things. And because there was perill least their deuises would shortly growe out of vse, by which they coucted to get praise among their posteritie, they were much more rigorous in exact calling vpon the keeping of them. This wrongfull zeale hath bred vs a great part of these ceremonies which they set out vnto vs for Aposto-like. And this also the histories do testifie.

19 Least in making a register of them we should be tedious: we wil be content with one example. In the ministering of the Lordes supper, there was in the Apostles

The Apostles no authors of those things, for which their names are pretended in the Church of Rome.

The excessse of ceremonies vnto that which the apostles

*themselves used
and prescribed
vnto others concern-
ing the Supper
of the Lord.*

time great simplicity. The next successors, to garnish the dignity of the mystery, added somewhat that was not to be disallowed. But afterward there came those foolish countefaiters, which with now and then patching of speeces together, haue made vs this apparrell of the priests which we see in the Masse, those ornaments of the altar, those gestutings, and the whole furniture of vnprofitable things. But they object, that this in olde time was the persuasion, that those things which were with one consent done in the vniuersall Church, came from the Apostles themselves, whereof they cite *Augustine* for witness. But I will bring a solution from no other where than out of the words of *Augustine* himselfe. Those things (sayeth he) that are kept in the whole world, we may vnderstand to haue beene ordained either of the Apostles themselves, or of the generall Councils, whose authoritie is most healthfull in the Church: as, that the Lords passion, and resurrection, and his ascending into heauen, and the comming of the holie Ghost, are celebrate with yearly solemnitie: and whatsoever like thing be found, that is kept of the whole Church, which way soeuer it be spread abroad. When he reckoneth vp so few examples, who doeth not see that he meant to impute to authours worthy of credit and reuerence, the obseruations that then were vsed, euen none but those simple, rare, and sober ones, with which it was profitable that the order of the Church should be kept together? But how farre doth this differ from that which the Romish masters would enforce men to graunt, that there is no petie ceremony among them that ought not to be iudged Apostolike.

Episto. 118.

*The institution of
holy water.*

20 That I be not too long, I will bring forth only one example. If any man aske them, whence they haue their holy water: they by and by answer, from the Apostles. As though the histories do not attribute this inuention to I nor not what Bishop of *Rome*, which truly, if he had called the Apostles to counsell, would neuer haue defiled Bapisme with a strange and vnfit signe. Albeit I do not thinke it like to be true, that the beginning of that hallowing is so old as it is there written. For, that which *Augustine* sayeth, that certaine Churches in his time did shun that soleinne following of Christes example in washing of feete, least that vsage should seeme to pertaine to Bapisme, secretly sheweth that there was then no kind of washing that had any likeness with bapisme. Whatsoeuer it be, I will not graunt that this proceeded from an Apostolike spirite, that bapisme, when it is with a daily signe brought into remembrance, should after a certaine maner be repeated. And I passe not vpon this, that the self same *Augustine* in another place ascribeth other things also to the Apostles. For sith he hath nothing but coniectures, iudgement ought not vpon them to be guen of so great a matter. Finally, admit that we graunt them also, that those things which he rehearseth came from the time of the Apostles: Yet there is great difference betweene instituting some exercise of godlines, which the faithfull with a free conscience may vse, or if the vse of it shall not be profitable for them, they may forbear it: and making a law that may snare consciences with bondage. But now, from what author soeuer they proceeded, sith we see that they are slidden into so great abuse, nothing withstandeth, but that we may without offence of him abolish them: forasmuch as they were neuer so commended, that they must be perpetually immoueaible.

Epist. 118. ad
Ianu.

*The Church of
Rome in her ordi-
nances nothing
lesse than a follow-
er of the apostles
in theirs.*

21 Neither doth it much help them, that to excuse their tyranny they pretend the example of the Apostles. The Apostles (say they) and the elders of the first church, made a decree beside the commandement of Christ, wherein they commanded all the Gentiles to abstaine from things offered to idols, from strangled, and from bloud. If that was lawfull for them, why is it not also lawfull for their successors, to follow the same so oft as occasion so requireth? I would to God, they did both in all other things and in this thing follow them. For I deny that the Apostles did there institute or decree any new thing, which is easie to be proued by a strong reason. For whereas *Peter* in that council pronounceth, that God is tempted, if a yoke be laid vpon the necks

necks of the disciples: he doth himselfe ouerthrow his owne sentence, if he afterward consent to haue any yoke laid vpon them. But there is a yoke laid, if the Apostles do decree of their owne authoritie that the Gentiles should be forbidden, that they should not touch things offered to idols, bloud, and strangled. In deede there yet remaineth a doubt, for that they do neuertheless seeme to forbid. But this doubt shall easily be dissolved, if a man do more neerely consider the meaning of the decree it selfe: in the order and effect 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. Hitherto it very well maketh of our side. But the exception that immediatly followeth, neither is any new lawe made by the Apostles, but the diuine and eternall commandement of God, that charitie ought not to be broken, nor doth diminish one tittle of that libertie: but onely admonisheth the Gentiles, how they should temper themselves to their brethren, that they abuse not their liberty to the offence of them. Let this therefore be the second point, that the Gentiles should vse a harmelesse libertie, and without offence of their brethren. But yet they prescribe some certaine thing: that is, they teach and appoint, so far as was expedient for the time, by what things they might run into the offence of their brethren, that they might beware of those things: but they adde no new thing of their owne to the eternall law of God, which forbiddeth the offending of brethren.

22 Like as if the faithfull Pastors which gouerne the Churches not yet well reformed, should command all their people, that till the weake with whome they liue do grow stronger, they should not openly eate flesh on Friday, or openly labour vpon holy dayes, or any such thing. For although these things setting superstition aside, are by themselves indifferent: yet when there is added offence of brethren, they cannot be done without a fault. But the times are such, that the faithfull cannot shew such a sight to the weake brethren, but that they shall fore wound their consciences. Who, but a cauiller, will say that so they make a new lawe, whereas, it is certaine that they do onely prevent offences, which are expressly enough forbidden of the Lord? And no more can it be said of the Apostles, whose purpose was nothing els, but in taking away the matter of offences, to call vpon the law of God concerning the auoiding of offence: as if they had said: It is the Lords commaundement that ye offend not a weake brother. Yee can not eate things offered to images, strangled and bloud, but that the weake brethren shall be offended. Therefore we command you in the word of the Lord, that ye eate not with offence. And that the Apostles had respect to the same thing, *Paul* himselfe is a very good witness, which writeth thus, verily none other wise than according to the meaning of the Councell: Concerning meates that are offered to idols, we know that the idoll is nothing. But some with conscience of the Idoll, do eate it as offered to idols, and their conscience, forasmuch as it is weake, is defiled. See that your libertie be not made an offence to the weake. He that shall haue well weighed these things, shall not afterward be deceiued with such a false colour as they make, that pretend the apostles for defence of their tyrannie, as though the apostles had begun with their decree to breake the liberty of the Church. But, that they may not be able to escape, but be driuen euen with their owne confession to allow this solution, let them answer me, by what right they were so bolde to abrogate the same decree. Because there was no more perill of those offences and dissentions: which the Apostles meant to prouide for, and they know that the lawe was to be weighed by the end thereof. Forasmuch as therefore this lawe was made in respect of charitie, there is nothing preferred in it, but so much as pertaineth to charity. When they confesse that the transgressing of this lawe is nothing but a breaking of charitie, do they not therewithall acknowledge, that it is not a forged addition to the law of God, but a naturall and simple appliance to the times and manners wherunto it was directed?

The Apostles in their constitutions about the Gentiles made no new lawe of their owne, but applied to the times a lawe which God had made before.

1. Cor. 8. 1.

Cap. 10. Of the outward meanes

The commandment of God strictly to be observed in things appertaining to his honor and service.

23 But although such lawes be a hundred times vniust & iniurious vnto 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 being subiects we should beare the hard commaundements of our gouernours, which it is not our partes to refuse. But here also the Lord 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 bloud, the benefite whereof hee hath more than once confirmed with his word. For that is not here only intended (as they maliciously faine) that we should suffer some greuous oppression in our bodie, but that our consciences being spoiled of their libertie that is of the benefite of the bloud of Chrst, shoulde bee feruilely tormented. Howbeit let vs passe ouer this also, as though it made little to the matter. But of how great importance doe we thinke it is, that the Lordes kingdome is taken away from him, which he claimeth to himselfe with so great seueritie? But it is taken away so oft as he is worshipped with the lawes of mens inuentions, whereas he will be holden for the onely lawmaker of his owne worship. And least any man shoulde thinke it to be a matter of nothing, let vs heare how much the Lord esteemeth it. Because (saith he) this people hath feared me with the commaundement and doctrine of men: behold I will astonish them with a great and woonderous miracle. For wisdom shall perish from the wise men thereof, and vnderstanding shall depart from the elders. In another place, They worship me in vaine, teaching doctrines, the commaundements of men. And truly whereas the children of Israel desired themselves with many idolatries, the cause of all that euill is ascribed to this vncleane mixture, that transgressing the commaundements of God, they haue forged new worshippings. And therefore the holy history rehearseth that the new strangers that had been transported by the king of *Babylon* to inhabite *Samarina*, were torne in peeces and consumed of wilde beastes, because they knew not the iudgements or statutes of the God of that land. Although they had nothing offended in the Ceremonies, yet God would not haue allowed a vaine pompe: but in the meane time he ceased not to take vengeance of the defiling of his worship, for that men did thrust in deuises strange from his word. Whereupon it is afterward said, that they being made afraid with that punishment, receiued the Ceremonies prescribed in the law: but because they did not yet purely worship the true God, it is twise repeated that they did feare him and did not feare him. Whereupon we gather, that the part of reuerence which is giuen to him, consisteth in this, while in worshipping him we simply follow what he commaundeth with mingling none of our inuentions. And therefore the godly kings are oftentimes praised, because they did according to all the commaundements, and declined not to the right hand nor to the left. I goe yet further: although in some fained worshipping there doe not openly appeere vngodlinesse, yet it is seuerely condemned of the holy Ghost, so soone as men depart from the commaundement of God. The Altar of *Achaz*, the paterne whereof was brought out of *Samarina*, might haue seemed to increase the garnishment of the temple, whereas his deuise was to offer Sacrifices thereupon to God onely, which he should doe more honourably than vpon the first and olde Altar: yet we see how the spirite detesteth that boldnesse, for none other cause but for that the inuentions of men in the worshipping of God are vncleane corruptions. And how much more cleerly the will of God is opened vnto vs, so much the lesse excusable is our frowardnesse to attempt any thing. And therefore woorthily with this circumstance the crime of *Manasses* is enforced, for that he builded a new Altar in *Ierusalem*, of which God had pronounced, I will there set my name, because the authoritie of God is now as it were of set purpose refused.

Esaï. 29. 13.

Math. 15. 9.

2. King. 23.

2. King. 16. 10.

2. King. 21. 3.

The reason why God abhorreth seruises wherewith men deuise to please hurs.

24 Many doe maruell why God so sharply threateneth that he will doe things to be woondered at to the people of whome he was worshipped with the commaundements of men, and pronounceth that he is worshipped in vaine with the precepts of men,

men. But if they considered, what it is in the cause of religion, that is to say of heavenly wisdom, to hang upon the only mouth of God, they would therewithall see, that it is no slender reason why God so abhorreth such peruerse seruices, that are done to him according to the lust of mans wit. For although they that obey such lawes for the worshipping of God, haue a certain shew of humilitie in this their obedience, yet they are not humble before God, to whom they prescribe the same lawes which they themselves doe keepe. This is the reason why *Paul* willeth vs so diligently to beware, that we be not deceived by the traditions of men, and that which he calleth *ethelothreshian*, that is, *Wilworthip* inuented of men beside the doctrine of God. This is verily true, both our owne wisdom, and all mens wisdom must be foolish vnto vs, that we may suffer him alone to be wise. Which way they keepe not which doe studie with petie obseruations fained by the will of men to commend themselves vnto him, and do thrust vnto him as it were against his will a transgressing obedience toward him, which is in deede giuen to men. As it hath bene done both in many ages heretofore, and in the time within our owne remembrance, and is also at this day done in those places where the authoritie of the creature is more esteemed than of the creator: where religion (if yet the same be worthe to be called religion) is defiled with more and more vsauouric superstitions, than euer was any *Paynim* wickednes. For what could the wit of men breede but all things carnall and foolish and such as truly resemble their authors?

Col. 2.4.

25 Whereas also the Patrons of superstitions alleadge, that *Samuel* sacrificed in *Ramatha*, and although the same was done beside the lawe, yet it pleased God: the solution is easie, that it was not a certaine second altar to set against the one only altar: but because the place was not yet appointed for the arke of the couenant, he appointed the towne where he dwelled for sacrifices, as the most conuenient place. Truly the mind of the holy prophet was not to make any inuouation in holy things, whereas God had so straitly forbidden anything to be added or minished. As for the example of *Menoha*, I say that it was an extraordinary and singular case. He being a private man offered sacrifice to God and not without the allowance of God: verily because he enterprised it not of a rash motion of his owne minde, but by a heavenly instinct. But how much the Lord abhorreth those things that men deuise of themselves to worship him withall, another not inferior to *Menoha* *Gedeon* is a notable example, whose Ephod turned to destruction not only to him and his familie, but to the whole people. Finally, euery new found inuention, wherewith men couet to worship God, is nothing else but a defiling of true holines.

Samuel and Manoah no examples to iustifie the church of Rome in her boldnes, but rather Gedeon to condemne her.
1. Sam. 7. 17.
Iud. 13. 19.

Iud. 8. 27.

26 Why then (say they) did Christ will that those intollerable burdens should be borne, which the Scribes and Pharisees bound upon men? But why in another place did the same Christ will that men should beware of the leauen of the Pharisees: calling leauen (as *Matthew* the Euangelist expoundeth it) all their owne doctrine that they mingled with the purenesse of the word of God? What would we haue more plaine, than that we be commaunded to flee and beware of all their doctrine? Whereby it is made most certaine vnto vs, that in the other place also the Lord willed not, that the consciences of his should be vexed with the Pharisees owne traditions. And the verie words, if they be not wrested, sound of no such thing. For the Lord purposing there to inueigh sharply against the manners of the Pharisees, did first simply instruct them that heard him, that although they sawe nothing in their life meete for them to follow, yet they should not cease to do those things which they taught in words, while they sat in the chaire of *Moses*, that is, to declare the lawe. Therefore he meant nothing else but to prouide that the common people should not with the euil examples of the teachers be brought to despise the doctrine. But for as much as many are nothing at all mooued with reasons, but alway require authoritie, I will alleage *Augustines* words, in which the very same thing is spoken. The Lords

The ministrall authoritie of Scribes and Pharisees confirmed by Christ but not their presumption to burthen men with what they lusted.
Matt. 23. 3.
& 16. 6.

In Ioh. Tract. 46.
thepe-

sheepefold hath gouernours, some faithfull, and some hirelings. The gouernours that are faithfull, are true Pastors: but heare ye, that the hirelings also are necessarie: for many in the Church following earthly profits, doe preach Christ, and by them the voice of Christ is heard: and the sheepe doe follow, not a Iudging, but a Pastor by the meanes of a hireling. Heare ye that hirelings are shewed by the Lord himselfe. The Scribes (saith he) and the Pharisees sit in the chayre of *Mosis*. Doe ye those things that they say, but doe not those things that they doe. What other thing said he, but heare the voice of the Pastor by the hirelings? For in sitting in the chaire they teach the lawe of God: therefore God teacheth by them. But if they will teach their owne, heare it not, doe it not. This saith *Augustine*.

In forbidding mens consciences so be charged with humane traditions, lawes whereby the Church is set vs order are not preiudiced.

27 But whereas many vnskilful men, when they heare that consciences are wickedly bounde and God worshipped in vaine with the traditions of men, doe at once blot out altogether all lawes whereby the order of the Church is set in frame: therefore it is conuenient also to meete with their error: Verily in this point it is easie to be deceiued, because at the first sight it doth not by and by appeare what difference is betweene the one sort and the other. But I will so plainly in few words set out the whole matter, that the likenesse may deceiue no man. First let vs hold this, that if we see in euery fellowship of men some policie to be necessarie, that may serue to nourish common peace, and to retaine concord: if we see that in the dooing of things there is alway some orderly forme, which is behoouefull for publike honestie and for very humanitie not to be refused: the same ought chiefly to be obserued in Churches, which are both best maintained by a well framed disposition of all things, and without agreement are no Churches at all. Therefore if we will haue the safetie of the Church well provided for, we must altogether diligently procure that which *Paul* commandeth, that all things be done comely and according to order. But so far as there is so great diuersitie in the manners of men, so great varietie in mindes, so great disagreement in iudgements and wites: neither is there any policie stedfast enough, vnlesse it be stablished by certaine lawes, nor any orderly vsage can be obserued without a certaine appointed forme: Therefore we are so far off from condemning the lawes that are profitable to this purpose, that we affirme that when those be taken away, Churches are dissolved from their sinewes, and vterlie deformed and scattered abroad. For this which *Paul* requirerh, that all things be done decently and in order, cannot be had, vnlesse the order it selfe and comeliness be established, with obseruations adioyned as with certaine bondes. But this onely thing is alway to be excepted in those obseruations, that they be not either beleued to be necessarie to saluation, and so binde consciences with religion, or be applied to the worshipping of God, and so godlinesse be proposed in them.

1. Cor. 14. 4.

The difference betweene wicked obseruations and the lawfull constitutions of the Church.

28 We haue therefore a very good and most faithfull marke, which putteth difference betweene those wicked ordinances, by which we haue said that true religion is darkened & consciences subuerted, and the lawfull obseruations of the Church: if we remember that the lawfull obseruations tend alway to one of these two things or to both together, that in the holy assemblie of the faithfull all things be done comely and with such dignitie as becometh: and that the very common fellowship of men should be kept in order as it were by certaine bondes of humanitie and moderation. For when it is once vnderstoode that the Law is made for publike honesties sake, the superstition is now taken away, into which they fall that measure the worshipping of God by the inuentions of men. Again when it is known that it pertaineth to common vse, then that false opinion of bonde and necessitie is ouerthrowen, which did st. like a great terror into consciences, when traditions were thought necessarie to saluation. For herein is nothing required but that charitie should with common ductifull dooing be nourished among vs. But it is good yet to define

define more plainly, what is comprehended vnder that comelinesse which *Paul* commendeth, and also what vnder order. The ende of comelinesse is, partly that when such Ceremonies are vsed as may procure a reuerence to holy things, we may by such helpes be stirred vp to godlinesse: partly also that the modestie and grauitie which ought to be seene in all honest doings may therein principally appeere. In order this is the first point, that they which gouerne may knowe the rule and lawe to rule well: and the people which are gouerned may bee accustomed to obeying of God, and to right discipline: Then, that the state of the Church being well framed, peace and quietnesse may be prouided for.

29 Therefore we shall not say that comelinesse is, wherein shall be nothing but vaine delectation: such as we see in that player like apparell, which the *Papistes* vse in their ceremonies, where appeereth nothing else, but an vnprofitable visor of gaynesse, and excesse without fruit. But we shall account that to be comelinesse which shall so be meete for the reuerence of holy mysteries, that it be a fit exercise to godlinesse, or at the least such as shall serue to conuenient garnishing for the celebrating thereof: and the same not without fruit, but that it may put the faithfull in minde with how great modestie, religiousnesse and reuerence, they ought to handle holy things. Now, that ceremonies may be exercises of godlinesse, it is necessarie that they leade vs the straight way to Christ. Likewise we may not say that order consisteth in those trifling pompes that haue nothing else than a vanishing gaynesse: but that it standeth in such an orderly framing as may take away all confusion, barbarousnesse, obstinacie, and all strifes and dissentions. Of the first sort are these examples in *Paul*: that prophane banquettings shoulde not be mingled with the holic Supper of the Lorde: that women shoulde not come abroade, but couered: and many other which we haue in common vse: as this, that we pray kneeling and bare headed: that we minister the Lordes Sacraments not vnclanely, but with some dignitie: that in the burying of the dead we vse some honest shew: and other things that are of the same sorte. Of the other kind are the houres appointed for publike prayers, Sermons, and celebrati-
ons of mysteries: at Sermons, quietnes and silence, places appointed, singing together of Hymnes, daies prefixed for celebrating of the Lordes supper, that *Paul* forbid-
deth that women should teach in the Church, and such like. But specially those things that concerne discipline, as the teaching of the Catechisme, the censures of the Church, excommunication, fastings, and such as may be reckoned in the same number. So all the constitutions of the Church, which we receiue for holy and wholesome, we may referre to two chicfe titles: for some pertaine to rites, and ceremonies, and the other to discipline and peace.

30 But because here is perill, least on the one side the false bishops should thereby catch a pretence to excuse their wicked and tyrannous lawes, and least on the other side there be some men too fearefull, which admonished with the foresaid euils doe leaue no place to lawes be they neuer so holic: here it is good to protest, that I allow onely those ordinances of men which be both grounded vpon the authoritie of God, and taken out of the Scripture, yea and altogether Gods owne. Let vs take for an example the kneeling which is vsed in time of common praier. It is demanded, whether it be a tradition of man, which euerie 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 comelinesse, 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 generall rather been pointed out, than declared. By this one example we may iudge, what is to be thought of that whole kinde: verily because the Lorde hath in his holy Oracles both faithfully contained and cleerely set foorth both the whole summe of true righteousnes, and all the partes of the worshipping of his diuine Maiestie, and whatsoever is necessarie to saluation: therefore in these things he is onely to be heard as our

Schoole-

What things they be that serue for comelinesse and order in the Church.

1. Cor. 11. 21. & 5.

1. Cor. 14. 34.

A rule for churches ordinances.

1. Cor. 11. 40.

Cap. 10. Of the outward meanes

Schoolemaster. But because in outward discipline & Ceremonies his will was not to prescribe each thing particularly what we ought to follow (because he foresaw this to hang vpon the state of times, and did not thinke one forme to bee fit for all ages) herein we must flee to those generall rules which he hath giuen, that thereby all those things shoulde be tried which the necessitie of the Church shall require to bee commanded for order and comelines. Finally, Forasmuch as hee hath therefore taught nothing expressly, because these things both are not necessarie to saluation, and according to the manners of euery nation and age ought diuersly to be applied to the edifying of the Church: therefore as the profite of the Church shall require, it shall be conuenient as well to change and abrogate those that be vsed, as to institute newe. I grant indeed, that we ought not rashly, nor oft, nor for light causes to run to innouation. But what may hurt or edifie, charitie shall best iudge: which if we will suffer to be the gouernesse, all shall be safe.

The obedience required vnto lawfull ordinances of the church.

31 Now it is the dutie of Christian people, to keepe such things as haue bene ordeined according to this rule, with a free conscience and without any superstition, but yet with a godly & easie readines to obey, not to despise them, not to passe them ouer with carelesse negligence: so farre is it off, that they ought by pride and obstinacie openly to breake them. What maner of libertie of conscience (wilt thou saie) may there be in so great obseruation and warinesse? Yea, it shall stande excellentlie wel when we shal consider, that they are not stedfast & perpetual stayed lawes, whereunto we be bounde, but outward rudiments for the weakenesse of men: which although we doe not all neede, yet wee doe all vse them, because wee are mutuallie one bounde to another, to nourish charitie among vs. This we may reknowledge in the examples aboue rehearsed. What? Doth religion stande in a womans veile, that it is not lawfull to goe out of doores with her head vncovered? Is that holie decree of his concerning silence, such as cannot be broken without most hainous offence? Is there any mysterie in kneeling, or in burying of a dead carcase, that may not bee omitted without sinne? No, For if a woman neede, for the helping of her neighbour, to make such haste as may not suffer her to couer her head, she offendeth not if she runne thither with her head vncovered. And it may sometime befall that it may be no lesse conuenient for her to speake, than at another time to holde her peace. And there is no cause to the contrarie, but that he which by reason of disease cannot bow his knees may pray standing. Finally, it is better to burie a dead man speedily in time, than when they lacke a winding sheet, or when there be not men present to conuey him, to tarrie till he rot vnburied. But neuerthelesse in these things there is somewhat which the maner and ordinances of the countie, and finally very naturall honestie, and the rule of modestie appointeth to bee done or auoided: wherein if a man swaue any thing from them, by vnwarinesse, or forgetfulness, there is no crime committed: but if vpon contempt, such stubbornnes is to be disallowed. Likewise the daies themselues, which they be, and the houres, and how the places be builded, and what Psalmes be song vpon which day, it maketh no matter. But it is meete that there be both certaine daies, and appointed houres, and a place fit to receiue all, if there be regarde had of the preferuation of peace. For how great an occasion of brawlings shoulde the confusion of these things be, if it were lawfull for euery man as hee list, to change those things that belong to common state: forasmuch as it will neuer come to passe that one same thing shall please all men, if things be left as it were in the midst to the choise of euery man? If any man do carpe against vs, and will heerein bee more wise than he ought, let him see himselfe by what reason he can defend his owne precisensse to the Lord. As for vs, this saying of *Paul* ought to satisfie vs, that wee haue not an vse to contend, nor the Churches of God.

1. Cor. 11. 16.

Cautions touching church ordinances.

32 Moreouer it is with great diligence to bee inducoured, that no error creepe in, that may corrupt or obscure this pure vse. Which shall be obtained, if all obseruations,

uations, whatsoeuer they shall be, shall haue a shewe of manifest profite, and if very few be receiued: but principally if there be adioyned a faithfull doctrine of the Pastor, that may stop vp the way to peruerse opinions. This knowledge maketh that in all these things euery man may haue his owne libertie preserued, and neuertheless shall willingly charge his owne libertie with a certaine necessitie, so farre as either this comeliness that we haue spoken of, or the order of Charitie shall require. Secondly, that both we our selues should without any superstition be busied in the obseruing of those things, and should not too precisely require them of other, so as wee should thinke the worshipping of God to be the better for the multiade of ceremonies: that one Church should not despise another for the diuersitie of discipline: last of all that setting herein no perpetuall lawe to our selues, we should referre the whole vse and end of obseruations to the edification of the Church, that when it requireth we may without any offence suffer not onely somewhat to be changed, but all the obseruations that were before in vse among vs, to be altered. For this age is a present experience, that certaine rites, which otherwise are not vngodly nor vncomely, may according to the fit occasion of the matter, be conueniently abrogate. For (such hath been the blindness and ignorance of the former times) Churches haue heretofore, with so corrupt 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, which in olde time were peradventure ordained not without cause, and of themselves haue no notable vngodlinesse in them.

The xj. Chapter.

Of the iurisdiction of the Church, and the abuse thereof, such as is seene in the Papacie.

NOW remaineth the third part of the power of the Church, yea and the chiefe part in a well ordered state, which we haue saide to consist in iurisdiction. The whole iurisdiction of the Church pertaineth to the discipline of manners, of which we shall inreate by and by. For as much as no cite or no towne can stand without magistrate and policie: so the Church of God (as I haue already taught, but now I am compelled to repeat it againe) needeth her certaine spiritual policie: but such as is vterly seuered from the ciuill policie, and doth so nothing hinder or minish it, that it rather doth much helpe and further it. Therefore this power of iurisdiction shall in a summe be nothing else but an order framed for the preseruacion of spirituall policie. To this ende from the beginning were ordained iudiciall orders in Churches, which might vse examination of manners, correct vices and exercise the office of the keyes. This order *Paul* speaketh of in the Epistle to the Corinthians, when he nameth gouernments. Againe, to the Romanes, when he saith: let him that ruleth, rule in carefullnesse. For he speaketh not to the magistrats, (for at that time there were no Christian magistrats) but to them that were ioyned with the Pastors for the spirituall gouernment of the Church. Also in the Epistle to *Timothee*, he maketh two sortes of Elders: some, that labor in the word: other some, that doe not vse the preaching of the word, and yet do rule well. By this latter sort it is no doubt that he meaneth them that were appointed to looke vnto manners, and to the whole vse of the keyes. For this power, of which wee nowe speake, hangeth wholly vpon the keyes which Christ gaue to the Church, in the xvij. Chapter of *Matthew*: where he commaundeth, that they should be sharply admonished in the name of the whole Church, that haue despised priuate monitions: but if they goe forwarde in their obstinacie, he teacheth that they should be put out of the fellowship of the faithfull. But these monitions and corrections cannot be without knowledge of the cause: therefore there needeth

*The vse of a policie in the church different from that which is ciuill: the antiquitie of ecclesiasticall iudgements: the difference of auctoritie giuen to the Church in the 18. of *Matth.* from that which is giuen in the 16. of *Matth.* and the 21 of *Iohn.**
1. Cor. 12. 21.
Rom. 12. 8.

1. Tim. 5. 17.

both

both some iudgement and order. Wherefore vnlesse we will make voide the promise of the keyes, and take vterly away excommunication, solemne monitions, and al such things whatsoever they be: we must needs giue to the Church some iurisdiction. Let the readers marke that that place intreateth not of the generall authority of doctrine, as in the xvj. Chapter of *Matthew*, and the xxj. of *John*: but that the power of the Synagogue is for the time to come transferred to the flocke of Christ. Vntill that day the Iewes had their order of gouerning, which Christ stablisheth in his Church, and that with great penaltie, so much as concerneth the pure institution of it. For so it behooued, for as much as otherwise the iudgement of an vnnoble and viregarded congregation might be despised of rash and proude men. And that it shoulde not encomber the readers, that Christ doth in the same wordes expresse things somewhat differing one from the other, it shall be profitable to dissolue this doubt. There be therefore two places, that speake of binding and loosing. The one is in the xvj. Chapter of *Matthew*, where Christ, after that he had promised that he would giue to *Peter* the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, immediately addeth, that whatsoever he shall binde or loose in earth, shall be confirmed in heauen. In which wordes he meaneth none other thing, than he doth by other wordes in *John*, when sending his disciples to preach, after that he had breathed vpon them he saide: whose sinnes yee forgiue, they shall be forgiuen: and whose yee retaine they shall be retained in heauen. I will bring an exposition not suttile, not enforced, not wrested: but naturall, flowing, and offering it selfe. This commandement of forgiuing and retaining sinnes, and that promise of binding and loosing made to *Peter*, ought to be referred to no other thing but to the ministerie of the word: which when the Lord committed to the Apostles, he did therewith also arme them with this office of binding and loosing. For what is the summe of the Gospell, but that we all being bondseruants of sinne and of death, are loosed and made free by the redemption that is in Christ Iesus: and that they which doe not receiue nor acknowledge Christ their deliuerer and redeemer, are damned and adgdged to euerlasting bonds? When the Lorde deliuered this message to his Apostles, to be carried into all nations: to approue that it was his owne and proceeding from himselfe, he honored it with this noble testimonie: and that to the singular strengthening both of the Apostles themselues, and of all those to whom it should come. It behooued that the Apostles shoulde haue a stedfast and sound certaintie of their preaching, which they should not onely execute with infinite labours, 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 vaine nor voide, but full of power and force: it behooued that in so great carefulnesse, in so great hardnesse of things, and in so great dangers, they should be perswaded that they did the businesse of God: that when all the world withstood them, and fought against them, they should knowe that God stood on their side: that hauing not Christ the authour of their doctrine present by sight in earth, they should vnderstand him to be in heauen, to confirme the truth of the doctrine which he had deliuered them. It behooued 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 things, the forgiuenesse of sinnes, the promise of euerlasting life, the message of saluation, cannot bee in the power of man. Therefore Christ hath testified, that in the preaching of the Gospell there is nothing of the Apostles, but the onely ministerie: that it was hee himselfe that spake and promised all things by their mouthes as by instruments: and therefore that the forgiuenesse of sinnes which they preached, was the true promise of God: and the damnation which they pronounced, was the certaine iudgement of God. But this testifying is giuen to all ages, and remaineth in force, to certifie and assure all men, that the worde of the Gospell, by what man soeuer it bee preached,

John. 20. 23.

Matt. 16. 19.

as the verie sentence of God, published at the soueraigne iudgement seate, written in the booke of life, ratified, firme and fixed in heauen. Thus we see that in those places the power of the keyes is nothing but the preaching of the Gospell: and that it is not so much a power as a ministerie, if we haue respect to men. For Christ hath not giuen this power properly to men, but to his owne worde, whereof he hath made men ministers.

2 The other place which wee haue saide to be concerning the power of binding and loosing, is in the xvij. chapter of *Matthew*, where Christ saith: If anie brother heare not the Church, let him bee to thee as a heathen man or a publicane. Verily I say vnto you: whatsoeuer yee binde vpon earth, shall be bound also in heauen: whatsoeuer yee loose shall be loosed. This place is not altogether like the first, but is a little otherwise to be vnderstanded. But I doe 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 general sentence: that in both there is alway all one power of binding & loosing, namely by the word of God, all one commandement, all one promise. But herein they differ, that the first place pecularly belongeth to preaching, which the ministers of the word do execute: this latter place to the discipline of Excommunication, which is committed to the church. The Church bindeth, whom she excommunicateth, not that she throweth him into perpetual ruine and desperation, but because she condemneth his life & maners, & vnles he repent, doth already warne him of his damnation. She looseth whom she receiueh into communion: because she doth make him as it were partaker of the vnitie which she hath in Christ Iesus. Therefore that no man should obstinately despise the iudgement of the church, or little regard that he is condemned by the consenting voyces of the faithfull: the Lord testifieth that such iudgement of the faithfull is nothing else but a publishing of his owne sentence: and that whatsoeuer they do in earth is confirmed in heauen. For they haue the word of God, whereby they may condemne the perverser: they haue the worde, whereby 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 law of God, which is not an vn-certaine or earthly opinion, but the holy will of God, and a heauenly oracle. Out of these two places, which I thinke I haue both briefly familiarlie and truly expounded, those iudicious men without difference as they be caried with their own giddines, go about to establish somtime confession, somtime excommunication, somtime iurisdiction, somtime the power to make lawes, somtime pardons. But the first place they allge to establish the supremacie of the Sea of Rome: they can so well skill to fit their keyes to all lockes and doores, that a man may say they haue practised smithes craft all their life.

3 For whereas many thinke that those things endured but for a time, when the Magistrates were yet strangers from the profession of our religion: they are deceived in this, that they consider not; how great difference and what manner of vnlike-ness there is of the Ecclesiasticall and ciuill power. For the Church hath not the power of the sword to punish or restrain, no empire to commaund, no prison, no other paines which the magistrate is wont to lay vpon men. Againe, it tendeth not to this end, that he that hath sinned should be punished against his will, but should with willing chastisement professe his repentance. Therefore there is a farre diuerse order: because neither doth the Church take to it selfe any thing which properly belongeth to the Magistrate, nor the magistrate can execute that which the Church doth. This shall be made plainer by an example. Is any man drunke? In a well ordered citie prison shall be his punishment. Hath he committed fornication? He shall haue like, or rather greater punishment. So shall both the lawes, and the magistrate, and outward iudgement be satisfied: But it may be that he shall giue no signification of repentance, but rather murmure and grudge against it. Shall the Church in this case do nothing?

The power of binding & loosing by discipline committed to the church. Matt. 18. 17.

The difference betwene ecclesiasticall iudgement and ciuill, and how necessarie as well for the one as the other to continue.

Cap. I I. Of the outward meanes

But such cannot be receiued to the Supper, without doing wrong both to Christ and his holy institution. And reason requireth this, that he which offendeth the church with an euill example, should with solemae declaration of repentance take away the offence which he hath raised. The reason which they bring that are of contrarie opinion, is too colde: Christ say they committed these doings to the Church, when there was no magistrate to execute them. But it happeneth often times that the magistrate is more negligent, yea sometime peraduenture that himselfe is to be chastised, which happened to the Emperour *Theodosius*. There may beside this as much be faide of the ministerie of the word. Now therefore after their sentence, let Pastors cease to blame manifest wicked doings, let them cease to chide, to reprove, to rebuke, for there bee Christian magistrates, which ought to correct these things with the law and with the sword. But as the magistrate ought by punishing, and by restraining with force, to purge the Church of offences: so likewise the minister of the word for his part ought to helpe the magistrate that there may not so many offend. So ought their workings to be conioyned that the one may be a helpe, not a hinderance to the other.

*Ecclesiasticall in-
risdiction not abo-
lished by civill.*

4. And truly if a man more neerely wey the words of Christ, he shall easily perceiue that in these places, is described a stayed state, and a perpetuall order of the Church, not such as endureth but for a time. For it is not meete that we should accuse them to the Magistrate, that will not obey our monitions: which yet should be necessary if the magistrate succeeded into the office of the Church. What is this promise? Shall we say that it is a promise of one or a few yeres? Verily verily I say vnto you, whatsoeuer ye binde on earth. Moreover Christ did here institute no new thing, but followed the custome alway obserued in the ancient Church of his owne nation: whereby he signified that the Church cannot want the spirituall iurisdiction, which had bin from the beginning. And this hath bin confirmed by the consent of all times. For when Emperors and magistrats began to professie Christ, the spirituall iurisdiction was not by and by abolished: but only so ordered, that it should diminish nothing of the ciuill iurisdiction, or be confounded with it. And rightfully. For the magistrate, if he be godly, wil not exempt himself from the cōmon subiection of the children of God, wherof it is not the last part to submit himselfe to the church, iudging by the word of God: so far it is off, that he ought to take away that order of iudgment. For what is more honorable (saith *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. Therefore they, which to honor the magistrate do spoile the church of his power, do not only with false exposition corrupt the sentence of Christ, but also do not slenderly condemne so many holy bishops which haue bin from the time of the Apostles, that they haue by false pretence vsurped the honor and office of the magistrate.

*Epi. 32. ad
Valent.*

*Spirituall power
seuered from the
power of the
sword.*

5. But on the other side it is good to see thus, what was in olde time the true vse of the iurisdiction of the Church, and how great abule is crept in, that we may know what is to be abrogate, and what is to be restored of antiquitie, if we will ouerthrow the kingdome of Antichrist, and set vp the true kingdome of Christ againe. First this is the marke to be shot at, that offences be prevented, and if any offence be risen vp, that it may be abolished. In the vse two things 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 will of one man, but by a lawfull assembly. Both these things were obserued in the purer Church. For the holy bishops did not exercise their power with fines, or imprisonments, or other ciuill punishments: but they vsed the only word of the Lord, as they ought to do. For the seuerest reuenge, and as it were the vitermost thunderbolt of the Church is excommunication, which is not vsed but in necessitie. But this requireth neither force nor strong hande, but is content with the power of the word of God. Finally, the iurisdiction of the old Church was nothing else

else but a declaration in practise (as I may so call it) of that which *Paul* teacheth concerning the spirituall power of Pastors. There is (saith he) power giuen to vs; whereby we may throw downe strong holdes, whereby we may make low all height that lifteth vp it selfe against the knowledge of God, whereby we may subdue all thought, and may leade it captiue into the obedience of Christ, and we haue in readines a reuenge against all disobedience. As this is done by the preaching of the doctrine of Christ: so, least the doctrine should be scorned, according to that which is taught ought they to be iudged which professe themselues of the household of faith. But that cannot be done, vnlesse there be ioyned with the ministerie a power to call them that are to be priuately admonished, or to be more sharply corrected, and also a power to exclude them from the communion of the Supper, which cannot be receiued without prophaning of so great a mystery. Therefore when in another 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 chastice their faultes, and he secretly signifieth that there were then iudiciall orders in force from which none of the faithfull was free.

6 But such authoritie (as we haue declared) was not in the power of one man, to doe eny thing according to his owne will: but in the power of the assembly of the Elders, which 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 time, vseth to ioyn the whole Cleargie with the Bishop. But in another place also he sheweth, that the very Cleargie so governed, that in the meane time the people was not excluded from the hearing of matters. For thus he writeth: Since the beginning of my Bishopricke I haue determined to do nothing without the counsell of the Cleargie and consent of the people. But this was the common & vsuall manner, that the iurisdiction of the church should be exercised by a Senate of Elders: of whom (as I haue said) there were two sortes: For some were ordeined to teaching, & other some were only Iudges of manners. By little and little this institution grew out of kinde from the first beginning of it: so that euen in the time of *Ambrose* onely Clearkes were Iudges in Ecclesiasticall iudgements. Which thing he himselfe complaineth of in these words: The old Synagoge (saith he) and since that time the Church hath had Elders, without whose counsell nothing was done. Which by what negligence it is growne out of vse, I know not, vnles peraduenture by the slouthfulnes or rather the pride of the teachers, while they alone would be thought to be somewhat. We see how much the holy man is displeas'd, that any thing of the better state is decayed, when notwithstanding they had yet continuing an order that was at the least tolerable. What then would he doe if he saw these deformed ruines that shew almost no signe of the old building? What bewailing would he vse? First, against lawe and right, the Bishop hath claimed to himselfe alone, that which was giuen to the whole Church. For it is like as if the Confull, driuing out the Senate, should take the Empire vpon himselfe alone. But as he is about the rest in honour, so in the whole assembly is more authoritie than in one man. Therefore it was too wicked a deede, that one man, remoouing the common power to himselfe, hath both opened an entrie to tyrannous lust, and hath taken from the Church that which belonged vnto her, and hath suppressed and put away the assembly ordeined by the Spirit of Christ.

7 But (as of one euill alway groweth another) Bishops disdainig it as a thing vnwoorthy of their care, haue committed it ouer to other. Hereupon are created Officials to serue that roome: I doe not yet speake what kinde of men they be, but onely this I say, that they nothing differ from prophane Iudges. And yet they still call it a spirituall iurisdiction, where men contend about nothing but earthly matters. Although there were no more euill, with what face dare they call a brawling Court the iudgement of the Church? But there are monitions, there is excommunication. So

Spiritual iurisdiction executed by the will not of one but of many in the time of Cyprian and Ambrose.
Epi. 14. & 9. lib. 2.

In 5. capite. 1. ad Tim.

The abuse of spirituall courts.

verily they mocke with God. Doth a poore man owe a litle money? he is cited: if hee appeare, he is condemned. When he is condemned, if he do not satisfie it, he is monished: after the second monition they proceede one steppe toward excommunication: if he appeare not, he is monished to come and yeelde himselfe to judgement: if he then make delay, he is monished, and by and by excommunicate. I beseech you, what is there any thing like either to the institution of Christ, or to the ancient manner, or to an Ecclesiasticall order? But there is also correction of vices. But how? verily they not onely suffer but with secret allowance do after a certaine manner cherish and confirme adulteries, wantonnesse, drunkennesse and such kind of mischeuous doings: and that not only in the common people, but also in the cleargie themselves. Of many they call a few before them, either that they shoulde not seeme slouthfull in winking at them, or that they may milke out some money. I speake not of the pillages, robberies, briberies, and sacriledges that are gathered thereby, I speake not what manner of men are for the most part chosen to this office. This is enough and too much, that when the Romanists doe boast that their iurisdiction is spirituall, it is easie to shewe that there is nothing more contrarie to the order institute of Christ, and that it hath no more likenes to the ancient custome than daiknes hath to light.

Spiritual power abused, civill usurped by the Pope.

8 Although we haue not spoken all things that might be alleaged for this purpose, and those things that we haue spoken of are knitte vp in fewe words: yet I trust that we haue soughit it out, that there is nowe no more cause why any man should doubt, that the spirituall power whereof the Pope with all his kingdome proudly glorieth, is wicked against God, & an vniust tyranny over his people. Vnder the name of spirituall power I comprehend both boldnesse in framing new doctrines, wherewith they haue turned away the silly people from the natural purenesse of the word of God, and the wicked traditions wherewith they haue snared them, and also the false ecclesiasticall iurisdiction which they execute by Suffrages and Officiales. For if we graunt vnto Christ a kingdome among vs, it is not possible but that all this kinde of dominion must immediately be ouerthrowen and fall downe. As for the power of the sworde which they also giue to themselves, because it is not exercised vpon consciences, it pertaineth not to our present purpose to entreate of it. In which behalfe yet it is also to note, that they be alway like themselves, verily nothing lesse than that which they would be taken for, that is to say, Pastors of the Church. Neither doe I blame the peculiar faults of men, but the common wickednes of the whole order, yea the very pestilence of the order: forasmuch as it is thought that the same should be maimed, vnles it be gloriously set forth with wealth and proud titles. If we require the authoritie of Christ concerning this matter, it is no doubt but that his minde was to debar the ministers of his word from ciuill dominion and earthly government, when he said. The kings of the Gentiles beare rule over them: but you shall not so. For he signifyeth not onely that the office of Pastor is distinct from the office of a Prince, but that they be things so secured, that they cannot meete together in one man. For whereas *Moses* did beare both the offices together: First that was done by a rare miracle: againe, it was but for a time till things were better set in order. But when a certaine forme was once prescribed of God, the ciuill government was left vnto him, and he was commanded to resigne the priesthood to his brother. And worthily. For it is aboue nature, that one man should suffice to beare both burdens. And this hath in all ages been diligently obserued in the Church. And there was neuer any of the Bishops, so long as the true forme of the church endured, that once thought of vsurping the power of the sworde: so that this was a common prouerbe in the time of *Ambrose*, that Emperors rather coueted the priesthood, than priests the empire. For this which he afterwarde saith, was emprinted in the minds of all men, that palaces pertained to the Emperour, and Churches to the Priest.

*Mart. 20. 25.
Luce. 12. 25.*

Exod. 18. 16.

*Hom. de Basilic.
trad. n.*

9 But since that a way hath been deuised, whereby Bishops might hold the titles honor and riches of their office without burden or care: least they should be left altogether idle, the power of the sword was giuen them, or rather they did by vsurpation take it vpon themselves. By what colour will they defend this shamelesnes? Was thus the duty of Bishops to wrap themselves with iudicial hearing of causes, with the gouernements of Cities and Prouinces, and through large circuites to meddle in busines so vnpertaining to them: which haue so much worke and busines in their owne office, that if they were wholly and continually occupied in it, and were withdrawn with no callings away from it, yet they were scarcely able to satisfie it? But (such is their backwardnesse) they sticke not to boast, that by this meane the Church doth flourish according to her worthines, and that they themselves in the meane time are not too much drawn away from the duties of their vocation. As touching the first point: if this be a comely ornament of the holy office, that they be aduanced to such height, that the highest Monarches may stand in feare of them: then they haue cause to quarrell with Christ, which hath in such sort grievously pinched their honor. For, at least in their opinion what could haue been spoken more dishonorably than those words: The Kings of the Gentiles and Princes beare rule ouer them, but you shall not so? And yet he laid no harder Law vpon his seruants than he first laid and receiued vpon himselfe. Who (saith he) hath made me a Iudge or diuider among you? We see that he plainly putteth away from himselfe the office of iudging, which hee would not doe if it were a thing agreeing with his office: will not the seruants suffer themselves to be brought into that order, whereunto the Lord hath yielded himselfe subiect? As for the other point, I would to God they could so prooue it in experience as it is easie to speake it. But so far as the Apostles thought it not good, to leaue the word of God and minister at tables: thereby, because they will not be taught, they are continued, that it is not all one mans worke to be both a good Bishop and a good Prince. For if they (which according to the largenes of the giftes wherewith they were endued, were able to satisfie no and greater cares than any men that haue been borne since them) haue yet confessed that they cannot at once apply the ministerie both of the word and of tables, but that they should faint vnder the burden: how could these that be men of no valor in comparison of the Apostles a hundred fold excell the industrie of the Apostles? Truly, to attempt it was a point of most shamelesse and too presumptuous boldnes: yet we see that it hath bene attempted: but with what successe, it is euident. For it could not otherwise come to passe, but that forsaking their owne office they should remooue into other mens charge.

10 And it is no doubt but that of small beginning they haue by little and little growen to so great encreases. For it was not possible that they should at the first step clumbe vp so high. But sometime with subtiltie and crooked craftie meanes they priuily aduanced themselves, so as no man could see that it would come to passe till it was done: sometime when occasion serued they did by terror and threatnings wring from Princes some augmentation of their power: sometime when they saw Princes not hard laced to giue, they abused their fond and vnadvised gentleness. In olde time if any controuersie happened, the godly, to escape the necessitie of going to law, committed the arbitrement to the Bishop, because they doubted not his vp-rightnesse. With such arbitrements the olde Bishops were oftentimes encombred, which in deede greatly displeas'd them (as *Augustine* in one place testifieth) but least the parties should runne to contentious lawing, they did though against their willes take that encumbrance vpon them. These men haue of voluntarie arbitrements, which were altogether differing from the noise of iudiciall courtes, made an ordinarie iurisdiction. In a little while after when cities & countries were troubled with diuerse hard distresses, they resorted to the protection of Bishops, to be safeguarded by their faithfull succour: the Bishops by matueilous suttlety, of protectors made them-

Neither honorable for the Church, nor if performance of diuise be respected profitable for Romish prelates to be both Bishops and Kings.

Matt. 20. 25.

Luke 22. 25.

Luke 12. 14.

Act. 6. 2.

The steps & occasions whereby Romish Bishops haue risen vnto more than conuenient power.

felues Lords. Yea, and it cannot be denied that they haue gotten the possession of a great part by violent seditious partakings. As for the Princes, that willingly gaue iurisdiction to bishops, they were by diuers affections moued thereunto. But admitting that their gentlenes had some shew of godlines: yet with this their wrongfull liberalitie they did not verie well prouide for the profite of the Church, whose ancient and true discipline they haue so corrupted, yea (to say truth) haue vterly abolished. But those bishops that haue abused such goodnes of princes to their owne commo- ditie, haue by shewing of this one example enough and too much testified that they are not bishops. For if they had had any sparkle of an Apostolike spirit, they would without doubt haue answered out of the mouth of *Paul*: the weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but spirituall. But they being rauithed with blind greedines, haue destroyed both themselves, their successors, and the Church.

The shifts which
the bishop of Rome
useth to hold the
power which by
robbery he hath
gotten.
Liber de
Consid. 25.

11 At length the bishop of *Rome* not contented with meane Lordships, first laide hand vpon kingdoms, and afterward vpon the verie Empire. And that he may with some colour whatsoeuer it be retain the possession gotten by meere robbetrie, he sometime boasteth that he hath it by the law of God, he sometime pretendeth the gift of *Constantine*, sometime some other title. First I answer with *Bernard*: Admit that he do by any other reason whatsoeuer, claime this vno him, yet he hath it not by apostolike right. For *Peter* could not giue that which he had not: but he gaue to his successors that which he had, the care of Churches. But when the Lord and master saith, that he is not appointed iudge betweene two, a seruant and scholler ought not to thinke scorne if he be not iudge of all men. But *Bernard* speaketh of ciuill iudgements. For he addeth: Therefore your power is in crimes, not in possessions: bicause for those & not for these ye haue received the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. For which seemeth to thee the greater dignitie to forgiue sinnes, or to diuide landes? There is no comparison. These base and earthly things haue Kings and Princes of the earth their iudges. Why do ye invade the bounds of other? &c. Again, Thou art made a superior: (he speaketh to Pope *Eugenius*) but whereunto? Not to beare Lordship, I think. Therefore how much soeuer we thinke of our felues, let vs remember that there is a ministry laid vpon vs, not a lordship giuen vs. Learne that thou hast need of a weed-hooke not of a scepter, that thou maist do the work of a Prophet. Again, it is plaine: lordship is forbidden to the Apostles. Go thou therefore, & presume to vsurpe to thy self either being a Lord, an Apostleship: or being an Apostle, a Lordship. And by & by after: the forme of an Apostleship is this, Lordship is forbidden them, ministry is bidden them. Whereas these things are lo spoken of a man, that it is euident to all men that the very truth speaketh them, yea whereas the very thing it selfe is manifest without all words: yet the Bishop of Rome was not ashamed in the Council at Orleance to decree that the supreme power of both the swords belong to him by the lawe of God.

Concil Arelan-
tense.

The firmest of
Constantines
Donation.
Epist 5 lib. 2.
Epist. 20 lib. 3.
Epist 6. lib. 2.
Epist 3. lib. 4.
Epist 33 lib. 4.

12 As for the gift of *Constantine*, they that be but meanly practised in the histories of those times need not to be taught how much this is not onely fabulous, but also to be laughed at. But to passe ouer histories, *Gregory* himselfe is both a sufficient and most full witness hereof. For so oft as he speaketh of the Emperour, he calleth him most noble Lord, & himselfe his vnworthie seruant. Again, in another place: But let not our Lord by the earthly power be the sooner angry with the priests: but with excellent consideration, for his sake whose seruants they be, let him so rule ouer them, that he also giue them due reuerence. We see how in common subiection hee would be accounted as one of the people. For hee there pleadeth not any other mans cause, but his owne. In an other place, I trust in the almightie God, that he wil giue a long life to our godly Lords, and will dispose vs vnder your hand according to his mercie. Neither haue I therefore alleaged these things, for that it is my purpose throughly to discusse this question concerning the gifte of *Constantine*: but onely that.

that the Readers should see by the way how childishly the Romanistes doe lie, when they go about to challenge an earthly Empire to their bishop. And so much the more foule is the shamelesnes of *Augustine Steuchus*, which in such a dispaired cause hath bin so bold to sell his travel and toong to the bishop of *Rome*. *Valla* (as it was not heard for a man learned and of a sharpe wit) had strongly confuted that fable. And yet (as a man little exercised in ecclesiasticall matters) hee had not saide all that might haue made for that purpose. *Steuchus* burst in, and scattered stinking trifles to oppresse the cleere light. And truly he doth no lesse coldly handle the cause of his master, than if some merrie conceited fellow faining himselfe to do the same, woulde indeede take *Vallas* part. But verily it is a worthie cause, for which the Pope should hire such patrons for money: and no lesse worthy are those hired losels to be deceiued of their hope of gaine, as it happened to *Eugubinus*.

13 But if any man require to knowe the time, since this fained Empire began to rise vp, there are not yet passed six hundred yeeres, since the bishops yet remained in subiection of the Princes, neither was the Pope created without authoritie of the Emperour. The Emperour *Henry* the fourth of that name, a light and rash man, and of no forecast, of great boldnes and dissolute life, gaue first occasion to *Gregory* the seventh to alter this order. For when he had in his court the bishopricke of all *Germany* partly to be sold, and partly laid open for spoile: *Hildebrand*, which had received displeasure at his hand, caught hold of a goodly colour to reuenge himselfe. But because hee seemed to pursue an honest and a godly cause, hee was furthered with the fauour of many. And *Henry* was otherwise, by reason of his insolent maner of governing, hated of the most part of princes. At the length *Hildebrand*, which called himselfe *Gregorie* the seventh, as he was a filthy and naughtie man, bewraied the malice of his heart: which was the cause that he was forsaken of many that had conspired with him. But he thus much preuailed, that his successours might freely without punishment not onely shake off the yoke, but also bring Emperours in subiection to them. Hereunto was added that from thence forth there were many Emperours liker to *Henry* than to *Julius Caesar*: whom it was no hard thing to subdue, while they sat at home carelesse of all things and slothfull, when they had most need with vertue and lawfull meanes to repress the greedinesse of the bishops. Thus we see with what colour that same godly gift of *Constantine* is shadowed, whereby the Pope faineth that the Empire of the West was deliuered vnto him.

The time when the Pope began first to ouerprop the Emperour.

14 In the meane time the Popes ceased not, sometime with fraud, sometime with treason, and sometime with force to inuade other mens dominions: and the very citie it selfe, which before was free, within a hundred and thirtie yeeres, or there about they brought into their subiection, till they grew to the same power which they haue at this day: and for the obtaining or encreasing whereof, they haue so troubled Christendome by the space of two hundred yeeres, (for they began before that they tooke to them the dominion of the citie) that they haue almost destroyed it. In the old time whē vnder *Gregorie* the keepers of the goods of the church, did take possession of the lands which they reckoned to belong to the Church, & after the maner of the leasing to the vse of the Prince did set titles vpon them for token of claime, *Gregorie* assembling a councell of bishops, inueying sore against that prophane manner, asked whether they did not iudge that Cleike accursed which did of his owne will by writing of any title attempt to enter vpon any possession. They all pronounced, accursed. If to claime a peece of grounde by writing of a title be in a Clarke an offence worthie of accusing: when whole two hundred yeres together Popes do practise nothing elsē but battels, shedding of bloud, destructions of armies, sackings of some cities, racing of other, ouerthrowes of nations, wastings of kingdoms, onely that they might catch holde of other mens possessions: what cursings can be enough to punish such examples? Truly it is very plaine that they seeke nothing lesse than the glorie of

The violent means whereby the power of the Pope hath growen.

Reglib. 4. cap. 88.

Christ. For if they of their owne will do wholly resigne all the secular power that they haue, therein is no danger to the glory of God, no danger to sound doctrine, no danger to the safetie of the Church: but they are caried blind and headlong with only greedinesse of dominion: because they thinke nothing safe, vnlesse they may beare rule with rigorousnesse (as the Prophet saith) and with power.

Ezech. 34. 4.
The Romish
Clergie exempting
themselves
from the power
of the Ciuill Iudge
contrarie to the
auncient custome
of the Church.

15 To iurisdiction is annexed immunitie, which the Romish Clergie tooke to themselves. For they thinke it against their dignitie, if they answer in personall causes before a temporall iudge: and therein they thinke both the libertie and dignitie of the Church to consist, if they be exempt from common iudgement and lawes. But the old bishops, which otherwise were most rigorous in defending the right of the Church, iudged themselves and their order to be nothing hurt, if they were subiect to them. And the godlie Emperours, without gainesaying of any man, did alway call Clarkes to their iudgement seates so oft as neede required. For thus saith *Constantine* in his Epistle to the Nicomedians: If any of the bishops shall vndirectely disorder himselfe, his boldnes shall be restrained by the execution of the minister of God, that is by my execution. And *Valentinian* saith: Good bishops do not speake against the power of the Emperour, but do sincerely both keepe the commandements of God the great king, and also obey our lawes. At that time all men were perswaded of this without controuersie. But Ecclesiastical causes were referred to the iudgement of the Bishop. As if any Clerke had offended nothing against the lawes, but only was accused by the Canons: he was not cited to the common iudgement seate, but in that cause had the bishop for his iudge. Likewise if there were a question of Faith in controuersie, or such a matter as properly pertained to the Church, the iudgement thereof was committed to the Church. So is that to be vnderstanded, which *Ambrose* writeth to *Valentinian*: Your father of honourable memorie, not only answered in word, but also decreed by lawes, that in a cause of Faith he ought to be iudge that is neither vsit in office nor vnlike in right. Againe: If we haue regard to the Scriptures or olde examples, who is there that can denie that in a cause of Faith, in a cause (I say) of Faith, bishops are wont to iudge of Christian Emperors, and not Emperors of bishops? Againe: I would haue come, O Emperour, to your consistorie, if either the bishops or the people would haue suffred me to go: saying, that the cause of Faith ought to be debated in the Church before the people. He affirmeth verily that a spirituall cause, that is to say the cause of religion, ought not to be drawn into the temporall court where prophane causes are pleaded. Worthily do all men praise his constancie in this behalfe. And yet in a good cause he proceedeth but thus farre, that if it come to violence and strong hand, he saith that he will giue place. Willingly (saith he) I will not forsake the place committed vnto me: but when I am enforced, I know not how to resist: for our armour are prayers and teares. Let vs note the singular modestie and wisdom of the holy man, ioyned with stoutnesse of courage and boldnesse. *Iustina* the Emperours mother, because she could not drave him to the Arrtans side, practised to driue him from the government of the Church. And so should it haue come to passe, if he had come when he was called to the palace to pleade his cause. Therefore he denieth the Emperour to be a competent iudge of so great a controuersie. Which manner of doing both the necessitie of that time, and the continuall nature of the matter required. For he iudged that he ought rather to die, than that such an example should by his consent be giuen to posteritie: and yet if violence be offered, he thinketh not of resistance. For he denieth it to be bishoplike, to defend the faith and right of the Church with armes. But in other causes he sheweth himselfe readie to do whatsoeuer the Emperour shall commaund him. If he demaund tribute, (saith he) we denie it not: the lands of the Church do pay tribute. If he aske lands, he hath power to claime them, none of vs resisteth. After the same manner also speaketh *Gregorie*. I am not ignorant (saith he) of the mind of our most noble soueraigne

Lord,

Epi. 31.

Hom. de Basi-
lic. trad.

Bib. 3. Epi. 20.

Lord, that he vseth not to intermeddle in causes pertaining to Priests, least he should in any thing be burdened with our sinnes. He doth not generally exclude the Emperour from iudging of Priests: but he saith that there be certaine causes, which he ought to leaue to the iudgement of the Church.

16 And by this verie exception the holy men sought nothing else, but that Princes lesse zealous of religion should not with tyrannous violence and wilfulnesse interrupt the Church in doing her office. For neither did they disallow, if Princes sometime did vse their authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters, so that it were done to preferue the order of the Church, nor to trouble it, to stablish discipline, nor to dissolue it. For sith the Church hath not the power of compelling, nor ought to require it (I speake of ciuil constraining:) it is the office of godly Kings and Princes to maintaine religion with lawes, proclamations, and iudiciall proceedings. After this manner, when the Emperour *Maurice* had commaunded certain bishops that they should receiue their fellow bishops that were their neighbours and driuen out by the barbarous nations: *Gregorie* confirmeth that commaundement, and exhorteth them to obey it. And when he himselfe is admonished by the same Emperour to come to attonement with *Iohn* the Bishop of *Constantinople*, he doeth in deede iender a reason why he ought not to be blamed: yet he doth not boast of immunitie from the secular court, but rather promiseth that he will be obedient, so faire as his conscience will giue him leaue: and therewithall he saith this, that *Maurice* did as became a godlie Prince, when he gaue such commandements to the Priests.

The immunitie of Romish clergie men from secular courts in the time of Gregorie was stood vpon.

Lib.1.Epi.43.

Lib.4.Epi.32. and 34.

Lib.7. epi.39.

The xij. Chapter.

Of the discipline of the Church, whereof the chiefe vse is in the censures and excommunication.

THe discipline of the Church, the entreating whereof we haue deferred vnto this place, is briefly to be declared, that we may at length passe ouer to the rest. But that same for the most part hangeth vpon the power of the keyes and spirituall iurisdiction. That this may be the more easily vnderstood, let vs diuide the Church into two principall degrees, that is to say the Cleargy, and the people. Clearkes I call by the vsuall name: those that execute publike ministerie in the Church. First we will speake of common discipline, to which all ought to be subiect: then we will come to the Cleargy, which beside that common discipline, haue a seuerall discipline by themselves. But because many for hatred of discipline do abhorre the very name thereof, let them heare this: If no fellowship, yea no house though it haue but a small household, can be kept in right state without discipline, the same is much more necessary in the Church, whose state ought to be most orderly of all. Therefore as the doctrine of Christ which bringeth saluation is the soule of the Church, so discipline is in keede of sinewes therein: whereby it is brought to passe, that the members of the bodie hang together euery one in his fit place. Wherefore whosoeuer do either desire to haue discipline taken away, or hinder the restoring thereof, whether they do it of set purpose or by vnadvisednes, verily they seeke the extreme dissolution of the Church. For what shall betide, if what is lustfull be lawfull to euery man? But so would it be, if there were not with the preaching of doctrine adioyned private admonishments, corrections, and such other helps which susteine doctrine and suffer it not to be idle: discipline therefore is as it were a bridle wherewith they may be holden backe and tamed which coluishly resist against Christ: or as it were a prick, wherewith they that are not willing enough may be stured vp: and sometime, as a fatherly rod, wherewith they which haue more grieuously fallen may be chastised mercifully and according to the mildnesse of the spirit of Christ. Sith therfore we do now see at hand certaine beginnings of a horrible wastnes in the Church; because there is no

The necessity of discipline in the Church.

care nor order to keepe the people in awe, very necessitie crieth out that there is neede of remedie. But this is the onely remedie, which both Christ hath commaunded, and hath alway been vsed among the godlie.

The vse of admonition towards them that be offenders.

Ag. 20. 20, & 26.

2 The first foundation of discipline is, that priuate monitions shoulde haue place: that is to say, that if any man of his owne accorde doe not his dutie, if he behaue himselfe licentiously, or liue not honestly, or haue committed any thing worthy of blame, hee shoulde suffer himselfe to bee admonished: and that euery man shoulde studie to admonish his brother when occasion shall require. But specially let the Pastors and Priestes be watchfull to doe this, whose office is not onely to preach to the people, but in euery house to admonish and exhort if at any time they doe not sufficiently preuaile by generall doctrine: as *Paul* teacheth, when he rehearseth that he taught priuately and in houses, and protesteth that he is cleane from the blood of all men, because he hath not ceased with teares day and night to admonish euery one. For doctrine doth then obtaine force and authoritie, when the minister not onely doth declare to all together what their dutie is to Christ, but also hath power and order to require the keeping thereof of them whom he marketh to be either not obedient to doctrine, or slothfull. If any man doe either stubbornly refuse, or in going forward in his faults, do despise such admonishments: when he hath been the second time admonished with witnesses called to it, Christ commandeth them to be called to the iudgement of the Church, which is the assemblie of Elders: and that there they shoulde bee more greuously admonished as it were by publike authoritie, that if he reuerence the Church he may submit himselfe and obey. But if he be not hereby subdued, but doe continue in his wickednesse, then he commandeth him, as a despiser of the Church, to be put away from the fellowship of the faithfull.

Mat. 18. 15, & 17.

The difference of dealing in faultes secretly and in faultes openly committed.

Mar. 18. 15.
1. Tim. 5. 22.

3 But because he speaketh here onely of secret faultes, we must make this diuision: that some sinnes be priuate, and some publike or openly manifest. Of the first sort Christ saith to euery priuate man, Reprooue him betwene thee and him alone. Of manifest sinnes *Paul* saith to *Timothee*. Reprooue him before all men, that the rest may haue feare. For Christ had said before, If thy brother haue offended against thee. Which words (against thee) vnlesse thou wilt be contentious, thou canst not otherwise vnderstand than vnder thine owne secret knowledge, so that there bee no moe priuie to it. But the same thing which the Apostle teacheth *Timothee* concerning the rebuking of them openly that sinne openly, he himselfe followed in *Peter*. For when *Peter* sinned euen to publike offence, he did not admonish him apart by himselfe, but brought him forth into the sight of the Church. Therefore this shall be the right order of doing, if in secreete faultes we goe forward according to those degrees that Christ hath set: but in manifest faultes, wee immediately proceede to the Churches solempne rebuking, if the offence be publike.

Gal. 2. 14.

Not one and the same proceeding against meanes & hainous offenders.
1. Cor. 5. 4.

4 Let this also be another distinction: that of sinnes some be defaultes, other some be wicked doings, or hainous offences. To the correcting of this latter sort, not onely admonishment or rebuking is to be vsed, but also a seuerer remedie: as *Paul* sheweth which not onely chastised with words the Corinthian that had committed incest, but also punished him with excommunication, so soone as he was certified of his wicked deede. Now therefore we begin better to see how the spiritual iurisdiction of the Church: which punisheth sinnes according to the word of the Lord, is the best maintenance of health, and foundation of order, and bond of vnitie. Therefore when the Church doth banish out of her companie manifest adulterers, whoremongers, theeues, robbers, seditious persons, periured men, false witnesses, and such other, againe, obstinate men, which being orderly admonished euen of small faults do scorne God and his iudgement, she taketh nothing vpon her selfe without reason, but executeth the iurisdiction giuen her of the Lorde. Moreouer, that none shoulde despise such iudgement of the Church, or lightly regarde that he is condemned by the

consenting

consenting voices of the faithfull: the Lord hath testified, that the same is nothing else but a pronouncing of his owne sentence, and that whatsoever they do in earth is confirmed in heauen. For they haue the word of the Lord, whereby they may condemne the sroward: they haue the word, whereby they may receiue the repentant into fauour, They I say that trust that without this bond of discipline Churches may long stand, are deceiued in opinion: vnlesse perhaps we may want that help which the Lord foresaw that it should be necessarie for vs. And truly how great is the necessitie thereof, shall be better perceiued by the manifold vse of it.

Mat. 16. 16.
and 18. 18.
Iohn. 20. 23.

5 There be three ends which the Church hath respect vnto in such corrections and excommunication. The first is, that they should not, to the dishonour of God, be named among Christians, that leade a filthie and sinfull life, as though his holy Church were a conspiracie of naughtie and wicked men. For sith the Church is the body of Christ, it cannot be defiled with such filthie and rotten members, but that some shame must come to the head. Therefore that there should not be any such thing in the Church, whereby his holy name may be spotted with any reproch, they are to be driuen out of her household, by whose dishonestie any slander might rebound to the name of Christians. And herein also is consideration to be had of the Supper of the Lord, that it be not profaned with giuing it to all without choise. For it is most true, that he to whome the distribution of it is committed, if he wittingly and willingly admit an vnworthy man whom he might lawfully put backe, is as guilty of Sacrilege, as if he did giue abroade the Lords body to dogs. Wherefore *Chrysostome* grieuouly inueigheth against the priests, which while they feare the power of great men, dare debarre no man. The blood (saith he) shalbe required at your hands. If ye feare man, he shall laugh you to scorne: but if ye feare God, ye shalbe reuerenced also among men. Let vs not feare maces, nor purple, nor crownes: we haue here a greater power. I verily will rather deliuer mine owne bodie to death, and suffer my blood to be shed, than I will be made partaker of this defiling. Therefore least this most holy mystrie be spotted with slunder, in the distributing thereof choise is greatly requisite: which yet cannot be had but by the iurisdiction of the church. The second end is, least (as it is wont to come to passe) with the continuall company of the euill, the good should be corrupted. For (such is our readie inclination to go out of the way) there is nothing easier than for vs to be led by euill examples from the right course of life. This vse the Apostle touched, when he commanded the Corinthians to put the incestuous man out of their companie. A little leauen (saith he) corrupteth the whole lump of dow. And he foresaw herein so great danger, that he forbade him euen from all fellowship. If any brother (saith he) among you be named either a whoremonger, or a couetous man, or a worshipper of Idols, or a drunkard, or an euill speaker, with such a one I graunt you not leaue so much as to eate. The third end is, that they themselues confounded with shame may begin to repent of their filthinesse. So it is profitable for them also to haue their owne wickednesse chastised, that with feeling of the rod they may be awaked, which otherwise by tender bearing with them would haue become more obstinate. The same thing doth the Apostle meane when he saith thus: If any do not obey our doctrine, marke him, and keepe no company with him, that he may be ashamed. A gaine in another place, when he writeth that he hath deliuered the Corinthian to Satan, that his spirit might be saued in the day of the Lord: that is (as I expound it) that he went into a damnation for a time, that he might be saued for euer. But he therefore saith that he deliuereth him to Satan, because the diuell is out of the Church as Christ is in the Church. For whereas some do referre it to a certaine vexing of the flesh, I thinke that to be verie vn certaine.

To what ends
corrections & ex-
communications
were ordered in
the Church.
Eph. 5. 25.
Col. 1. 24.

Hom. in Mat. 3.
Ezech. 4. 18,
and 33. 10.

1. Cor. 5. 6. & 17.

2. Thes. 3. 14.
1. Cor. 5. 5.
Aug. de ver.
apost. ho. 58.

6 When these ends be set forth, now it remaineth to see how the Church executeth this part of discipline which consisteth in iurisdiction. First let vs keepe the diuision about set, that of sinnes some be publike, and other some be priuate or

The manner of
ecclesiastical cor-
rection.

more secrete. Publike are those that have not onely one or two witnesses, but are committed openly and with the offence of the whole Church. Secrete I call those, not which are altogether hidden from men, as are the sinnes of hypocrites, for those come not into the iudgement of the Church, but those of the meane kinde which are not without witnesses, and yet are not publike. The first kind requirith not those degrees which Christ recheareth: but whe any such thing appeareth, the Church ought to doe her ducitie in calling the sinner and correcting him according to the proportion of the offence. In the second kind according to the rule of Christ, they come not to the Church till there be also obstinacie added. When it is once come to knowledge, then is that other diuision to be noted between wicked dooings and defaults. For in lighter sins there is not to be vsed so great severity, but chastisement of wordes sufficeth, and the same gentle and fatherly, which may not harden nor confound the sinner, but bring him home to himselfe, that he may more reioyce than be sory that he was corrected. But it is meete that hainous offences be chastised with sharper remedie. For it is not enough, if he that by dooing a wicked deede of euill example hath greuously offended the Church, should be chastised onely with words, but he ought for a time to bee deprived of the communion of the supper, till hee haue giuen assurance of his repentance. For against the Corinthians *Paul* vseth not onely rebuking of words, but driueth him out of the church, and blameth the Corinthians that it had so long borne him. The old and better Church kept this order, when rightfull gouernment flourisheth. For if any man had done any wicked deede wherupon was growen offence, first he was commanded to abstaine from partaking of the holy supper, then both to humble himselfe before God, and to testify his repentance before the church. There were also certain soleme vsages, which were enioyned to them that had fallen, to be tokens of their repentance. When they had to done, that the Church was satisfied, then by laying on of handes he was receiued into fauour. Which receiuing is oftentimes called of *Cyprian* peace, who also briefly describeth this vsage. They doe penance (saith he) in a certaine full time: then they come to confession, and by the laying on of hands of the Bishop and the Cleargie 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 another place.

1. Cor. 5. 5.

Epi. 2. lib. 1.
Liber. 3. Epi. 14.
& 26.

All men subiect
vnto Church discipline,
which to execute belongeth
vnto some, but vnto
all to see executed
not as doers but
as beholders of
that which is done.
Ambrosius in lib. 1.
Epi. 3. in orat. habita
in sin. Theodofii.

7 From this discipline there was no man exempted, that euen the Princes together with the common people did submit themselues to beare it. And rightfully, sith it was euident that it was the discipline of Christ, to whom it is meete that all scepters and Crownes of Kings be submitted. So when *Theodosius* was deprived by *Ambrose* of power to come to the communion because of the slaughter committed at *Thessalonica*, he threw downe all the royall ornament wherewith he was clothed: he openly in the Church bewailed his sinne, which had crept vpon him by fraude of other men: he craued pardon with groning and teares. For great Kings ought not to thinke this to be any dishonor to them, if they humbly throw downe theiuelues before Christ the King of Kings, neither ought it to displease them that they be iudged by the Church. For sith in their court they heare nothing else but meere flatteries, it is more then necessarie for them to be rebuked of the Lord by the mouth of the priests. But rather they ought to wish, that the Priests should not spare the, 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 another place. This onely I adde that that is the lawfull manner of proceeding in excommunicating a man which *Paul* sheweth: if the Elders doe it not onely by themselues, but with the Church knowing and allowing it: that is, in such fort that the multitude of the people may not gouerne the dooing, but may make it as a witness & a keeper that nothing should be done of a few by wilfull affection. But the whole maner of doing, beside the calling vp the name of God,

ought to haue such grauitie, as may resemble the presence of Christ, that it may be vndoubted that he there sitteth for ruler of his owne iudgement.

8 But this ought not to be passed ouer, that such seueritie becometh the church as is ioyned with the spirit of mildenes. For wee must alway diligently beware (as *Paul* teacheth) that he which is punished be not swallow'd vp of sorrow: for so should of a remedy be made a destruction. But out of the ende may better be gathered a rule of moderation. For whereas this is required in excommunication that the sinner should be brought to repentance, and euil examples taken away, least either the name of Christ should be euil spoken of, or other men be prouoked to follow them: if we shall haue an eie to these things, we shall be able easilie to iudge howe farre seueritie ought to proceed, and where it ought to end. Therefore when the sinner giueth a testimonie of his repentance, and doth by his testimonie, as much as in him lieth, blot out the offence: he is not to be enforced any further: but if he be enforced, rigorouenes doth then exceed measure. In which behalfe the immeasurable seueritie of the old fathers cannot be excused, which both disagreed from the prescribed order of the Lord, & also was manuellously dangerous. For when they charged a sinner with solemne penance, & deprivation from the holy communion sometime for seuen yeeres, sometime foure yeeres, sometime three yeeres, sometime for their whole life: what other thing could follow therof but either great hypocrisie or most great desperation? Likewise whereas no man that had fallen the second time was admitted to seconde penance, but was cast out of the Church euen to the ende of his life: that was neither profitable nor agreeing to reason. Therefore whosoeuer shall weigh the matter with sounde iudgement, shall heerein perceiue want of their discretion. Howbeit I doe here rather disallow the publike maner, than accuse all them that vied it, whereas it is certaine that many of them mistak it: but they did therefore suffer it, because they could not amend it. Truly, *Cyprian* declareth, how much beside his owne will he was so rigorous. Our patience (saith he) and easines and gentlenes is readie to them that come. I wish all to returne into the Church: I wish all our fellow soldiards to be enclosed within the tents of Christ and in the houses of God the father. I forgieue al things, I dissemble many things, for zeale and desire to gather brotherhoode together, I examine not with full iudgement those things that are committed against God, in pardoning defaults more than I ought, I am my selfe almost in default, I doe with readie and full loue embrace them that returne with repentance, confessing their sins with humble and plaine satisfaction. *Chrysostome* is somewhat harder, and yet he saith thus: If God be so kinde, why will his priest seeme so rigorous? Moreouer we knowe what gentlenes *Augustine* vsed toward the Donatistes, insomuch that hee sticked not to receiue into bishoprike those that had returned from schisme, euen immediately after their repentance. But because a contrarie order had growen in force, they were compelled to leaue their owne iudgement to follow it.

9 But as this mildenes is required in the whole body of the church, that it should punish them that are fallen, mercifully & not to the extremitie of rigour, but rather according to the precept of *Paul*, should confirme charitie towards them: so euerie priuate man for himselfe ought to temper himselfe to this mercifulnes & gentlenesse. Therefore it is not our part to wipe out of the number of the elect such as are drauen out of the Church, or to despair of them as though they were already lost. We may indeed iudge them strangers from the Church, & therefore strangers from Christ: but that is onely during the time that they abide in diuorce. But if then also they shewe a greater resemblance of stubbornnes than of gentlenes, yet let vs commit them to the iudgement of the Lorde, hoping better of them in time to come than we see in time present, and let vs not therefore cease to pray to God for them, and (to comprehend all in one word) let vs not condemne to death the person it selfe, which is in the hand and iudgement of God alone, but let vs rather weigh by the lawe of the Lorde of

The lenitie & gentlenes that shoulde be vsed in excommunication of church discipline.

2. Cor. 2.7.

Ad Cor. Epi. 31.
Liber. 1.

Men seuered from the Church by excommunication not rashly to be condemned in the iudgement of men.

Cap. 12. Of the outward meanes

what sort euery mans workes be. Which rule while we follow, we rather stand to the iudgement of God than pronounce our owne. Let vs not take to our selues more libertie in iudging, vnlesse we wil binde the power of God within bounds, & appoint a law to his mercie, at whose pleasure when he thinketh it good, very euill men are turned into very good, strangers are grafted and forreins are chosen into the Church. And this the Lorde doth, thereby to mocke out the opinion of men, and rebate their rashnes: which if it be not restrained, presumeth to take to it selfe power of iudging more than it ought.

The difference betweene excommunicating and accursing.
Matt. 18. 18.

10 For whereas Christ promisseth that that shall be bound in heauen, which they that be his shall bind in earth, he limiteth the power of binding; to the Censure of the church: by which they that are excommunicate, are not throwen into euerlasting ruine and damnation: but hearing their liues and maners to be condemned, they are also certified of their owne euerlasting condemnation, vnlesse they repent. For excommunication heerein differeth from accursing, that accursing taking away all pardon doth condemne a man and adidge him to eternall destruction: excommunication rather reuengeth and punisheth maners. And though the same do also punish the man, yet it doth lo punish him, that in forewarning him of his damnation to com, it doth call him backe to saluation. If that be obtained, reconciliation and restoring to the communion is readie. But accursing is either very seldome or neuer in vse. Therefore, although ecclesiasticall discipline, permitteth not to liue familiarly, or to haue friendly conuersation with them that be excommunicate: yet we ought to endeavour by such meanes as we may, that returning to amendment, they may returne to the fellowship and vnitie of the church: as the Apostle also teacheth. Do not (saith he) think them as enemies, but correct them as brethren. Vnles this gentlenes be kept as well priuately as in common, there is danger least from discipline wee fourthwith fall to butcherie.

2. Thef. 3. 15.

Mens duties in keeping vnitie where transgressions cannot conveniently be corrected.

Lib. 2. contra.
Parm. cap. 1.

Lib. 3. cap. 1.

Cap. 2.

Cap. 1.

Mat. 13. 29.

11 This also is principally required to the moderation of discipline, which *Augustine* entreteeth of in disputing against the Donatistes: that nei her priuate men, if they see faultes not diligently enough corrected by the Councell of elders, shoulde therefore by and by depart from the Church: nor the pastors themselues, if they cannot according to their harts desire purge all things that neede amendment, shoulde therefore throwe away the ministerie, or with vnwoonted rigoroufnes trouble the whole Church. For it is most true which he writeth: that hee is free and discharged from curse, whofoeuer hee be that either by rebubing amendeth what hee can: or what he cannot amende, excludeth, sauing the bond of peace: or what he cannot exclude, sauing the bond of peace, he doth disallow with equity, & bear with stedfastnes. He rendreth a reason thereof in another place: bicause all godly order & maner of ecclesiasticall discipline ought alway to haue respect vnto the vnitie of the spirite in the bond of peace: which the apostle comandeth to be kept by our bearing one with another, & when it is not kept, the medicine of punishment beginneth to be not onely superfluous, but also hurtfull, and therefore ceaseth to be a medicine. He that (saith he) doth diligently thinke vpon these things doth neither in preserving of vnitie neglect the feruente of discipline, nor doth with immeasurablenes of correction breake the bond of fellowship. He granteth in dede that not onely the pastors ought to trauaile to this point, that there may remaine no fault in the Church, but also that euery man ought to his power to endcuor therunto: & he plainly declareth that he which neglecteth to monish, rebuke, & correct the euil, although he do not fauor them, nor sin with them, yet is guilty before the Lord. But if he be in such degree, that hee may also sever them from the partaking of Sacraments, and doth it not, nowe he sinneth not by an others euill, but by his owne. Onely hee willeth it to bee done, with vsing of discretion, which the Lorde also requireth, least while the tares be in rooting out, the corne be hurt. Hereupon he gathereth out of *Cyprian*, Let a man therefore mercifully correct

correct what hee can : and what hee cannot, let him patiently suffer, and with loue grone and lament it.

12 This he saith because of the precisenesse of the Donatistes, who when they sawe faultes in the Churches which the Bishops did in deede rebuke with words, but not punish with excommunication, (because they thought that they could this way nothing preuaile) did sharply inuey against the Bishops as betrayers of discipline, and did with an vngodly schisme diuide themselues from the flock of Christ. As the Anabaptists do at this day, which when they acknowledge no cōgregation to be of christ, vnlesse it doe in euery point shine with Angeliike perfection, doe vnder pretence of their zeale onerthrowe all edification. Such (saith *Augustine*) not for hatred of other mens wickednesse, but for desire to maintaine their owne contentions, doe couer either wholly to drawe away, or at least to diuide the weake people snared with the boasting of their name: they swelling with pride, mad with stubbornesse, traiterous with flauanders, troublesome with seditions, least it should openly appeere that they want the light of truth, doe pretende a shadowe of rigorous seueritie: and those things which in Scripture are commaunded to be done with moderate healing for correcting of the faultes of brethren, preseruing the sincerenesse of loue, and keeping the vnitie of peace, they abuse to sacrilege of schisme and occasion of cutting off. So doth Satan transforme himselfe into an Angell of light, when by occasion as it were of iust seueritie he perswadeth vnmerciful crueltie, coueting nothing else but to corrupt and breake the bond of peace and vnitie: which bond remaining fast among Christians, all his forces are made weake to hurt, his traps of treasons are broken, and his counceles of onerthrowing doe vanish away.

13 This one thing he chiefly commendeth, that if the infection of sinne haue entred into the whole multitude, then the seuerer mercie of liuely discipline is necessarie. For (saith he) the deuises of separation are vaine, and hurtfull and full of sacrilege, because they are vngodly and proud, and doe more trouble the weak good ones, than they amend the stout euill ones. And that which hee there teacheth other, hee himselfe also faithfully followed. For writing to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, he commaundeth that drunkennesse which is so sore condemned in Scriptures, doth range vn-punished in *Affrica*: and he aduiseeth him, that assembling a Councell of Bishops he should prouide remedie for it. He addeth by and by after, These things (as I think) are taken away not roughly, not hardly, not after an imperious manner, but more by teaching than by commaunding, more by admonishing than by threatening. For so must we deale with a multitude of sinners, but seueritie is to be exercised vpon the sinnes of few. Yet he doth not meane that Bishops should therefore winke or hold their peace at publike faultes, because they cannot seuerely punish them: as he himselfe afterward expoundeth it: But he willet that the measure of correction be so tempered, that so farre as may be, it may rather bring health than destruction to the bodie. And therefore at length he concludeth thus: Wherefore both this commaundement of the Apostle is in no wise to be neglected, to seuer the euil, when it may be done without perill of breaking of peace: and this is also to be kept, that bearing one with another, we should endeavour to preserve vnitie of the Spirit, in the bond of peace.

14 The part that remaineth of discipline, which properly is not contained in the power of keies, standeth in this, that according to the necessitie of times the pastors should exhort the people either to fasting, or to cōmon supplications, or to other exercises of humilitie, repentance, and faith, of which things there is neither time, nor measure, nor forme prescribed by the word of God, but is left in the iudgement of the Church. The obseruing of this part also, as it is profitable, so hath alway been vied of the olde Church euen from the very Apostles. Howbeit the Apostles themselues were not the first authors of them, but they tooke example out of the lawe & the Prophets. For we see that there so oft as any weightie busines happend, the people were called

The precisenesse of Donatists making sacrilegious schisme in the Church, vnder pretence of a religious desire to haue vice seuerely punished, wherein the Bishops being lesse safe and fierie then some did wish, were accounted betrayers of discipline.

2. Cor. 11. 14.

How to deale in faultes so common that they cannot with the peace of the church be corrected.

Lib. 3. contr. Parm. cap. 2.

1. Cor. 5. 7. Eph. 4. 2.

The vse of exhortation to publike exercises of humilitie in the church.

Cap. 12. Of the outward meanes

called together, common prayers enioyned, and fasting commanded. Therefore the Apostles followed that which both was not new to the people of God, and they foresaw that it should be profitable. Likewise is to be thought of other exercises, wherewith the people may either be stirred vp to their duties, or be kept in awe and obedience. There are examples each where in holy histories, which we neede 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 choosing of a minister, finally, so oft as any hard matter or of great importance is in doing: againe, when there appeere tokens of the wrath of God, as pestilence, and warre, and famine: this is a holy ordinance and profitable for all ages, that the Pastors should exhort the people to common fasting, and to extraordinary prayer. If any man doe not allow the testimonies which may be alleaged out of the olde Testament, as though they were not meete for the Christian Church, it is certaine that the Apostles also did the same. Howbeit of prayers I think there will scarcely any be found that wil moue any question. Therefore let vs say somewhat of fasting: because many when they vnderstand not what profit it hath, do iudge it not so necessarie: some also doe vtterly refuse it as superfluous: and when the vse of it is not well knowen, it is easie to slide into superstition.

*A triple vse
of fasting.*

15 Holy and true fasting hath three ends. For we vse it, either to make leane and subdue the flesh, that it should not waxe wanton, or that we may be better disposed to prayers and holy meditations, or that it should be a testimonie of our humbling before God, when we be willing to confesse our guiltinesse before him. The first ende hath not so often place in common fasting, because all men haue not like estate of bodie, nor like health: therefore it rather agreeth with priuate fasting. The second ende is common to both, for as well the whole Church as euery one of the faithful hath need of such preparation to prayer. The third also is likewise common. For it shall sometime befall that God shall strike some nation with warre, or pestilence, or with some calamitie. In such a common scourge the whole people must accuse themselves, and openly confesse their owne guiltinesse. But if the hand of the Lord doe strike any priuate man, he ought to doe the same, either alone, or with his owne familie. That standeth chiefly in the affection of the minde. But when the minde is affected as it ought to be, it is scarcely possible, but that it will breake out into outward testifying: and then chiefly if it turne to common edifying, that altogether in openly confessing their sinne should yeeld praise of righteousnesse to God, and euery one mutually exhort other with their example.

*Fasting ioyned
with prayer by
the Antiochians,
Anna, Nehemias,
Paul.
A.C. 14 3.
A.C. 14. 23.*

16 Wherefore fasting, as it is a signe of humbling, hath more often vse publicly, than among priuate men, howsoeuer it be common, as is already saide. Therefore as touching the discipline whereof we now inreate: so oft as we must make supplication to God for any great matter, it were expedient to commaunde fasting together with prayer. So when the Antiochians laide hands vpon *Paul* and *Barnabas*, that they might the better commend to God their ministerie which was of so great importance, they ioyned fasting with prayer: So both they afterward, when they made ministers ouer churches, were wont to pray with fasting. In this kinde of fasting they had regarde to none other thing, but that they might be made fresher and more vncombered to pray. Verily this we finde by experience, that when the belly is full, the mind is not so lifted vp to God, that it can both with hartie and feruent affection be carried to prayer, and continue in it. So is that to bee vnderstoode which *Luke* rehearseth of *Anna*, that shee serued the Lorde in fastings and prayers. For hee doth not set the worshipping of God in fasting: but signifieth that the holy woman did after that manner exercise her selfe to continuance of prayer. Such was the fasting of *Nehemias* when hee did with earnestly bent zeale pray to God for the deliuerance of his people. For this cause *Paul* saith that the faithfull doe well, if they abstaine for a time

*Luke 2. 37.
of shipping of god in
uig. vnd. s. 19.
Nehem. 1. 4.*

1. Cor. 7. 5.

from their wedding bed, that they may the more freely apply praier & fasting. Where ioyning fasting to prayer in steede of a helpe, he putteth vs in minde that it is of no value but so farre as it is referred to this end. Againe, when in the same place hee giueth a rule to married folkes, that they shoulde mutually render good will one to another, it is plaine that hee doth not speake of daily praiers, but of such praayers as require a more earnest intentiuenes.

17 Againe, if either pestilence, or famine, or warre begin to range abroad, or if any calamitie otherwise seeme to hang ouer any countrey and people: then also it is the dutie of pastors to exhort the Church to fasting, that they may humblie beseech the Lord to turne away his wrath. For he giueth warning that he is prepared and in a maner armed to reuenge, when he maketh any danger to appeere. Therefore as accused men in time past with long hanging beard, with vncobed haire, with black array, were wont humbly to abase themselues, to procure the mercy of the iudge: so when we are accused before the iudgement seate of God, it behooueth both for his glorie, and for common edification, and also is profitable and healthfull for vs, that wee shoulde in pitious arraie craue to escape his seueritie. And that this was vsed among the people of Israel, it is easie to gather by the wordes of *Ioel*. For when hee commandeth a trumpet to be sounded, the congregation to be gathered together, fasting to be appointed, & the rest that follow: he speaketh of things receiued in common custome. He had a litle before said, that examination is appointed of the wicked deeds of the people, and had declared that the day of iudgement was now at hande: and had summoned them being accused to pleade their cause: then hee crieth out that they shoulde haste to sacke-cloth and ashes, to weeping and fasting: that is, that they shoulde also with outward testimonyes throwe themselues downe before the Lorde. Sacke-cloth and ashes peraduenture did more agree with those times: but there is no doubt that the calling together, and weeping, and fasting and such like do likewise pertaine also to our age, so oft as the state of our things doth so require. For sith it is a holy exercise, both to humble men, & to confesse humilitie, why should we lesse vse it than the olde people did in like necessitie? We reade that not only the people of Israel, which were informed and instructed by the worde of God, but also the Niniuites which had no doctrine, but the preaching of *Jonas*, fasted in token of sorrow. What cause is there therefore why we shoulde not doe the same? But it is an outward ceremonie, which was with the rest ended in Christ. Yea rather euen at this day it is, as it alway hath been, a very good helpe to the faithfull, and a profitable admonition, to stirre vp themselues, that they shoulde not with too great carelesnes and sluggishness more and more prouoke God when they are chastised with his scourges. Therefore Christ when he excuseth his apostles for that they fast not, doth not say that fasting is abrogate: but he appointed it to times of calamitie, and ioyne it with mourning. The time shal come (saith he) when the bridegroome shal be taken away from them.

18 But that there shoulde be no errour in the name, let vs define what fasting is. For we do not heere vnderstand by it onely abstinence and sparing in meat & drink, but a certaine other thing. The life of the godlie ought in deed to be tempered with honest sparing & sobriety, that so neer as is possible it may in the whole course thereof beare a certaine resemblance of fasting. But beside this there is another fasting for a time, when we withdraw any thing of our wonted diet, either for one day or for a certaine time, and do charge our selues with a straiter and seuerer abstinence in diet than ordinarie. This consisteth in three things, in time, in qualitie of meates, and in smalnes of quantitie. I meane by time, that we shoulde vse those doings fasting, for which fasting is ordained. As for example, if a man fast for common prayer: that he come emptie vnto it. Qualitie standeth in this, that all dainties should be absent, and being content with common & baser meates, we should not stir vp appetite with

Publike fasting in the publike calamities of the church.

Ioel. 2. 25.

*1. Sam. 7. 6.
and 21. 13.
2 King. 1. 12.
Jonas 3. 5.*

*Matth. 9. 15.
Luk. 5. 34.*

In fasting, time, qualitie, & quantitie of meates to be respected.

*This is the first of his
when hee fasts
fill the iudgement be*

delicates. The rule of quantitie is in this, that we eate more sparingly and lesse than we be wont, onely for necessitie, and not also for pleasure.

Superstition and
the opinion of me-
rite in fasting, so be
taken heed of.

Ioel. 2. 13.

Esa. 58. 5.

Liber 2. de mor.
Manic. cap. 13. &
li 20 cont. Fau.

19 But we must alway principally beware, that no superstition creepe vpon vs, as it hath heretofore happened to the great hurt of the church. For it were much better that there were no vse at all of fasting than that it should be diligently kept, and in the meane time be corrupted with false and hurtfull opinions, wherunto the world sometime falleth, vnlesse the Pastors do with great faithfulness and wisdom preuent it. The first point therefore is, that they should alway enforce that which *Ioel* teacheth, that they should cut their hearts & not their garments: that is, that they should admonish the people, that God doth not greatly esteeme fasting of it selfe, vnlesse there be inwarde affection of the heart, a true mistaking of sinne and of himselfe, true humbling, & true sorrow through the fear of God: yea that fasting 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 steed of innocencie of heart, do labour with false colour to deceiue themselves. Therefore *Esay* most sharply inuetyeth against this hypocrisse, that the Iewes thought they had satisfied God, when they had onely fasted, howsoeuer they did nourish vngodlines and vncleane thoughts in their heart. Is it (saith he) such a fasting which the Lord requireth? and so forth as followeth. Therefore the hypocriticall fasting is not onely an vnprofitable and superfluous wearying, but also a great abomination. An other euil neere vnto this is chiefly to be taken heed of, that it be not taken for a meritorious worke, or a forme of worshipping God. For sith it is a thing of it selfe indifferent, and hath no value but by reason of those ends which it ought to haue respect vnto, it is a most hurtfull superstition, to confound it with the workes commanded of God and necessarie of themselves without other respect. Such was in old time the dotage of the *Manichees*: whom when *Augustine* confutech, he doth plainly enough teach, that fasting is to be iudged by no other ends than those which I haue spoken of, and is no other wise allowed of God, vnlesse it be referred to the same. The third error is indeed not so vngodly, yet it is perillous: to require the keeping of it more precisely and rigorously as it were one of the chiefe duties, and so to aduance it with immeasurable praises, that men shoulde thinke they haue done some excellent thing when they haue fasted. In which behal I dare not altogether excuse the old fathers, but that they haue sowed some seeds of superstition, and giuen occasion to the tyrannie which hath risen since. There are found in deed somtimes in them sound and wise sentences, of fasting, but afterward we now and then meeete with immeasurable praises of fasting which aduance it among the chiefe vertues.

Fathers blamed for too
praisings of fastings
his virtue.

The fast of Lent
superfluous if it
be vsed vnder co-
lour of following
Christ in his faste
dare. 3. 16.
Mat. 4. 2.

20 And at that time the superstitious obseruing of Lent was each where growen in vse: because both the comon people thought that they therein did some notable seruice to God, and the Pastors did commend it for a holy following of Christ: whereas it is plaine, that Christ did not fast to prescribe an example to other, but that in so beginning the preaching of the Gospell, he might in very deed prouue that it was not a doctrine of men, but descended from heauen. And it is maruellous, that so grosse an error, which is confuted with so many and so euident reasons, could creepe into men of so sharpe iudgement. For Christ did not fast oft (which he must needs haue done if he would haue set forth a law of ceterely fasting) but only once when he prepared himselfe to the publishing of the Gospell. And he fasted not after the manner of men, as it was meete, that he should haue done if he would haue prouoked men to follow him, but rather he sheweth an example, whereby he may rather draw men to follow him, than that which *Moses* fasted when hee receiued the lawe at the hand of the Lorde. For sith that miracle was shewed in *Moses* to stablish the authority of the Lawe, it ought not to haue bene omitted in Christ, least the Gospell

Exo. 1. 24. 18.
and 34. 28.

shoulde

should seeme to giue place to the law. But since that time it neuer came in any mans minde vnder colour of following of *Moses* to require such a forme of fasting in the people of *Israel*. Neither did any of the holy Prophetes and Fathers follow it, when yet they had minde and zeale enough to godly exercites. For, that which is said of *Helias*, that he passed fortie daies without meate and drinke, tended to no other end but that the people should know that he was stirred vp to be a restorer of the law from which almost all *Israel* had departed. Therefore it was a meere wrongfull zeale and full of superstition, that they did set forth fasting with the title and colour of following of Christ. Howbeit in the manner of fasting there was then great diuersitie, as *Cassiodorus* rehearseth out of *Socrates* in the ninth booke of his historie. For the *Romanes* (saith he) had but three weekes, but in these three there was a continuall fasting, except on the Sunday, and Saturday. The *Slauonians* and *Grecians* had six weekes: other had seuen: but their fasting was by diuided times. And they disagreed no lesse in difference of meates. Some did eat nothing but bread and water: some added herbes: some did not forbear fish and fowles: some had no difference in meates. Of this diuersitie *Augustine* also maketh mention in the latter Epistle to *Ianuarie*.

21 Then followed worfe times, and to the preposterous zeale of the people was added both ignorance and rudenesse of the Bishops, and a lust to beare rule, and a tyrannous rigor. There were made wicked lawes, which straine consciences with pernicious bondes. The eating of flesh was forbidden, as though it defiled a man. There were added opinions full of sacriledge one vpon another, till they came to the bottome of all errors. And that no peruersenesse should be omitted, they began with a most fond pretence of abstinence to mocke with God. For in the most exquisite dainties of fare is sought the praise of fasting: no delicates do then suffice, there is neuer greater plentie, or diuersitie or sweetenes of meates. In such and so gorgious preparation they think that they serue God rightly. I speake not how they neuer more fowly glut themselues, than when they would be counted most holy men. Briefely, they count it the greatest worshipping of God to abstaine from flesh, and (these excepted) to shew full of all kinde of deinties. On the other side they thinke this the extremest vngodlines, and such as scarcely may be recompensed with death, if a man tast neuer so litle a peece of bacon or vsfauorie flesh with browne bread. *Hierome* telleth, that euen in his time were some that with such follies did mocke with God: which because they would not eat oyle, caused most deintie meates from euery place to be brought them: yea to oppresse nature by violence, they abstained from drinking of water, but caused sweete and costly suppings to be made for them, which they did not drinke out of a cup, but out of a shell. Which fault was then in a few, at this day it is a common fault among all rich men that they fast to no other end but that they may banquet more sumptuously and deintily. But I will not wast many wordes in a matter not doubtfull. Onely this I say, that both in fasting and in all other partes of discipline, the Papists do haue nothing right, nothing pure, nothing well framed and orderly, whereby they may haue any occasion to be proud, as though there were any thing remaining among them woorthie of praise.

22 There followeth another part of discipline, which peculiarly belongeth to the Cleargie. That is contained in the Canons which the olde Bishops haue made ouer themselues and their order. As these be: that no Clarke should giue himselfe to hunting, to dicing, nor to banquetting: that none should occupie vlturie, or marchandise: that none should be present at wanton dauncings: and such other ordinances. There were also added penalties whereby the authoritie of the Canons was established, that none should breake them vnpunished. For this end to euery Bishop was committed the gouernement of his own Cleargie, that they should rule their clerkes according to the canons, and hold them in their duetie. For this end were ordeined yearly ouerseeings and Synodes, that if any were neglygent in his duty, he should

The grosse abuse of fasting.

Ad Nepotian.

The ancient Canons and orders of the Church for the gouernement of the Cleargie.

be admonished: if any had offended, he should be punished according to the measure of his offence. The bishops also themselves had yeerely their provinciall Synodes, and in the olde time yeerely two Synodes, by which they were iudged if they had done any thing beside their duty. For if any Bishop were too hard or violent against his cleargie, they might appeale to those Synodes, although there were but one that complained. The severest punishment was that he which had offended should be remooued from his office, and for a time be dequined of the communion. And because that same was a continuall order, they neuer vsed to dismisse any Synod, but that they appointed a place and time for the next Synode. For, to gather a generall Councell, pertained to the Emperor only, as al the olde summonings of Councils do testifie. So long as this seueritie flourished, the clerkes did require in word no more of the people, than themselves did performe in example and deed. Yea they were much more rigorous to themselves than to the people. And verily so it is meete, that the people should be ruled with a gentler and looser discipline, as I may so terme it: but the clerks should vse sharper iudgements among themselves, and should lesse beare with themselves, than with other men. How all this is growen out of vse, it is no need to rehearse, when at this day nothing can bee imagined more vnbridled and dissolute than the cleargie, and they are broken forth to so great licentiousnes, that the whole world crieth out of it. That all antiquitie should not seeme to be vterly buried among them, I graunt indeed that they do with certaine shadowes deceiue the eyes of the simple: but those are such as come no neerer to the auncient manners, than the counterfeiting of an ape approacheth to that which men do by reason and aduise. There is a notable place in *Xenophon*, where he teacheth how fowly the Persians had swarued from the ordinances of their Elders, and were fallen from the rigorous kinde of life, to softnes and daintines, that yet they couered this shame, saying that they diligently kept the ancient vsages. For when in the time of *Cyrus* sobrietie and temperance so far flourished that men needed not to weepe, yea and it was accounted a shame: with posteritie this continued a religious obseruation, that no man should draw snout out of his nostrils, but it was lawfull to sucke it vp, and feede within euen till they were rotten the stinking humours which they had gathered by gluttonous eating. So by the old order it is vnlawfull to bring winepots to the boorde: but to swill in wine that they need to be carried away drunken is tolerable. It was ordained to eate but once in a day: this these good successors haue not abrogate, but they gaue leaue to continue their surfettings from mid day to midnight. The custome was that men should make an end of their daies journey fasting. But it was at libertie and vsedly the custome, for auoiding of wearines, to shorten their journey to two houres. Whensoever the Papistes shall pretend their bastard rules, to shew themselves to be like to the holy fathers: this example shall sufficiently reprove their fond counterfeiting, that no painter can more liuely expresse it.

23 In one thing they bee too rigorous and vntreatable, that they giue not leaue to Priests to marrie. But how great libertie there is among them to vse whoredome unpunished, is not needfull to be spoken: and bearing them bolde vpon their stinking vnmarrried life, they haue hardened themselves to all wicked doings: But this forbidding doth plainly shew, how pestilent all their traditions are, for as much as it hath not onely spoiled the Church of good and fit Pastors, but also hath brought in a horrible sincke of mischiefes, and thrown many soules into the gulfe of desperation. Truly whereas marriage hath bene forbidden to Priests, that same hath bene done by wicked tyrannie, not onely against the word of God, but also against alsequitie. First to forbid that which the Lord had left at libertie, was by no meanes lawfull for men. Againe, that God hath expressly prouided by his worde that this libertie should not be broken, is so euident that it needeth no long demonstration. I speake not how *Paul* in many places willet a Bishoppe to be the husband

The cleargie forbidden marriage in the Church of Rome.

husband of one wife. But what could be more vehemently spoken, than where hee pronounceth by the holy Ghost, that there shall be in the last times wicked men that shall forbid marriage: and he calleth them not onely deceiuers, but Diuels? This therefore is a Prophecie, this is a holy Oracle of the holy Ghost, wherewith he willed to arme the Church aforehand against dangers, that the forbidding of marriage is the doctrine of diuels. But they thinke that they haue gayly escaped when they wrest this sentence to *Montanus*, the *Tatians*, *Encratites*, and other olde heretikes. They onely (say they) condemned marriage: but we doe not condemne it, but debarre the Cleargie from it, for whom we thinke it not to be conuenient. As though albeit this prophecie was first fulfilled in those aforesaid men, it might not also be applied to these: or as though this childish fond fittletie were woorth the hearing, that they say that they forbid it not, because they forbid it not to all. For it is all 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 obiekt, that the Priest doth by some marke differ from the people. As though the Lord did not also foresee this, with what ornaments Priestes ought to excell. So they accuse the Apostle of troubling the order and confounding the comelineesse of the Church, which when he portrayed out the absolut forme of a good Bishop durst set marriage among the other giftes which he required in him. I know how they expound this, namely that none is to be chosen that hath had a second wife. And I graunt that this is not a new exposition: but that it is a false exposition, appeareth by the text it selfe, because he by and by after setteth out of what qualities the wiues of Bishops and Deacons ought to be. *Paul* reckoneth marriage among the vertues of a bishop, these men teach that it is an intollerable fault in the order of the Cleargie. And, on Gods name, not contented with this generall dispraise they call it in their Canons vnleaneesse and defiling of the flesh. Let every man thinke with himselfe out of what workeshop these things be come: Christ vouchsafeth so to honor marriage that he willeth it to be an image of his holy conioyning with the church. What could be spoken more honorably to set out the dignitie of Marriage? With what face therefore shall that be called vnleane or defiled wherein shineth a likenesse of the spirituall grace of Christ?

25 But now when their forbidding so evidently fighteth with the word of God, yet they finde in the Scriptures wherewith to defend it. The Leuiticall Priestes were bound to lie a sunder from their wiues, so oft as it came to their turnes to minister, that they might handle the holie things pure and vndefiled. Therefore it were very vncomely, that our holy things, sith they be both much more noble and daly, should be handled of married men. As though there were all one person of the minister of the Gospell, as was of the Leuiticall Priesthood. For they, as figures, represented Christ, which being the mediator of God & men should with most absolute purenes 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 draughts yeeld a shadowe of him, they were commanded to purifie themselues beyonde the manner of men, when they came to the Sanctuarie: namely because they then properly figured Christ, for that as pacifiers to reconcile the people to God they appeared at the tabernacle the image of the heavenly iudgement seate. Forasmuch as the Pastors of the Church doe not beare this person at this day, therefore they are vainely compared with them. Wherefore the Apostle doth without exception boldly pronounce, that marriage is honorable among all men, but that for whoremongers, and adulterers abideth the iudgement of God. And the Apostles themselues did with their own example approoue that marriage is not vnmeetee for the holinesse of any office be it neuer so excellent. For *Paul* witnesseth that they did not onely keepe wiues, but also carried them about with them.

1.Tim.3.2.& 1.6.
1.Tim.4.3.

Marriage in the Clergie allowed by the Apostle, by the Church of Rome not onely disallowed, but disgraced by vnseemely speech.

Sirici. ad episco.
Hispa.

The separation of Lewites from their wiues when they ministered in the Temple, prooueth but slenderly the forbidding of marriage in the cleargie vnder the Gospell.

Heb.13.4.

1.Cor.9.5.

*Marriage allowed
in bishops by the
ancient fathers of
the Church.*

26 Again it was a maruellous shamelesnesse that they darst set out this comeltnes of chastitie for a necessarie thing, to the great reproch of the old Church: which when it abounded with singular learning of God, yet excelled more in holines. For if they passe not vpon the Apostles, (as they are wont sometime stoutly to despise them) what I beseech you will they do to all the old fathers, whom it is certaine to haue not onely suffered but also allowed marriage in the order of Bishops? They forsooth did nourish a filthy prophaning of holy things, for as much as so the mysteries of the Lord were not rightly reuerenced among them. It was moued indeed in the Nycene Synode to haue vnmarried life commanded: as there alway want not some superstitious men, which do euer inuent some new thing, to bring themselves in admiration. But what was decreed? The sentence of *Paphnutius* was assented to, which pronounced that a mans lying with his owne wife is chastitie. Therefore marriage remained holy among them: neither did it turne them to any shame nor was thought to spot the ministerie.

*Hist. tripart.
Lib. 2. cap. 14.*

*How single life
grew to be so
much advanced
in the cleargie.*

27 Then followed times, in which too superstitious obseruation of single life grew in force. Hereupon came those often and vnmeasurable aduanced praises of virginitie, so that scarcely any other vertue was thought among the people to be compared with it. And although marriage was not condemned for vnclane, yet the dignitie thereof was so diminished, and the holines of it obscured, that he seemed not to aspire with a courage strong enough to perfection, that did not refrain himselfe from it. Hereupon came those canons wherby it was first forbidden that they which were come to the degree of Priesthood should not contract marriage: then, that none should be taken into that order but vnmarried men, or sitch as did forsake marriage together with their wiues. These things, because they seemed to procure reuerence to Priesthood, were (I graunt) euen from antiquite received with great well liking. But if the aduerfaries object antiquitie against me, first I answer that this libertie remained both vnder the Apostles and in certaine ages after them, that bishops might be married: that the Apostles themselves, and other Pastors of great authoritie which succeeded in their places, vsed the same without sticking at it. The example of that ancient Church ought woorthily to be of greater weight with vs, than that we should thinke that to be either vnlawfull or vncomelie for vs which was then with praise receiued and vsed. Secondly I say that that age which for immeasurable affection to virginitie began to be partiall against marriage, did not so laye vpon Priests the law of vnmarried life, as though it were a thing necessarie of it selfe, but because they preferred vnmarried men above the married. Finally I answer that they did not so require it that they did with force and necessitie constrain them to continence which were not fit to keepe it. For when they punished whoredoms with most seuerelawes, of them that contracted marriage they decreed no more but that they should giue ouer the execution of their office.

*Two Items to the
Church of Rome
concerning the
single life which
they require in the
order of priests.*

28 Therefore whensoever the defenders of this new tyrannie shall seeke the pretence of antiquitie to defende their vnmarried life: so oft we shall answer them with requiring them, that they restore the old chastnesse in their Priests: that they remoue adulterers and whoremongers: that they suffer not those in whom they suffer not honest and chaste vse of marriage bed, to run vn Timered into all kind of lust: that they call againe the discontinued discipline, whereby all wantonnesse may be restrained: that they deliuer the Church from this so wicked filthinesse, wherewith it hath bene long deformed. When they haue graunted this, then they must againe bee put in minde that they boast not that 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 giuen to those canons which lay the bond of vnmarried life vpon the order of Priestes: but that the wiser sort may vnderstand with what face our enimies doe slander holy marriage in Priestes by objecting the name of antiquitie.

quie Astouching the fathers, whose writings remaine, euen they when they speake of their owne iudgement, except *Hierome*, did not with so great spitefulness deface the honestie of marriage. We shall be content with one commendation of *Chrysostome*: because he, sith he was a principall esteemer of virginitie, cannot be thought to haue been more lauish than other in commendation of marriage. Thus he saith. The first degree of chastitie is pure virginitie: the second is faithfull marriage. Therefore the second kind of virginitie is the chaste loue of matrimonie.

Homo de inuentu crucis.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Of vowes, by rash promising whereof, each 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 been so oppressed with cruell tyrannie, and almost ouerwhelmed with a huge heape of traditions: but in the meane time euey mans priuate madnesse sheweth, that not without most iust cause there hath bene so much permitted of God to Satan and his ministers. For they thought it not enough, neglecting the commandement of Christ, to beare any burdens whatsoeuer were laide vpon them by false teachers, vnlesse they did also each man procure to himselfe severall burdens of his owne, and so with digging pits for themselves should drowne themselves deeper. This was done while they strued in deuising of vowes, by which there might be added to the common bondes a greater & straighter binding. Sith therefore we haue taught, that by their boldnes which haue borne rule vnder the title of Pastors in the Church, the worshipping of God hath bin corrupted, when they snared silly consciences with their vniust lawes: here it shall not bee out of season to adioine another euill which is neere vnto it, that it may appeere that the world according to the perversenes of his own disposition, hath alway, with such stops as it could, put away the helpes whereby it should haue bene brought to God. Nowe, that it may the better appeere that verie grievous hurt hath bene brought in by vowes, let the readers keepe in minde the principles aboue set. For first we haue taught, that whatsoeuer may be required to the framing of life godlyly and holly, is comprehended in the law. Againe, we haue taught that the Lorde, that he might thereby the better call vs away from deuising of newe works, hath enclosed the whole praise of righteousnes in the simple obedience of his will. If these things be true, it is easie to iudge that all fained worshippings, which wee inuent to our selves to deserue the fauour of God, are not acceptable to him howe much soeuer they please vs. And truely the Lorde himselfe in many places doth not onelie openlie refuse them, but also greuously abhorre them. Heereupon ariseth a doubt of those vowes which are made beside the expresse worde of God, what account is to bee made of them, whether they may rightly be vowed of Christian men, and howe farre they binde them. For the same which among men is called a promise, in respect of God is called a vowe. But to men we promise those things either which we thinke will be pleasant vnto them, or which we owe of dutie. Therefore there ought to bee a much greater heedefull obseruation in vowes which are directed to God himselfe, with whom wee ought to deale more earnestly. In this point superstition hath in al ages maruellously ranged, so that men without iudgment, without choise, did by and by vowe vnto God whatsoeuer came in their minde, or into their mouth. Heereupon came those follies, yea monstrous absurdities of vowes among the heathen, wherewith they did too insolently mocke with their Gods. And I woulde to God that Christians also had not followed this their boldnes. It ought not indeed to haue bene so: but wee see that in certaine ages past nothing hath bene more vsuall than this wickednesse, that the people ech where despising the lawe of

The hurt that hath come to the church by vowes.

God did wholly burne with mad greedinesse to vow whatfoeuer had pleased them in their dreame. I will not hatefully enforce, nor particularly rehearte how hainously and how many waies herein men haue offended: But I thought good to say this by the way, that it may the better appeare that we do not moue question of a needelesse matter, when we intreate of vowes.

2 Now if we will not erre in iudging which vowes be lawfull, and which be wrongfull, it behooueth to weigh three things: that is to say, who it is to whome the vow is made: who we be that make the vow: last of all, with what mind we vow. The first point hath respect to this, that we should thinke that we haue to do with God, whom our obedience so much deliteth, that he pronounceth all wilworships to be accursed, how gay and glorious foeuer they be in the eyes of men. If all voluntarie worships, which we our selues deuise without commandement, be abhominable to God, it followeth that no worship can be acceptable to him but that which is allowed by his word. Therefore let vs not take so great libertie to our selues that we dare vow to God that which hath no testimonie how it is esteemed of him. For whereas that which *Paul* teacheth, that it is sinne whatfoeuer is done without Faith, extendeth to all doings, then verily it chiefly hath place, when thou directest thy thought the straight waie to God. But if we fall and erre euen in the smallest things, (as *Paul* there disputeth of the difference of meates) where certaintie of faith shineth not before vs: how much more modestie is to be vsed, when we attempt a thing of greatest weight? For nothing ought to be more earnest vnto vs than the duties of religion. Let this therefore be the first consideration in vowes, that we neuer come to the vowing of any thing, but that conscience haue first certainly determined that it attempteth nothing rashly. But it shall then be free from daunger of rashnesse, when it shall haue God going before it, and as it were enforming it by his word what is good or vnprofitable to be done.

3 In the other thing which we haue said to be here to be considered, this is contained, 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 giuen vs. For he that voweth that which either is not in his power, or disagreeeth with his vocation, is rash: and he that despiseth the bountifulnes of God, whereby he is appointed Lord of all things, is vnthankfull. When I say thus, I doe not meane that any thing is so set in our owne hand, that standing vpon confidence of our own strength we may promise the same to God. For it was most truly decreede in the Councell at *Arausium*, that nothing is rightly vowed to God but that which we haue receiued of his hand, forasmuch as all things that are offered him are his meere gifts. But sith some things are by Gods goodnes giuen vs, and other some things by his equitie denied vs: let euery man (as *Paul* commaundeth) haue respect to the measure of grace giuen vnto him. Therefore I do here meane nothing else, but that vowes must be tempered to that measure which the Lord prescribeth there in his giuing: least if thou attempt further than he permitteth, thou throw thy selfe downe headlong with taking too much vpon thee. As for example. When those murtherers, of whome mention is made in *Luke*, vowed that they would taste of no meate till *Paul* were slaine: although the deuise had not bene wicked, yet the rashnesse it selfe was not to be suffered, that they made the life and death of a man subiect to their power. So *Jephthe* suffered punishment for his follye, when with headlong heate he conceiued an vnaduised vow. In which kinde vnmarried life hath the cheefe place of mad boldnesse. For sacrificing Priestes, Monkes, and Nunnes, forgetting their owne weakenesse, thinke themselues able to keepe vnmarried life. But by what Oracle are they taught that they shall haue chastitie throughout all their life, to the verie ende whereof they vow it? They heare the word of God concerning the vniuersall state of men, It is not good for man to be alone. They vnderstand, and would to God that they

did

The first thing to be respected in vowes, is the person of God to whome they are made.
Colos. 2. 23.

Rom. 14. 23.

The second thing to be regarded in the making of a vow, is the measure of their strength that make it.

Concil. Arausi.
cap. 12.

Rom. 12. 3.
1. Cor. 12. 11.

Act. 23. 12.

Iud. 11. 30.

Gen. 2. 18.

did not feele, that sinne remaining in vs is not without most sharp prickes. With what confidence dare they shake off that generall calling for all their life long: whereas the gift of continencie is oftener graunted for a certaine time as opportunitic requireth? In such stubbornesse let them not looke for God to be their helper: but let them rather remember that which is saide. Thou shalt not tempt the Lorde thy God. And this is to tempt God, to endeavour against the nature put in vs by him, and to despise his present giftes as though they nothing belonged vnto vs. Which they not onely doe: but also marriage it selfe, which God thought it not against his maiestie to institute, which he hath pronounced honourable in all men, which Christ our Lorde hath sanctified with his presence, which he vouchsafed to honour with his first miracle, they dare call defiling, onely to aduance with maruellous commendations a certain vnmarried life of what sort soeuer it be. As though they themselues did not shew a cleare example in their life, that vnmarried state is one thing, and virginitie another: which their life yet they most shamelesly call Angellike, doing herein verily too great iniurie to the Angels of God, to whome they compare whoremongers, adulterers, and somewhat else much worse and filthier. And truly here needs no arguments when they are openly confuted by the thing it selfe. For we plainly see, with how horrible paines the Lord doeth commonly take vengeance of such arrogancie, and contempt of his giftes by too much trust in themselues. I spare for shame to speake of the more secret faults, of which euen this that is already perceiued is too much. It is out of controuersie that we ought to vowe nothing, that may hinder vs from seruing of our vocation. As if a householder should vow, that he will leaue his wife and his children and take other charges in hand; or if he that is fit to beare office, when he is chosen do vowe that he will be a priuare 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 few words I expound it. Sith God hath made vs Lords 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 woik to God if we yeeld our selues into bondage to the outward things which ought to be a help vnto vs. I say this for this purpose, because many do hereby seeke 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 Lorde hath ordained in the Christian Church.

4 Now I come to that which I did set in the third place: that it is much material with what minde thou makest a vow, if thou wilt haue it allowed of God. For sith the Lord regardeth the heart, not the outward shew, it commeth to passe that the selfe same thing, by changing the purpose of the mind, doth sometime please him and is acceptable vnto him, and sometime highly displeaseth him. If thou so vowe the abstaining from wine, as though there were any holinesse in it, thou art superstitious: if thou haue respect to any other end which is not euill, no man can disallow it. But in my iudgement there be foure ends, to which our voves shall be rightly directed: of which for teachings sake I referre two to the time past, and the other two to the time to come. To the time past belong those voves, whereby we do either testifie our thankfulnessse to God for benefites receiued: or to craue the turning away of his wrath, we our selues, doe punish our selues for the offences that we haue committed. Let vs call the first sort, if you will, the exercises of thankesgiuing, the other of repentance. Of the first kinde we haue an example in the tithes which Iacob vowed, if the Lord did bring him home safe out of banishment into his countrey. Againe in the old Sacrifices of the peace offerings, which godlie kings and captaines, when they tooke in hand righteous warre, did vowe that they would pay if they had obtained

Heb. 13.4.
Ioh. 2.2.

The third thing to be respected in a vow is the mind of the vower, which in voves that haue relation to the time past hath two ends to be directed by.

Gen. 28.20.
Psal. 22.27. & 56.
12. & 116.14. 18.

obtained the victorie, or at least when they were oppressed with any great distresse, if the Lord had deliuered them. So are all those places in the Psalmes to be vnderstood which speake of vowes. Such vowes may at this day also be in vse among vs, so oft as the Lorde hath deliuered vs either out of any calamitie, or from a hard sicknesse, or from any other danger. For it is then not against the dutie of a godly man, to consecrate to God his vowed oblation, as a solemne token of his reknowledging, least he should seeme vnthankfull toward his goodnesse. Of what sort the seconde kinde is, it shall suffice to shewe with one onely familiar example. If any by the vice of gluttonie be fallen into any offence, nothing withstandeth but that to chastise his intemperance he may for a time forsake all daintie meats, and may doe the same with a vowe adtoynd, that he may binde himselfe with the straiter bonde. Yet I doe not so make a perpetuall lawe to them that haue likewise offended: but I shewe what is lawfull for them to doe, which shall thinke such a vow profitable for themselves. I doe therefore so make such a vow lawfull, that in the meane time I leaue it at libertie.

*Two other endes
of vowes which
haue relation to
the time to come.*

5 The vowes that are applied to the time to come, partly (as we haue already said) do tend to this end that we may be made the warer: and partly that as it were by certaine spurres we may be pricked forward to our dutie. Some man seeth himselfe to be so inclined to some certaine vice, that in a thing which otherwise is not euill he cannot temper himselfe from falling soorthwith into an euill: he shal doe nothing inconueniently if he do for a time by vow cut off from himselfe the vse of that thing. As if a man knowe that this or that apparell of body is perillous vnto him, and yet enticed with desire he earnestly couet it, what can he doe better, than if in putting a bridle vpon himselfe, that is in charging himselfe with necessitie of abstaining from it, he deliuer himselfe from all doubting? Likewise if a man be forgetfull or slowe to necessarie duties of godlinesse, why may hee not by taking a vow vpon him both awake his memorie and shake off his slothfulnesse? In both I graunt that there is a forme of childish schooling: but euen in this that they are helpes of weaknesse, they are not without profite vsed of the rawe and vnperfect. Therefore wee shall say that those vowes are lawfull which haue respect to one of these ends, specially in outward things, if they both be vpholden with the allowance of God, and doe agree with our vocation, and be measured by the power of grace giuen vs of God.

*How to iudge of
vowes as well those
which generally al
men or particular
ly some doe make
vnto God.*

6 Now also it is not hard to gather what is generally to be thought of all vowes. There is one common vow of all the faithfull, which being made in baptisme wee doe confirme and as it were establish by Catechisme and receiuing of the Supper. For the Sacraments are as charters, by which the Lord deliuereth vs his mercie and thereby euerlasting life, and we againe on our behalves doe promise him obedience. But this is the forme or verily the summe of the vow, that forsaking Satan we yeelde our selues into seruice to God, to obey his holy commaundements, and not to followe the peruerse desires of our flesh. It ought not to be doubted but that this vow, sith it hath testimonie of the Scripture, yea and is required of all the children of God, is both holy and profitable to saluation. And it maketh not to the conuarie, that no man in this life performeth the perfect obedience of the lawe which God requireth of vs. For sith this forme of couenanting is comprised within the couenant of grace, vnder which is contained both forgiuenesse of sinnes and the Spirit of sanctification: the promise which wethere make is ioyned both with beseeching of pardon and with crauing of helpe. In iudging of particular vowes, it is necessarie to keepe in minde the three former rules, whereby we may safely weigh of what sort euerie vow is. Neither yet thinke that I so commend the very same vowes which I affirme to be holy, that I would haue them to be daily. For though I dare teach no certaine rule of the number or time: yet if any man obey my counsell, he shall take vpon him none but sober and for a time. For if thou oftentimes breake soorth into making

of manie vowes, all religiousnes will with verie continuance growe out of estimation with thee, and thou shalt come to a bending readinesse to fall into superstition. If thou bind thy selfe with a perpetuall vowe, either for great paine and rediuousnesse thou shalt vndo it, or being wearied with long continuance thou shalt at one time or other be bold to breake it.

7 Now also it is plaine with how great superstition in this behalfe the world hath in certaine ages past bin possessed. One man vowed that he would abstaine from wine: as though abstaining from wine were of it selfe a worship acceptable to God. An other bound himselfe to fasting, an other to abstaining from flesh for certaine daies, in which he had with vaine opinion fained to be a singular holines aboute the rest. And some things also were vowed much more childish, although not of children. For this was holden for a great wisdom, to take vpon them vowed pilgrimages to holier places, and sometime either to go all their journey on foote, or with their body halfe naked, and by their wearines the more merite might be gotten. These and such other, with incredible zeale whereof the world hath a while swelled, if they be examined by those rules, which we haue aboute set, shall be found not only vaine and trifling, but full of manifest vngodlines. For howsoeuer the flesh iudge, God abhorreth nothing more than fained worshippings. There are beside this those pernicious and damned opinions, that hypocrits when they haue such trifles thinke that they haue gotten no small righteousnes: they repose the sum of godlines in outward obseruations, they despise all other that are lesse carefull of such things.

*Superstitious
vowes of fasting,
pilgrimages
and such like.*

8 To reckon vp all the particular formes, is nothing to purpose. But forasmuch as the monkish vowes are had in greater reuerence, because they seeme allowed by the common iudgement of the Church: of those it is good to speake briefly. First least any should by prescription of long time defend monkerie, such as it is at this day, it is to be noted that in old time there was in monasteries a far other order of liuing. Such as were disposed to exercise themselves to greatest fructitie and patience, went thither. For what maner of discipline they say that the Lacedemonians had vnder the lawes of *Lycurgus*, such was at that time among the monks, yea and much more rigorous. They slept vpon the ground: their drinke was water: their meate was bread, herbs, and rootes: their chiefe dainties were in oyle and ciches. They abstained from all delicate diet and trimming of body. These things might seeme aboute truth, if they were not written by witneses that saw & proued them, as *Gregorie Nazianzene*, *Basilie*, and *Chrysostome*. But with such introductions they prepared themselves to great offences. For, that the colleges of monks were then as it were the seed-plots of the order of ministers of the Church, both these whome we haue now named are a prooffe plaine enough (for they were all brought vp in monasteries and from thence called to the office of bishops) and also many other singular and excellent men in their time. And *Augustine* sheweth that this was also vsed in his time, that monasteries yeilded clerkes to the Church. For he speaketh thus to the monkes of the Isle of *Capruera*: But you brethren we exhort in the Lord, that ye keepe your purpose & continue to the end: and if at any time our mother the Church shall require your trauaile, do ye neither with greedy pride take it vpon you, nor with flattering slothfulness refuse it: but with a meeke heart obey to God. Neither prefer ye your owne quiet lease aboute the necessitites of the church: to whom if no good men would haue ministered in her trauaile, you should not haue found how you should haue bene borne. He speaketh there of the ministerie, by which the faithfull are spiritually borne againe. Also to *Aurelius*. There is both occasion of falling giuen to themselves, and most haynous wrong done to the order of the Clergy, if forsakers of monasteries be chosen to the soldiership of the Clergy: when euen of those that remaine in the monasterie, we vse to take into the Clergy none but the most approoued and best. Vnlesse perhaps as the comon people say, he is an euill piper but a good fidler: so it shall also be

*Monkish vowes
and the end in by
monkeries were
first instituted.*

Epi. 85.

Epi. 76.

islingly

intestingly saide of vs, he is an euill Monke, but a good Clerke. It is too much to be lamented, if we lift vp Monkes into such a ruinous pride, and thinke Clearkes woorthy of so great reproch, wheras sometime euen a good monke maketh not a good clerke, if he haue sufficient continence and yet want necessary learning. By these places it appeareth, that godly men were wont with the discipline of Monks to prepare themselves to the government of the Church, that they might the fitter and better instructed take so great an office vpon them. Not that they all attained to this ende, or yet tended toward it, when for the most part they were vnlearned men: but such were chosen out as were meete for it.

The oracles and exercises of auncient Monkes.

De mor. Ecclesi. cathol. cap. 31.

9 But chiefly in two places he painteth out vnto vs the forme of the old monke-tie. In the booke of the manners of the Catholike Church, where he setteth the holinesse of that profession against the sclaunders of the Manichees: and in another booke which he entituled of the worke of Monkes, where he inuoyeth against certaine degenerated Monkes, which began to corrupt that order. I will here so gather a summe of those things which he saith, that so neere as I may I will vse his owne words. Despisng (saith he) the intifements of this world, gathered into one most chaste and holy life, they spend their time together, liuing in praier, readings, and disputations, not swelling with pride, not troublesome with stubbornesse, not wanne with enuiousnesse. None possesseth any thing of his owne, none is burdenous to any man. They get by working with their hands those things wherewith both their body may be fed, and their minde may not be hindered from God. Their worke they deliuer to them whom they call Deanes. Those Deanes disposing all things with great carefulnes make account thereof to one whom they call Father. These Fathers not onely most holy in manners, but also most excellent in godlie doctrine, high in all things, doe with no pride prouide for them whom they call children, with great authoritie of them in commanding, and great willingnes of the other in obeyng: They come together at the very last time of the day, euery one from his dwelling, while they be yet fasting, to heare that Father, and there meete together to euery one of these fathers at the least three thousand men, (he speaketh chiefly of Egypt, and of the East) then they refresh their body, so much as sufficeth for life and healthfulnesse, euery man restraining his desire, not to take largely euen of those things that they haue present very spare and vile. So they doe not onely abstaine from flesh and wine, so much that they may be able to tame their lustes, but from such things which doe so much more greedily prouoke appetite of the belly and throte, how much they seeme to other, to be as it were cleaner, by colour wherof the filthy desire of exquisite meates, which is not in flesh, is wont to be fondly and fowly defended. Whatsoever remaineth about necessary foode (as there remaineth oftentimes much of the workes of their handes and pinching of their fare) is with greater care distributed to the poore, than it was gotten by them that distribute it. For they doe in no wise trauaile that they may haue abundance of these things, but they by all meanes endeavour that that which they haue abounding may not remaine with them. Afterward when he hath rehearsed the hardnes, wherof he himselfe had seene examples both at Millaine and else where: among these things (saith he) no man is enforced to harde things which he cannot beare: no man is charged with that which he refuseth: neither is he therefore condemned of the rest, because he confesseth himselfe to want strength in following of them: for they remember how much charitie is commended: they remember that all things are cleane to the cleane. Therefore all their diligence watcheth, not to the refusing of kindes of meate as vnckleane, but to tame lust, and to retain the loue of brethren. They remember, meate for the belly, and the bellie for meates, &c. Yet many strong doe abstaine for the weakes sake. Many of them haue no neede to doe thus: but because it pleaseth them to sustaine themselves with baser diet and nothing sumptuous. Therefore they themselves, which being

*Ibid. cap. 33.
Tit. 1. 15.*

2. Cor. 6. 13.

in health doe forbear, if consideration of their health compell, when they are sick doe take without any feare. Many drinke no wine, and yet they thinke not themselves defiled with it: for they most gently cause it to be giuen to the fainter, and to them that cannot get the health of their bodie without it: and some which foolishly refuse it, they doe brotherly admonish that they be not with vaine superstition sooner made weaker than holier. So they diligently exercise godlinesse: but they know that the exercising of the body pertaineth but to a short time. Charity is chiefly kept: to charitie the diet, to charitie the speech, to charitie the apparell, to charitie the countenance is fitted. They meete and conspire into one charitie. To offend it, is accounted as heinous as to offend God. If any resist charitie, he is cast out and shunned. If any offend charitie, he is not suffered to abide one day. For as much as in these wordes, as in a painted table, that holy man seemeth to haue set out what manner of life monkerie was in olde time, although they were somewhat long, yet I was content to interlace them here: because I saw that I should haue been somewhat longer if I had gathered the same things out of diuers, how much soeuer I studied for briefenesse.

10 But my purpose here is not to go through this whole matter, but onely by the way to point out, not onely what manner of monkes the olde Church had, but what manner of thing the profession of monkes was at that time: so as the sounde witted readers may iudge by the comparison, what face they haue which alleage antiquitie to maintaine the present monkerie. *Augustine* when he depainteth vnto vs a holy and true monkerie, woulde haue to be absent all rigorous exacting of those things which by the word of the Lorde are left vs at libertie. But there is nothing that is at this day more seuerely required. For they count it a mischief that can neuer be purged, if any doe neuer so little swaue from the prescribed rule in colour or fashion of garment, in kinde of meat, or in other trifling and cold ceremonies. *Augustine* stoutly maintaineth, that it is not lawfull for monkes to liue idle vpon other mens. He denieth that there was euer in his time any such example of a well ordered monasterie. Our men set the chiefe part of their holines in idleness. For if you take idleness from them, where shall be that contemplatiue life whereby they boast that they excell all other men, and approach neere vnto Angels? Finally *Augustine* requireth such a monkerie, as should be nothing but an exercise & help to the duties of godlines which are commended to al christians. What when he maketh charity the chief, yea & almost only rule thereof, do we thinke that he praiseth a conspiring, whereby a fewe men being bound together, are seuered from the whole body of the church? But rather he willett them with their example to giue light to other to keepe the vnitie of the Church. In both these points there is so much difference of the monkerie at this present, that a man can scarcely finde any thing more vnlike, I wil not say contrarie. For our monkes not contented with that godlines, to the studie of which alone Christ commandeth them that are his continually to apply, do imagine I wot not what new godlines, by meditation whereof they may be perfecter than other.

18 If they denie this, I would know of them why they vouchsafe to giue to their order alone the title of perfection, & take away the same from all the callings of god. Neither am I ignorant of that sophisticall solution, that it is not therefore so called because it doth containe perfection in it, but because it is the best of al other to attaine perfection. When they are disposed to boast themselves before the people, when to snare vnskillfull and vnware yoong men, when to maintaine their priuileges, when to aduance their owre dignitie to the reproch of other, then they boast that they are in the state of perfection. When they are so nigh driuen that they cannot defende this vaine arrogancie, then they flee to this starting hole, that they haue not yet attained perfection, but that they are in the same state wherein they aspire vnto it aboute other. In the meane time that admiration among the people remaineth, as though the onely monkish life were angelike, perfect, and clesned from all fault. By

*The difference
betweene Popish
monkes, and the
monks of the old
Church.*

*De opere
monach.*

*Onely monkish life
sermed perfection
in: be papists.*

this pretence they make most gainfull markets, but that same moderation lieth buried in a fewe books. Who doth not see that this is an intollerable mockerie? But let vs so reason with them, as though they gaue no more to their profession than to call it a state of attaining perfection. Verily in giuing it this name, they do as by a special mark make it differing from other kinds of life. And who can abide this, that so great honor should be giuen away to an ordinance that is no where by any one syllable allowed: and that by the same all other callings of God, which are by his owne holie mouth not onely commanded, but also commended with notable titles of praise, are by the same accounted vnwoorthie? And how great wrong (I beseech you) is done to God, when I wot not what new found thing is preferred aboue all the kinde of life ordained by himselfe, and praised by his owne testimonie?

*Popish monkes
proud and vaine-
glorious as if their
obediencie did ex-
ceed vnto farther
perfection than
the law of Christ
doth require to bee
in all men.*

Matt. 5. 14.

12 But go to, let them say that it is a slander which I haue before said, that they are not contented with the rule prescribed of God. Yet though I hold my peace, they themselves do more than enough accuse themselves. For they openly teach, that they take vpon them more burden than Christ laid vpon his: because forsooth they promise to keepe the counsels of the Gospell concerning louing their enimies, not coueting of reuenge, nor swearing, &c. To which things Christians are not generally bound. Herein what antiquitie will they shew fourth against vs? This neuer came in any of the old fathers mindes. They all crie out with one voice that there was no one little worde at all vitered of Christ, which ought not necessarily to be obeyed. And without any doubting they do eewhere teach, that these very same things by name were commandements, which these good expositors triflingly say, that Christ did but counsell. But forasmuch as we haue before taught that this is a most pestilent error, let it suffice here to haue briefly noted that the monkerie which is at this daie, is grounded vpon the same opinion, which all the godly ought worthily to abhorre: which is, that there should be imagined some perfecter rule of life, than this common rule which is giuen of God to the whole church. Whatsoever is builded vpon this foundation, cannot be but abhominable.

*Nothing lesse then
monkish perfection
meane by Christ in
saying, if thou wilt
be perfect, sell all
and giue.*

Matt. 19. 21.

13 But they bring another proofe of their perfection, which they thinke to be most strong for them. For the Lord said to the yong man that asked him of the perfection of righteousnes, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast and giue it to the poore. Whether they do so or no, I doe not yet dispute: but grant them that for this present. Therefore they boast that they be made perfect by forsaking all theirs. If the sum of perfection stande in this, what meaneth *Paul* when he teacheth, that he which hath distributed all his goods to the poore, vnlesse he haue charitie, is nothing? What maner of perfection is this, which if charitie bee absent, is brought with man to nothing? Here they must needs answer, that this is the chiefest in deed, but not the onely worke of perfection. But here also *Paul* crieth against them, which sticke not to make charitie the bond of perfection, without any such forsaking. If it bee certaine that betwene the master and the disciple is no disagreement, and the one of them cleerly denieth the perfection of man to consist in this: that he should forsake all his goods, and againe affirmeth, that perfection is without it: we must see how that saying of Christ is to be taken, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast. Nowe, it shall be no darke sense, if we weigh (which we ought alway to make in all the preachings of Christ) to whom these wordes be directed. A yong man asketh, by what works he shall enter into euerlasting life. Christ, because hee was asked of workes, sendeth him 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 bring saluation vnto vs but by our owne peruenessne. By this answer Christ declareth, that hee teacheth no other rule to frame life by, than the same that had in olde time bene taught in the lawe of the Lorde. So did he both giue witness to the lawe of God, that it was the doctrine of perfect righteousnes: and therewithall did meete with slanders, that he should not seeme by a newe

1. Cor. 13. 3.

Col. 3. 14.

Luk. 20. 25.

rule of life to stirre the people to forsaking of the law. The young man being in deede not of an euill minde, but swelling with vaine confidence, answered that he had from his childehood kept all the commaundements of the lawe. It is most certaine that he was an infinite space distant from that to which he boasteth that he had attained. And if his boasting had bene true, he had wanted nothing to the highest perfection. For we haue before shewed, that the law containeth in it selfe perfect righteousnesse: and the same appeereth hereby that the keeping of it is called the way of eternall saluation. That he might be taught to knowe how little he had profited in that righteousness, which he had too boldly answered that he had fulfilled, it was profitable to shake out a familiar fault of his. When he aboundeth in riches, he had his hart fastened vpon them. Therefore because he felt not this secret wound, Christ lunced him. Go (saith he) sell all that thou hast. If he had bene so good a keeper of the lawe as he thought he was, he woulde not haue gone away sorrowfull when he hearde this worde. For who so loueth God with all his hart, whatsoeuer disagreeeth with the loue of him, he nor onely taketh it for dung, but abhorreth as bringing destruction. Therefore whereas Christ commaundeth the couetous rich man to leaue all that he hath, it is all one, as if he should commaund the ambitious man to forsake all honours, the voluptuous man all desires, and the vchaste man all the instruments of lust. So consciences that are touched with no feeling of generall admonition, must be called backe to the particular feeling of their owne euill. Therefore they doe in vaine draw this speciall case to generall exposition, as though Christ did set the perfection of a man in forsaking of goodes, whereas he meant nothing else by this saying, than to driue the young man that stood too much in his owne conceite, to seele his owne fore, that he might vnderstand that he was yet a great way distant from perfect obedience of the lawe, which otherwise he did falsely take vpon him. I graunt that this place hath bene euill vnderstanded of some of the fathers, and that thereupon grew this coueting of wilfull pouertie, whereby they onely were thought to be blessed, which forsaking all earthly things, did dedicate themselues 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 more doubt of the meaning of Christ.

14 Howbeit the fathers thought nothing lesse, than to establish such perfection, as hath since been framed by the cowed soplusters, therby to raise vp a double Christianitie. For that doctrine full of sacrilege was not yet borne, which compareth the profession of monkerie to baptisme, yea and openly affirmeth, that it is a forme of second baptisme. Who can doubt that the fathers with all their hart abhorred this blasphemie? Now as touching that last thing, which *Augustine* saith to haue been among the old monks, that is, that they applied themselues wholly to Charitie: what neede I to thew in words that it is most far from this new profession? The thing it selfe speaketh, that al they that go into Monasteries, depart from the Church. For why? Do not they seuer themselues from the lawfull fellowship of the faithful in taking to theselues a peculiar ministerie and priuate ministracion of Sacraments? What is it to dissolve the communion of the Church, if this be not it? And (that I may follow the comparison which I began to make, and may once conclude it) what haue they in this behalfe like to the old monks? They although they dwelt severally from other men, yet had not a seuerall Church: they did partake of the sacraments together with other: they appeered at solemne assemblies: there they were a part of the people. These men in erecting to themselues a priuate altar, what haue they else done but broken the bond of vnitie? For they haue both excommunicate themselues from the whole body of the Church, and haue despised the ordinarie ministerie, whereby the Lorde willed to haue peace and charitie kept among his. Therefore how many ministeries there be at this day, I say that there be so many assemblies of schismatics, which troubling the order of the Church, are cut off from the lawfull fellowship of the faithfull.

*Papish monks
how unlike to the
monks of old euen
in respect of their
very order and
profession.*

And that this departing should not be secrete, they haue giuen to themselues diuers names of sectes. Neither were they ashamed to boast of that, which *Paul* doth so detest that he cannot sufficiently amplifie the hainousnesse of it. Vnlesse perhaps we thinke that Christ was diuided of the *Corinthians*, when one gloried of one teacher, and another of another: and that now it is done without any iniurie to Christ, that in steed of Christians we heare some called *Benedictines*, some *Franciscanes*, some *Dominicanes*: and that they are so called, that they themselues when they couet to be seuerally known from the common sort of Christians, doe with great pride take these titles to them for the profession of their religion.

A greater difference in the manners of these new and those ancient monkes.

15 These differences which I haue hitherto rehearsed betweene the old monkes and the monkes of our age, are not differences in maners, but in the profession it selfe. Therefore let the readers remember that I haue rather spoken, of monkerie than of monkes, and haue touched those faults, not which sticke in the life of a few of them, but which cannot be seuered from their very order of liuing it selfe. But what difference is in their maners, what neede I particularly to declare? This is certaine, that there is no degree of men more defiled with all filthinesse of vices: no where more are factions, hatreds, affections of parties, ambitions hotter than among them. In deede in a few monasteries they liue chastly, if it be to be called chastitie where lust is so fare kept downe that it be not openly euill spoken of: yet a man shall scarcely finde euery tenth monasterie which is not rather a stews than a holy house of chastitie. But what honest sparing is in their diet? Swine be none otherwise fattened in sties. But least they should complaine that I handle them too vngently, I go no further. Howbeit in those few things which I haue touched, whoeuer knoweth the thing it selfe will confesse that there is nothing spoken a cuserlike. *Augustine*, when according to his testimonie monkes excelled in so great chastitie, yet complaineth that there were many vagabonds, which with euill crafts and deceits wiped simple men from their mony, which with carying about the reliques of martyrs did vse filthy marchandizings, yea and in seeke of the reliques of martyrs did shew foorth the bones of any other dead men, and which with many such wicked doings slaundered the order. As he reporteth that he saw no better men than them which haue profited in monasteries, so he lamenteth that he hath seene no woofe men than those that disprofited in monasteries. What would he say if at this day he sawe all monasteries to swell, and in a manner to burst with so many and so dispaired vices? I speake nothing but that which is wel knowne to all men. Yet doth not this dispraise pertaine to all without any exception at all. For as there was neuer rule and discipline of liuing so holily established in monasteries, but that there remained some drones much vnlike therest: so I doe not so that monkes are at this day so run out of kinde from that holy antiquitie, but that they haue yet some good men in their flocke. But they lie hidden a few and scattered in that huge multitude of naughtie & wicked men: and they are not only despised, but also lewdly railed at, and sometime cruelly handled of other, which (as the *Milesians* prouerbe is) thinke that there ought to be no place for any honest man among them.

Somewhat amisse euen in the very profession of monkerie which was of olde.

16 By this comparison of the olde and present monkerie, I trust I haue brought to passe that which I purposed, that it may appeere that our cowlled men do falsly pretend the example of the first Church for defence of their profession: for as much as they no lesse differ from them than apes from men. In the mean time I stick not to declare, that euen in that olde forme which *Augustine* commendeth, there is somewhat which little pleaseth me. I grant that they were not superstitious in exacting the outward exercises of rougher discipline, but I say that there wanted not too much affectation and wrongful zeale. It was a goodly thing, forsaking their goods, to be without all earthly carefullnes: but God more esteemeth care to rule a household godly, when a holy housholder being loose and free from all couetousnesse, ambition, and other desires of the flesh, trauelleth to this purpose to serue God in a certaine vocation. It

is a godly thing to play the Philosopher in wilderness farre from the companie of men: but it agreeth not with Christian gentlenes as it were for hatred of mankind to flie into desert and solitarines, and therewithall to forsake those duties which the Lord hath chiefly commanded. Although we grant that there was no other euill in that profession, yet this verily was no small euill, that it brought an vnprofitable and perillous example into the Church.

17 Now therefore let vs see what manner of vowes they be, wherewith monks at this day are professed into this goodly order. First, because their minde is to institute a new & fained worshipping to deserue Gods fauour: I concluded by the things afore spoken that whatsoeuer they vowe is abominable before God. Secondlie without any regard of Gods calling, without any his allowance, they inuent for them such a kinde of liuing as pleaseth themselves. I saie that it is a rash, and therefore an vnlawfull enterprise: because their conscience hath nothing whereupon it may vpholde it selfe before God, and whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. Moreouer when they binde themselves to manie peruerse and wicked worshippings, which the monkerie at this day containeth in it, I affirme that they bee not consecrate to God, but to the diuell. For why was it lawfull for the Prophet to say, that the Israelites offered their children to diuels and not to God: onely for this that they had corrupted the true worshipping of God with prophane Ceremonies: and shall it not be lawfull for vs to saie the same of monkes, which with their cowle do put vpon themselves a snare of a thousand wicked superstitions? Now what sorts of vowes are there? They promise to God perpetuall virginitee, as though they had bargained with God before, that he shoulde deliuer them from need of marriage. There is no cause why they shoulde alleage, that they doe not make this vowe but trusting vpon the grace of God. For sith he pronounceth that he giueth it not to all men, it is not in vs to conceiue a confidence of a speciall gift. Let them that haue it, vse it. If at any time they feele themselves to be troubled of their flesh, let them flie to this helpe by whose onely power they may resist. If they preuaile not, let them not despise the remedie that is offred them. For they by the certaine worde of God are called to marriage, to whom power of continence is denied. Continence I call, not whereby the bodie is onely kept cleane from whoredome, but whereby the minde keepeth chasticitee vndefiled. For *Paul* commandeth not onely cutward wantonnesse, but also the burning of the minde, to be auoided. This (say they) hath from furthest time of memorie been obserued, that they which would dedicate themselves wholly to the Lord, should bind themselves to the vowe of continence. I grant indeed that this maner hath also been of ancient time receued: but I doe not grant that that age was so free from all fault, that whatsoeuer was then don must be taken for a rule. And by litle & litle this vnappaeable severity crept in, that after a vowe made there was no roome for repentance. Which is euidnt by *Cyprian*. If virgins haue of faith dedicated themselves to God, let them continue shamefastly, and chastly without any faining. So being strong and stedfast, let them look for the reward of virginitee. But if they wil not or cannot continue, it is better that they should marrie than with their delights fall into the fire. What reproches would they now spare to teare him withall, that would with such equitie temper the vowe of continence? Therefore they are departed farre from that ancient maner, which will not onely admit no moderation or pardon if any be found vnable to performe his vowe: but they do without all shame pronounce that he sinneth more greuoussly if he remedie the intemperance of the flesh with taking a wife, than if he desile both his body and soule with whoredome.

18 But they still enforce the matter, and go about to shew that such a vowe was vsed in the Apostles time: because *Paul* saith that the widowes which hauing bene once receued into the publike ministerie did marrie, denied their first faith. But I doe not denie to them, that the widowes, which bound themselves and their

The vowes wherewith monks at this day enter into that order: as first perpetuall virginitee.

Rom. 14. 23.
Deut. 31. 17.
Psal. 106. 37.

Matt. 19. 11.

1. Cor. 7. 9.

Epi. 11.

The bond of coniuall single life otherwise than now vnderaken of old.

1. Tim. 5. 12.

seruices to the Church, did therewithall take vpon them the bond of continuall vnmarried life: not because they reposed any religion therein, as it afterward began to be vsed: but because they could not beare that office but being at their owne libertie and loose from yoke of marriage. But if, when they had once giuen their faith, they looked backe to newe marriages, what was this else but to shake off the calling of God? Therefore it is no maruell that with such desires he saith that they waxe wanton against Christ. Afterward to amplifie the matter he saith, that they do so not performe that which they haue promised to the Church, that they do also breake and make voide their first Faith giuen in Baptisme: in which this is comprehended, that euery man should answer his calling. Vnlesse perhaps you had rather vnderstand it thus, that hauing as it were lost all shame, they did from thence forth cast away all care of honestie, did giue forth themselues to all wantonnesse and vnchastitie, and did in licentious and dissolute life resemble nothing lesse than Christian women: which sense I like verie well. Therefore we answere, that those widowes which were then receiued to publicke ministerie, did lay vpon themselues a bond to continue vnmarried: if they afterward married, we easily perceiue that that happened to them which *Paul* speaketh of, that casting away shame they became more wanton than befeemed Christian women. That to they not onely sinned, in breaking their faith giuen to the Church, but swared from the common law of godly women. But first I denie that they did professe vnmarried life for any other reason, but because marriage agreed not with that ministerie which they tooke in hand: and I denie that they did bind themselues at all to single life, but so far as the necessitie of their vocation did beare. Againe I do not graunt that they were so bound, but that it was then also better for them to marrie, than either to be troubled with the prickings of the flesh, or to fall into any vnleannes. Thirdly I say that that age is appointed of *Paul*, which is commonly out of danger: specially sith he commaundeth them onely to be chosen, which contented with one marriage haue already shewed a token of their continencie. And we do for no other reason disallow the vow of vnmarried life, but because it is wrongfully taken for a seruice of God, and it is rashly vowed of them to whom power of continencie is not giuen.

Saint Pauls words concerning widowes wrestled vnto the maner-vnauance of Nunnes

19 But how was it lawfull to drawe this place of *Paul* to Nunnes? For there were created deaconisses, not to delight God with singing and with mumbling not vnderstanded, and liue the rest of their time idle: but that they should execute publicke ministracion toward the poore, that they should with all study, earnestnes and diligence, endeavour themselues with the duties of charitie. They did not vow vnmarried life, to yeeld thereby any worship to God because they abstained from marriage: but onely because they were thereby the more vncombred to execute their office. Finally they did not vow it, either in the beginning of their youth, or yet in the midst of their flowing age, that they might afterward learne too late by experience into how great a headlong downsfall they had thrown themselues: but when they seemed to haue passed al danger, then they vowed a no lesse safe than holy vow. But (not to enforce their first two points) I say it was not lawfull to haue women receiued to vow continencie before the age of threescore yeeres: forasmuch as the Apostle admitteth onely women of sixtie yeeres old, and commaundeth the yonger to marrie and bring forth children. Therefore, neither that release made of twelue yeeres, and then twentie, and afterward of thirtie yeeres can be any way excused: and much lesse is it tolerable, that sillie maides, before that they can by age know themselues, or haue any experience of themselues, are not onely trained by fraude, but constrained by force and threatnings to put on those cursed snares. I will not tarie vpon confuting the other two vowes. Onely this I saye: besides this that they bee intangled with not a fewe superstitions, (as the matter is nowe a daies) they seeme to be made to this purpose, that they which vowe them should mocke both God and
men,

men. But least we should seeme too maliciously to shake vp every small parcell, we will be content with that generall confutation which is aboue ser.

20 What manner of vowes be lawfull and acceptable to God, I thinke is sufficiently declared. Yet bicause sometime vnskillfull and fearefull consciences, euen when they mislike or disallow any vowes, doe neuertheless doubt of the binding, and are grieuouly tormented, when they both dread to breake their Faith giuen to God, and on the other side they feare least they should more sinne in keeping it : here they are to be succoured, that they may winde themselues out of this distresse. But, to take away all doubt at once : I say that all vowes being not lawfull, nor rightly made, as they are nothing woorth before God, so ought to be voided to vs. For if in contractes of men those promises onely doe bind, in which he with whom we contract, would haue vs bound : it is an absurditie, that we should be driuen to the keeping of those things which God doth not require of vs : specially sith our workes are no otherwise right, but when they please God, and when consciences haue this testimony that they please him. For this remaineth certaine, whatsoeuer is not of Faith, is sinne. Whereby *Paul* meaneth, that the worke which is taken in hand with doubting, is therefore faultie, because Faith is the roote of all good workes, 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 assurednes : if by fault of ignorance they haue taken any thing in hand, why should they not afterward giue it ouer when they be deliuered from erroris ? Sith vowes vnadvisedly made are such, they doe not onely nothing binde, but are necessarily to be vndone. Yea, what if they are not onely nothing esteemed, but also are abhominable in the sight of God, as is aboue shewed ? It is needles to discourse any longer of a matter not needefull. This one argument seemeth to me to be enough to pacifie godly consciences & deliuer them from all doubt : that whatsoeuer works do not flow out of the pure fountaine & be not directed to the lawfull end, are refused of God : & so refused that he no les forbiddeth vs to go forward in the, than to begin the. For hereupon followeth, that those vowes which proceed of error and superstition, are both of no value before God, and to be forsaken of vs.

21 Moreover he that shall know this solution, shall haue wherewith he may defend against the slanders of the wicked, them that depart from Monkerie to some honest kinde of life. They are grieuouly accused of breach of Faith and periurie, because they haue broken (as it is commonly thought) the insoluble bonde wherewith they were bound to God and to the Church. But I say that there was no bond where God doth abrogate that which man confirmeth. Moreover, admitting that they were bound, when they were holden intangled with not knowing of God, and with error : now since they are lightened with the knowledge of the truth, I say that they are therewithall free by the grace of Christ. For if the crosse of Christ haue so great effectualnesse, that it looseth vs from the curse of the law of God, wherewith we were holden bound, how much more shall it deliuer vs from foreine bonds, which are nothing but the snaring nets of Satan ? To whomsoeuer therefore Christ shineth with the light of his Gospell, it is no doubt that he looseth them from all snares which they had put vpon themselues by superstition. Howbeit they want not yet another defence, if they were not fit to liue vnmarried. For if an impossible vow be a sure destruction of the Soule, whom the Lord would haue saued and not destroyed : it followeth that we ought not to continue therein. But how impossible is the vow of continence to them that are not indued with a singular gift, we haue already taught, and experience speaketh it though I hold my peace. For neither is it vnknown with how great filthinesse almost all monasteries doe swarme. And if any of them seeme honest, and more shamefast than the rest, yet they are not therefore chaste because they suppress and keepe in the fault of vnchastitie. So verily God doth with horrible examples take vengeance on the boldnes of men, which forgetting their own weak-

The way for consciences intangled with rash vowes to vniwind themselves.

Rom. 14 23.

Departure from Monkerie to some other honest kinde of life iustifiable.

Gal. 3. 3.

nesse, do against nature couet that which is denied them, and despising the remedies which the Lord had giuen them at hand, do trust that they can with stubbornnes and obstinacie ouercome the disease of incontinence. For what else shall wee call it but stubbornnes, when one being warned that he needeth mariage, & that the same is giuen him of the Lord for a remedie, doth not only despise it, but also bindeth himselfe with an oath to the despising of it?

The xiiij. Chapter.

Of Sacraments.

The definition of a Sacrament.

BEsides the preaching of the Gospell; another helpe of like sort is in the Sacraments: of which to haue some certaine doctrine taught, is much behoouefull for vs, whereby we may learne both to what end they were ordained, and what is now the vse of them. First it is meet to consider what is a Sacrament. It seemeth to me that this shall be a plaine and proper definition, if we say that it is an outward signe, where-with the Lord sealeth to our consciences the promises of his good will toward vs, to sustaine the weaknes of our faith: and we againe on our behalves do testifie our godlines toward him as well before him & the Angels as before men. We may also with more briefenes define it otherwise: as to call it a testimonie of Gods fauour toward vs confirmed by an outward signe, with a mutuall testifying of our godlines toward him. Whether soeuer you choose of these definitions, it differeth nothing in sense from that definition of *Augustine*, which teacheth that a Sacrament is a visible signe of a holy thing, or a visible forme of inuisible grace: but it doth better and more certainly expresse the thing it selfe. For whereas in that briefenes there is some darknes, wherein many of the vnskillfuller sort are deceiued: I thought good in moe wordes to giue a fuller sentence, that there should remaine no doubt.

The ancient vse of the word Sacrament.
Eph. 1.9. & 3.2.

2 For what reason the old writers vsed this worde in that sense, it is not hard to see. For so oft as the old translator would render in Latine this Greeke worde *Mysterion* mysterie, specially when diuine matters were intreated of, he translated it Sacrament. So to the Ephesians, that he might make knowne vnto vs the Sacrament of his will. Againe, if yet yee haue heard the distribution of the grace of God, which is giuen to me in you, because according to reuelation the Sacrament was made knowne to me. To the Colossians, The Mysterie which hath been hidden from ages and generations, but now is manifested to his Saintes, to whom the Lord would make knowne the riches of this Sacrament, &c. Againe, to Timothie, A great Sacrament of godlines: God is openly shewed in the flesh. He would not say a secret, least he should seeme to say somewhat vnder the greatnes of the things. Therefore he hath put Sacrament in steed of Secret, but of a holy thing. In that signification it is sometime found among the ecclesiasticall writers. And it is well enough known, that those which in Latine are called Sacramentes, in Greeke are Mysteries: which expressing of one thing in two seuerall words enderth all the contention. And hereby it came to passe that it was drawn to those signes which had a reuerend representation of high and spirituall things. Which *Augustine* also noteth in one place. It were long (saith he) to discourse of the diuersitie of signes, which when they pertaine to diuine things, are called Sacraments.

Col. 1.26.

1. Tim. 3.16.

Epi. 5. ad Marcel.

Sacraments ordained of God as seales of his promises, not that they but we stand in need of confirmation by such meanes.

3 Now of this definition which we haue set, we vnderstand that a Sacrament is neuer without a promise going before it, but rather is adioyned as a certaine addition hanging to it, to this end that it should confirme and seale the promise it selfe, and make it more approued vnto vs, yea after a certaine maner ratified. Which meaneth the Lord foreseeeth to be needfull first for our ignorance and dulnesse, and then for our weakenes: and yet (to speake properly) not so much to confirme his holy word,

as to stablish vs in the Faith thereof. For the truth of God is by it selfe found and certaine enough, and cannot from any other where receive better confirmation than from it selfe: But our Faith, as it is small and weake, vnlesse it be stayed on euery side, and be by all meanes vpholden, is by and by shaken, wauereth, staggereth, yea, and fainteth. And herein verily the mercifull Lord according to his great tender kinde- nesse tempereth himselfe to our capacitie: that, whereas we be naturall men, which alway creeping vpon the ground, and sticking fast in the flesh, doe not thinke nor so much as conceiue any spirituall thing, he vouchsaueh euen by these earthly elements to guide vs vnto himselfe, and in the flesh it selfe to set foorth a mirror of spirituall good things. For if we were vnbodily (as *Chrysostome* saith) he would haue giuen vs the very same things naked and vnbodily. Now because we haue Soules put within bodies, he giueth spirituall things vnder visible things. Not because there are such giftes planted in the natures of the things which are set foorth to vs in the Sacraments: but because they were signed by God to this signification.

Hom. 60. ad popul.

4 And this is it which they commonly say, that a Sacrament consisteth of the word and the outward signe. For we must vnderstand the word to be, not that which being whispered without meaning and Faith, with onely noise as it were with a magickall enchantment hath power to consecrate the element: but which being preached maketh vs to vnderstand what the visible signe meaneth. Therefore that which was vsually done vnder the tyranny of the Pope, was not without a great profaning of the mysteries. For they thought it ynough, if the Priest, while the people stoode amazedly gazing at it without vnderstanding, did mumble vp the forme of consecration. Yea, they of set purpose prouided this, that no whit of doctrine should thereof come to the people: for they spake all things in Latine before vnlearned men. Afterward superstition brake out so farre, that they beleued that the consecration was not formally made, vnlesse it were with a hoarse whispering sound which fewe might heare. But *Augustine* teacheth farre otherwise of the Sacramentall worde. Let the word (saith hee) be added to the element, and there shall be made a Sacrament. For whence cometh this so great strength to the water, to touch the bodie and wash the soule, but by the worde making it? not because it is spoken, but because it is beleued. For in the verie word it selfe the sounde which passeth is one thing, and the power which abideth is another. This is the word of Faith which wee preach, saith the Apostle, Whereupon in the Actes of the Apostles it is saide, by faith cleansing their hearts. And *Peter* the Apostle saith, So baptisme also saueh vs: not the putting away of the filthines of the flesh, but the examination of a good conscience. This is the word of faith which we preach: by which without doubt, that it may be able to cleanse, Baptisme is also hallowed. You see how it requireth preaching, wherupon faith may grow. And we neede not to trauell much in prooffe hereof, forasmuch as it is cleare what Christ did, what he commanded vs to do, what the Apostles followed, what the purer Church obserued. Yea euen from the beginning of the world it is knowen, that so oft as God offered any signe to the holy fathers, there was added an vnseparable knot of doctrine, without which our senses should be made amazed with bare beholding. Therefore when we heare mention made of the Sacramentall word, let vs vnderstand the promise, which being with a loude voice preached of the minister, may lead the people thither as it were by the hand, whither the signe tendeth and directeth vs.

With the Sacraments the word of promise to be toyne- ned, not as they toyne it in the Church of Rome, but as Christ did & taught his disciples after him to do.

Hom. in Iohn. 13.

Rom. 10. 8. Añ. 15. 9. 1. Pet. 3. 21.

5 Neither are some to be heard which trauell to fight against this, with a double horned argument rather futtle than sound. Either (say they) we knowe, or we know not, that the word of God which goeth before the sacrament, is the true will of God. If know it, than we learne no new thing of the sacrament which followeth after. If we know it not, then neither will the sacrament teach it: whose whole force standeth in the worde. Whereunto let this briefly be for an answer: that the seales

A sophisticall dilemma to exclude the use of sacraments.

which are hanged at patents and other publike instruments, taken by themselves are nothing, for as much as they should be hanged in vaine if the parchment had nothing written in it: yet they do not therefore not confirme and seale that which is written, when they be added to writings. Neither can they say that this similitude is lately fained by vs, which *Paul* himselfe vsed, calling circumcision a seale, where he purposely trauelleth to prooue, that circumcision was not righteousnes to *Abraham*, but a sealing of that couenant, by faith whereof he had already bene iustified before. And what, I beseech you is there that may much offend any man, if we teach that the promise is sealed with Sacraments, when of the promises themselves it is euident that one is confirmed with another? For as euery one is manifeste, so is it more fit to vphold faith. But the Sacraments do both bring most cleare promises, and haue this peculiar more than the word, that they liuely represent them to vs as it were painted out in a table. Neither ought that distinction any thing to moue vs, which is wont to be objected, betwene Sacraments and Seales of patents: that whereas both consist of carnall elements of this world, those cannot suffice or be meete to seale the promises of God, which are spirituall and euerlasting, as these are wont to be hanged to, for sealing of the grants of Princes concerning fading and fraile things. For a faithfull man, when the sacraments are present before his eies, sticketh not in that fleshly sight, but by those degrees of proportion, which I haue spoken of, he riseth vp with godly consideration to the high mysteries which lie hidden in the Sacraments.

Rom. 4. 11.

Sacraments as
seales, pictures,
pillars, glasses.
Gen. 6. 18. & 9. 9.
& 17. 22.

In Ioh. hom. 89.
Lib. 19. cont.
Faith.

6 And sith the Lord calleth his promises, couenants: and his Sacraments, seales of couenants: a similitude may well be brought from the couenants of men. What can a sow killed worke, if wordes were not vsed, yea vnlesse they went before: For sowes are many times killed without any more inward or higher mysterie. What can the giuing of a mans right hand do, sith oftentimes hands are matched with enmitie? But when words haue gone before, by such signes the lawes of leagues are stablished, although they were first conceiued, made, and decreed in words. Therefore Sacraments are exercises which make the credit of the word of God certainer vnto vs: and because we are carnal, they are deliuered vnder carnal things, that so they should instruct vs according to the capacity of our dulnes, and guide vs by the hand as schoolmasters guide children. For this reason *Augustine* calleth a Sacrament, a vntible word: because it representeth the promises of God as it were painted in a table, and setteth them before our sight cunningly expressed and as in an image. Other similitudes also may be brought, whereby Sacraments may be more plainly set out, as if we call them pillars of our Faith. For as a building standeth and resteth vpon the foundation: yet by setting vnder of pillars, it is more surely stablished: so, Faith resteth vpon the word of God, as vpon a foundation: but when Sacraments are added, it stayeth yet more soundly vpon them as vpon pillars. Or if we call them looking glasses, in which we may behold the riches of the grace of God, which he giueth vs. For (as we haue alreadie said) he doth in them manifestly shew himselfe to vs, so much as is giuen to our dulnes to know, and doth more expressly refuse his good will and loue toward vs than by his word.

Sacraments
though ministered
to the wicked, testi-
monies neuer-
theless of the good
will of God, and
essentially to aug-
ment faith.

7 Neither do they reason fitly enough to the purpose, when they labour to proue hereby that they are not testimonies of the grace of God, because they are also giuen to the wicked, which yet do thereby feele God nothing more fauourable to them, but rather procure to themselves more grievous damnation. For by the same argument neither should the Gospell, which is heard and despised of many, be the testimony of the grace of God: nor yet Christ himselfe, which was seene and knowen of manie, of whom verie fewe received him. The like we may also see in patents. For a great parte of the multitude laugheth at and scorneth that authentike seale, howfouuer they know that it proceeded from the Prince to seale his will withall: some regarde it not, as a thing not pertaining to them: some also abhorre it: so that considering

considering this so egall relation of both, that same similitude which I haue aboue vsed, ought more and more to be liked. Therefore it is certaine that the Lorde doth offer vnto vs mercie & a pledge of his grace both in his holy worde & in the Sacramentes: but the same is not receiued but of them which receiue the worde and Sacramentes with sure faith. Like as Christ is offered of the father vnto saluation, to all, yet hee is not acknowledged and receiued of all. *Augustine* in one place minding to declare the same, saide that the effectualnesse of the worde is shewed forth in the Sacrament: nor because it is spoken, but because it is beleeued. Therefore *Paul*, when he speakech to the faithfull, so entreatech of Sacraments that he includeth the communion of Christ in them, as when hee saith: all yee that are baptized, haue put on Christ. Againe, we are all one body and one spirite, which are baptized in Christ. But when he speakech of the wrongfull vse of the sacraments, hee giueth no more to it than to colde and void figures. Whereby he signifieth, that howsoeuer the wicked and hypocrites with their peruersenesse do either oppresse or daiken or hinder the effect of the grace of God in the Sacraments, yet that withstandeth not but that where and so oft as it pleaseth God, both they may bring a true testimonie of the communicating of Christ, and the Spirit of God himselfe may deluier and performe that which they promise. We determine therefore that sacraments are truely called testimonies of the grace of God, and as it were certaine seales of the good will which hee beareth toward vs: which by sealing it vnto vs, doe by this meane sustaine, nourish, confirme, and encrease our faith. As for the reasons which some are wont to obiect against this sentence, they are too trifling and weak. They say that if our Faith be good, it cannot bee made better: for they say that it is no faith, but which without thinking, stedfastly, and without withdrawing, resteth vpon the mercie of God. It had bin better for such to pray with the Apostles that the Lorde woulde encrease their faith, than carelesly to pretende such a perfection of faith, which neuer any of the sons of men hath obtained, nor any shall obtaine in this life. Let them answer, what maner of faith they thinke that he had which saide: I beleuee Lorde, helpe my vnbeleeuingnes. For euen that faith, howsoeuer it was but a begun faith, was a good faith, and might be made better when vnbeleeuingnes were taken away. But they are confuted by no certainer argument than by their owne conscience. For if they confesse themselves sinners, (which whether they will or no they cannot denie) they must needs impute the same to the imperfection of their faith.

8 But (say they) *Philip* answered the Eunuch, that he might be baptized, if he beleued with all his hart. What place heere hath the confirmation of Baptisme, where faith filleth the whole hart? Againe, I aske them whether they do not feele a good part of their hart void of faith: whether they do not daily acknowledge newe encreases. The heathen man gloried that he waxed old with learning. Therefore we Christians be thise miserable, if we waxe olde with profiting nothing, whose faith ought to goe forward by all degrees of ages, till it grow into a perfect man. Therefore in this place to beleuee with all the hart, is not perfectly to beleuee Christ, but onely from the hart and with a syncere minde to embrace him: not to bee full with him, but with feruent affection to hunger, and thirst, and sigh towarde him. This is the manner of the Scripture, to saie that that is done with the whole hart, which it meaneth to be done syncerely and hartly. Of this sort are these sayings: I haue in all my hart sought thee: I will confesse to thee in all my hart, and such other. As on the other side, where he rebuketh guilefull and deceitfull men, hee vseth to reproch them with hart and hart. Then they say further, that if faith be encreased by Sacraments, the holie Ghost is giuen in vaine, whose strength and worke it is to begin, maintaine, and make perfect faith. To whom indeede I graunt, that faith is the proper and whole worke of the holie Ghost, by whom being enlightened we knowe God and the treasure of his goodnesse, and without whose light our minde is so blinde, that it can see

Gal. 3. 27.
1. Cor. 12. 13.

Luk. 17. 5.

Mark. 9. 24.

Although wee beleuee with all our hart, & although it be the worke of the holy Ghost, to begin, maintaine and make perfect faith, yet are not the Sacramentes hereby proued un-effectuall to the increase of faith.
A. 8. 37.
Eph. 4. 13.
Psal. 119. 10 & 111. 1. & 138. 1.
Psal. 12. 3.

nothing, so senselesse, that it can smell nothing of spirituall things. But for one benefit of God which they set forth, we consider three. For first the Lord teacheth and instructeth vs with his word: then he strengtheneth vs with Sacraments: last of all he shineth into our mindes with the light of his holie spirit, and openeth an entry for the word and sacraments into our hearts, which otherwise should but strike our eares, and be present before our eies, and nothing moue the inward parts.

*How sacraments
are said to con-
firm faith.*

9 Wherefore as touching the confirmation and increase of faith, I would haue the reader warned (which I thinke I haue already in plaine words expressed) that I do so assigne that ministerie to the sacraments, not as though I thought that there is perpetually in them I wore not what secret force, by which they may of themselues be able to further or confirme faith: but because they are ordained of the Lord to this end, that they should serue to the stablishing and encreasing of faith. But then onely they do truly performe their office, when that inward schoolemaster the spirit is come to them, with whose onely power both the hearts are pierced, and affections are moued, and the entrie is set open for the sacraments into our soules. If he be absent, Sacraments can do no more to our minds, than if either the brightnesse of the sunne should shine vpon blind eyes, or a voyce sound to deafe eares. Therefore I so make diuision betwene the spirit and sacraments, that the power of working remaine with the spirit, and to the sacraments be left onely the ministracion, yea and the same voyde and trifling without the working of the spirit: but of much effectualnesse, when he inwardly worketh and putteth forth his force. Now it is plaine in what sort according to this sentence, a godly minde is confirmed in the faith by sacraments: that is to say, euens as the eyes see by the brightnesse of the Sunne, and the eares heare by the sound of a voyce: of which neither the eies should anie whit perceiue any light, vnlesse they had a sight in themselues that might naturallie be enlightened, and the eares should in vaine be knocked at with anie crying what-fouer it were, vnlesse they were naturally made and fit to heare. But if it be true, which ought at once to be determined among vs, that what the sight worketh in our eies to seeing of the light, what the hearing worketh in our eares to the perceiuing of a voyce, the same is the worke of the holy Ghost in our hearts, both to the conceiuing, and sustaining, and cherishing and stablishing offaith: then both these things do likewise follow: that the sacraments doe nothing at all profite without the power of the holy Ghost: and that nothing withstandeth but that in hearts already taught of that schoolemaster, they may make faith both stronger and more encreased. Onely this difference there is, that the power of hearing and seeing is naturally set in our eares and eies: but Christ beside the measure of nature doth by speciall grace worke the same in our mindes.

*By this doctrine
concerning the
force of sacraments
nothing taken fro
the power, of the
holy Ghost.*

10 Whereby those obiections also, which comber some men, are dissolved: That if we ascribe to creatures either the increase or confirmation of faith, there is wrong done to the Spirit of God, whom we ought to acknowledge the onely author thereof. For neither do we in the meane time take from him either the praise of confirming or increasing it: but rather we ascribe, that euens this that he encreaseth and confirmeth faith, is nothing else but with his inward enlightening to prepare our mindes to receiue that confirming which is set forth by the sacraments. But if it be yet too darkely spoken, it shall be made very cleare by a similitude which I will bring. If thou purpose with words to perswade a man to do any thing, thou wilt search out all the reasons, whereby he may be drawn to thy opinion, and may be in a manner subdued to obey thy counsell. But thou hast hitherto nothing preailed, vnlesse he likewise haue a piercing and sharpe iudgement, whereby he may weigh what pith is in thy reasons, vnlesse also he haue a tractable wit and readie to harken to teaching: finally vnlesse he haue conceiued such an opinion of thy faithfulness and wisdom, as may be to him like a certaine foreiudgement to cause him to subscribe.

For both there are manie stubborne heads, which a man can neuer bowe with any reasons: and also where credite is suspected, where authoritie is despised, little good is done euen with the willing to learne. On the other side let all those things be present, they will truely bring to passe that the hearer, to whom thou giuest counsell, will obey the selfe same counsels which otherwise he would haue laughed to scorne. The same worke also the spirite worketh in vs. For least the word should beate our eares in vaine, least the Sacraments should strike our eies in vaine, he sheweth vs that it is God which speaketh therein, he softeneth the stubbornnes of our heart, and frameth it to the obedience which is due to the word of the Lord. Finally he conueieth those outward words and sacraments from the eares into the soule. Therefore both the word and the Sacraments do confirme our faith, when they set before our eies the good will of the heavenly father toward vs, by knowledge of whom both the whole stedfastnes of our faith standeth fast, and the strength of it encreaseth: the spirit confirmeth it, when in engrauing the same confirmation in our minds he maketh it effectuall. In the meane time the father of lights can not be forbidden, but as he enlighteneth the bodily eies with the beames of the sunne, so he may enlighten our minds with sacraments, as with a brightnesse set meane betweene.

11 Which proprietie the Lord taught that there was in his outward word, when in the parable he calleth it seede. For as seede, if it fall vpon a desert and vntilled peece of ground, will do nothing but die: but if it be thstrown vpon arable land well manured and tilled, it will bring forth her fruit with very good encrease: so the word of God, if it light vpon a stiffe necke, it will grow barren as that which is sown vpon sand: but if it light vpon a soule manured with the hand of the heavenly spirit, it will be most fruitfull. But if there be like reason of seede and of the word: as we say that out of seede corne both springeth and encreaseth, and groweth vp to ripenisse: why may we not say that faith taketh out of the word of God both beginning, encrease, and perfection? *Paul* verie well expresth both these things in sundry places. For when he goeth about to put the Corinthians in remembrance how effectually God vsed his trauaile, he glorieth that he hath the ministerie of the Spiute, as though the power of the holic Ghost were with an vnseparable knot ioyned with his preaching, to enlighten and thoroughly moue the minde. But in an other place when he miuideth to admonish them, of what force the word of God is of it selfe being preached by man, he compareth the ministers them selues to husbandmen, which when they haue bestowed their labour and trauaile in tilling the earth haue no more to do. But what should tilling, and sowing, and watering profit vnllesse that which is sown should receiue luclineffe by heavenly benefite? Therefore he concludeth, that both he that planteth and he that watereth are nothing: but that all things are to be ascribed to God, which alone giueth the encrease. Therefore the Apostles do in their preaching vtter the power of the spirit, so far as God vseth the instruments ordeined by himselfe to the setting forth of his spirituall grace. Yet we must keepe still that distinction, that we remember, what man is able to do by himselfe, and what is proper to God.

12 Sacraments are so confirmations of our faith, that many times when the Lord meaneth to take away the confidence of the very things that are by him promised in the Sacraments, he taketh away the sacraments themselues. When he spoyleth and thrusteth away *Adam* from the gift of immortalitie, he saith: Let him not eate of the fruite of life, least he liue for euer. What saith he? Could that fruite restore to *Adam* his vcorruption, from which he was now fallen? No. But this is all one as if he had saide: Least he should enioy a vaine confidence if he keepe still the signe of my promise, let that be shaken away from him which might bring him some hope of immortalitie. After this manner when the Apostle exhorteth the Ephesians to remember that they were forein guests of the testaments, strangers from the fellowship

As by the sacraments, so also by the word, faith sown encreased & brought to ripenes through the forcible operations of the spirite.
Matt. 13. 4.
Luke. 8. 15.

2. Cor. 2. 4.
1. Cor. 3. 6.

1. Cor. 3. 6.

When sacraments are removed to take away mens confidence in those things which thereby were confirmed, this doeth shewe them to be meane whereby faith groweth, yet so that no power proper vnto God be transcribed from him to them.
Gen. 3. 3.
Ephes. 2. 12.

of *Israel*, without God, without Christ, he saith, that they were not partakers of Circumcision. Whereby he doth (by figure of transnomination) signifie that they were excluded from the promise it selfe, which had not receiued the signe of the promise. To their other obiection, that the glory of God is conueyed to creatures, to whom so much power is ascribed, & that thereby it is so far diminished, we haue in readines to answer that we set no power in creatures. Onely this we say, that God vseth meanes and instruments, which he himselfe seeth to be expedient: that all things may serue his glory, forasmuch as he is Lord and Iudge of all. Therefore as by bread and other nourishments he feedeth our bodie: as by the Sunne he enlighteneth the world: as by fire he warmeth: yet neither Bread, nor the Sunne, nor Fire, are any thing but so farre as by those instrumentes he doth distribute his blessinges vnto vs: so spiritually he nourisheth Faith by the Sacramentes, whose onely office is to set his promises before our eies to be looked vpon, yea to be pledges vnto vs of them. And as it is our dutie to fasten none of our affiance in other creatures, which by the liberalitie and bountifullnesse of God are ordained to our vses, and by the ministerie whereof he giueth vs his giftes, nor to haue them in admiration, and praise them as causes of our good: so neither ought our confidence to sticke fast in the Sacraments, nor the glory of God to be remooued vnto them: but leauing all things, both our faith and confession ought to rise vp to him the Author both of the Sacraments and of all things.

The word Sacrament translated from militarie vnto Christian profession: the power which Sacraments haue in augmenting Faith notwithstanding disproued.

13 Whereas some bring an argument out of the very name of a Sacrament, it is nothing strong. A Sacrament (say they) whereas it hath among allowed Authors many significations, yet it hath but one which agreeth with the signes: that is, whereby it signifieth that solemne oath which the souldier maketh to his Captaine when he entreth into profession of a souldier. For as by that oath of warfare new souldiers doe binde their Faith to the Captaine, and professe to be his souldiers: so by our signes we professe Christ our Captaine, and doe testifie that we serue vnder his banner. They adde similitudes to make therby the matter more plaine. As a gowne made the Romanes seuerally known from the Greekes which did weare clokes: as the very degrees of men at *Rome* were discerned by their severall signes: the degree of Senators from the degree of Knightes, by purple coate and picked shooes: againe a Knight from a Commoner, by a ring: so we beare our signes that may make vs seuerally known from prophane men. But by the things aboue said it is euident enough that the old writers, which gaue to the signes the name of Sacraments, had no regard how this word was vsed among Latine writers, but for their owne purpose fained this new signification, whereby they signified onely holy signes. But if we will search the matter more deeply, it may seeme that they haue with the same relation applied this word to such a signification, wherewith they haue remooued the name of Faith to that sense wherein it is now vsed. For whereas Faith is a truth in performing promites: yet they haue called Faith an assurednes, or sure perswasion which is had of the truth it selfe. Likewise whereas a Sacrament is the Souldiers part whereby he voweth himselfe to his Captaine: they haue made it the Captaines part, wherby he receiueth souldiers into roomes of seruice. For by the Sacrament the Lord doth promise that he will be our God, and that we shall be his people. But we passe ouer such subtleties: for asmuch as I thinke I haue proued with argumentes plaine enough, that they had respect to nothing else but to signifie that these are signes of holy and spiritual things. We receiue in deede the similitudes which they bring of outward tokens: but we allow not that that which is the last point in the Sacraments, is by them set for the chiefe, yea and onely thing. But this is the first point, that they should serue our faith before God: the later point that they should testifie our confession before men. According to this later consideration those similitudes haue place. But in the meane time let that first point remaine: because otherwite (as we haue already proued

the mysteries should be but colde, vnlesse they were helps to our faith, and additions to doctrine ordered to the same vse and end.

14 Again we must be warned, that as these men do weaken the force, and vtterly ouerthrow the vse of sacraments: so on the contrarie side there be some, which faine to sacraments I wor not what secret vertues, which are no where read to be put in them by God. By which error the simple and vnskilfull are dangerously deceiued, while they are both taught to seeke the gifts of God where they cannot be found, and are by little and little drawn away from God, to embrace mere vanitie in steede of his veritie. For the Sophistical schooles haue taught with great consent, that the Sacraments of the new lawe, that is to say those which are now in vse in the Christian Church, do iustifie and giue grace, so that we do not lay a stop of deadly sinne. It cannot be expressed how pernicious and pestilent this opinion is, and so much the more, becaule in many ages heretofore, to the great losse of the Church, it hath preuailed in a great part of the world. Truly it is vtterly diuelish. For when it promiseth righteousnes without faith, it driueth soules headlong into destruction: then because it fetcheth the cause of righteousnes from the sacraments, it bindeth the miserable mindes of men aleadie of their owne accord to much bending to the earth, with this superstition that they rather rest in the sight of a bodily thing than of God himselfe. Which two things I would to God we had not so proued in experience, so little neede they any long prooffe. But what is a sacrament taken without faith, but the most certaine destruction of the Church? For whereas nothing is to be looked for thereof without the promise, and the promise doeth no lesse threaten wrath to the vnfaithfull, than it offereth grace to the faithfull: he is deceiued that thinketh that there is any more giuen to him by the sacraments, than that which being offered by the word of God, he receiueth by faith. Whereupon another thing also is gathered, that the affiance of saluation hangeth not vpon the partaking of the sacrament, as though Iustification consisted therein: which we know to be reposed in Christ only, and to be communicated vnto vs no lesse by the preaching of the Gospel, than by the sealing of the sacrament: and that without that it cannot wholly stand. So true is that which *Augustine* also writeth, that inuisible sanctification may be without a visible signe, and againe that a visible signe may be without true sanctification. For (as he also writeth in another place) men do put on Christ sometime vntil the receiuing of a sacrament, sometime eue vnill the sanctificatiō of life. And that first point may be cōmon both to good and to euil: but this other is proper to the good & godly.

15 Hereupon cometh that distinction if it be well vnderstanded, which the same *Augustine* hath often noted, betweene a sacrament, and the thing of the sacrament. For it not only signifieth, that the figure and trueth are there contained, but that they do not so hang together, but that they may be seuered: and that euen in the verie conioyning the thing must alway be discerned from the signe, that we giue not to the one that which belongeth to the other. He speaketh of the separation, when he writeth that the sacraments do worke in the only clef that which they figure. Againe, when he writeth thus of the Iewes: When the sacraments were common to all, the grace was not common, which is the power of the sacraments. So now also the washing of regeneration is common to all: but the grace it selfe, whereby the members of Christ are regenerate with their head, is not common to all. Againe, in another place of the Supper of the Lord, We also at this day receiue visible meate. But the sacrament is one thing, and the power of the sacrament another thing. What is this, that many receiue of the altar and dy, and in receiuing do dye? For the Lords morsell was poyson to Iudas: not because he receiued an euill thing, but because he being euill receiued a good thing euillie. A little after: The sacrament of this thing, that is of the vnitie of the bodie and bloud of Christ, is somewhere prepared on the Lordes table dayly, somewhere by certaine distances of dayes: and thereof

As by some too little, so by others too much force is ascribed vnto sacraments.

Lib. 4. de quaest. vet. testament. Li. 5. de bapt. cont. Donat. cap. 14.

The hidden grace not alwayes rayned with the visible signe of the sacraments.

De bapt. par. In Psal. 77.

In Ioh. hom. 28.

is receiued vnto life to some, & vnto destruction to some. But the thing it selfe wherof it is a sacrament, is receiued vnto life to al men, but vnto destruction to no man, whofocuer is partaker of it. And a little before he had said, He shall not die which eateth: but he which pertaineth to the power of the sacrament, not to the visible sacrament: which eateth within, nor without: which eateth with heart, not he which presseth with tooth. Thus you heare euery where, that a sacrament is so seuered from his owne truth by the vnworthines of the receiuer, that there remaineth nothing but a vaine and vnprofitable figure. But that thou maist haue not a signe voide of truth, but the thing with the signe, thou must conceiue by faith the word which is there enclosed. So how much thou shalt by the sacraments profite in communicating of Christ, so much profit shalt thou take of them.

Christ the substance of all sacraments & the onely cause of righteousness: the sacraments effectually meanes to nourish the knowledge of Christ, though the wicked lacking faith be not nourished by them.
Lib. 4. senten. dist. 1.

Hom. in
Ioh. 26.
Lib. 3. de doct.
Christ. cap. 9.

16 If this be somewhat darke because of the shortnes, I will set it out in more words. I say that Christ is the matter, or (if thou wilt) the substance of al sacraments: for as much as in him they haue all their perfectnesse, and do promise nothing without him. So much lesse tolerable is the error of *Peter Lombard*, which doth expressly make them causes of righteousness and saluation, where of they be parts. Therefore bidding all causes farewell which mans wit doth faue to it selfe, we ought to stay in this one cause. Therefore how much we be by their ministerie holpen to the nourishing, confirming, & encreasing of the true knowledge of Christ in vs, and to the possessing of him more fully, and to the enjoying of his richesse, so much effectualnesse they haue with vs. But that is done when we doc with true faith receiue that which is there offered. Do the wicked then (wilt thou say) bring to passe by their vnthankfulnesses, that the ordinances of God be voide and turne to nothing? I answer that that which I haue saide, is not so to be taken, as though the force and truth of the sacrament did hang vpon the state or will of him that receiue it. For that which God hath ordained remaineth stedfast and keepeth stil his nature, howfoeuer men do vary. But sith it is one thing to offer, an other to receiue: nothing withstandeth but that the signe hallowed by the word of God may be indeed that which it is called, and keepe his owne force: and yet that there come thereby no profite to an euill doer and wicked man. But *Augustine* doth in few words well asse this question. If (saith he) thou receiuest carnally, it ceaseth not to be spirituall: but it is not to thee. But as *Augustine* hath in the afore said places shewed that a sacrament is a thing nothing worth, if it be seuered from the truth therof: so in another place he giueth warning that euen in the verie conioyning needeth a distinction, lest we stucke too much in the outward signe. As (saith he) to follow the letter, and to take the signes in steede of the things, is a pointe of seruile weakenesse: so to expounde the signes vnprofitable is a point of euill wandring error. He nameth two faults which are here to be auoided: The one when we so take the signes as though they were giuen in vaine, and when with abacing or diminishing their secreet significations by our enuiousnesse, we bring to passe that they bring vs no profit at all. The other, when in not raising our minds beyond the visible signe, we giue away to the Sacrament the praise of all those good things which are not giuen vs but of Christ onely, and that by the holy Ghost, which maketh vs partakers of Christ himselfe: and in deede by the helpe of the outward signes: which if they allure vs to Christ, when they be wristed an other way, the whole profit of them is vnworthily ouerthrowen.

Christ set forth as by the word so by the sacraments, neither available without faith, to whom they are a available in them they worke not by

17 Wherefore let this remaine certaine, that there is no other office of the sacraments than of the word of God: which is to offer and set forth Christ vnto vs, and in him the treasures of heauenly grace: but they auaille or profit nothing, but being receiued by faith: euen as wine, or oyle, or any other liquor, though you poure it on largely, yet it will run beside and perish, vnlesse the vessels mouth be open to receiue it, and the vessell though it be wet round about on the outside, shall neuertheless remaine empie and void within. Beside this we must beware, lest those things which

which haue been written, by the olde writers somewhat too gloriously to amplify the dignitie of sacraments, which leade vs away into an error neere to this: namely that we should thinke that there is some secret power knit and fastened to the sacraments, that they may of themselues giue vs the graces of the holy Ghost, like as wine is giuen in a cup: whereas onely this office is appointed to them by God, to testifie and stablish to vs the good will of God towards vs, and doe profite no further vnlesse the holy Ghost ioyne himselfe to them, which may open our mindes and hartes, and make vs partakers of this testimonie, wherein alio doe cleerly appeere diuers and feueral graces of God. For the sacraments, as we haue aboue touched, are that thing to vs of God, which to men are messengers of ioyfull things, or earnestes in stablishing of bargaines: which doe not of themselues giue any grace, but doe tell and shew vs, and (as they be earnestes and tokens,) doe ratifie vnto vs those things that are giuen vs by the liberalitie of God. The holy Ghost (whom the sacraments doe not in common without difference bring to all men, but whome the Lord peculiarly giueth to them that be his) is he that bringeth the graces of God with him, which giueth to the sacraments place in vs, which maketh them to bring forth fruite. But although we doe not denie that God himselfe with the most present power of his Spirite is present with his owne institution, least the ministracion which he hath ordeined of the sacraments should be fruitlesse and vaine: yet we affirme that the inward grace of the Spirite, as it is seuered from the outward ministerie, so ought to be feuerally weighed and considered. God therefore truly performeth in deede whatsoeuer he promiseth and figureth in signes: neither doe the signes want their effect, that the author of them may be proued true and faithfull. The question here is onely whether God worketh by his owne and by inward power (as they call it) or do resigne his office to outward signes. But we affirme, that whatsoeuer instruments he vse, his originall working is nothing hindered thereby. When this is taught concerning the sacraments, both their dignities is honorably set out, & their vse is plainly shewed, & their profitableness is abundantly reposed, and the best meane in all these things is retained, that neither any thing be giuen to them which ought not, nor again any thing be taken from them which is not conuenient to be taken from them. In the meane time that fained deuise is taken away, whereby the cause of iustification and power of the holy Ghost is inclosed in elements as in vessels or waggons, and that principall force which hath bin omitted of other is expressly set out. Heere also it is to be noted, that God inwardly worketh that which the minister figureth and testifieth by outward doing: least that be drawn to a mortall man, which God claimeth to himselfe alone. The same thing also doth *Augustine* wisely touch. How (saith he) doth both *Moses* sanctifie, and God? not *Moses* for God: but *Moses* with visible sacraments by his ministerie, but God with inuisible grace by his holy Spirite: where also is the whole fruite of visible sacraments. For without this sanctification of inuisible grace, what doe those visible sacraments profite?

13 The name of Sacrament, as we haue hitherto entreated of the nature of it, doth generally contein 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 things, somtime he deliuered them in miracles. Of the first kinde these be examples, as when he gaue to *Adam* and *Eue*, the tree of life for an earnest of immortallitie, that they might assure themselues of it, so long as they did eate of the fruite thereof. And when he did set the heavenly bowe for a monument to *Noe* and his posteritie, that he woulde no more from thence forth destroy the earth with ouerflowing of water. These *Adam* and *Noe* had for sacraments. Not that the tree did giue them immortallitie, which it coule not giue to it selfe: nor that the Bowe (which is but a striking backe of a sunbeame vpon the clouds against it) was of force to holde in the waters: but because they had a marke grauen in them by the word of God, that they

secret included force, grace connect with the sacraments not from the sacraments but from God.

Questio. vet. testam. lib. 3. c. 84.

Things sometimes naturall and sometimes miraculous used for sacraments.

Gen. 2. 17. & 3. 3. Gen. 9. 13.

shoulde

should be examples and seales of his testaments. And the tree was a tree before, and the bowe a bowe. When they were written vpon with the worde of God, then a new forme was put into them, that they shoulde begin to be that which they were not before. That no man should thinke these things spoken without cause, the bowe it selfe is at this daie also a witness of that couenant, which God made with *Noe*: which bowe so oft as we behold, we read this promise of God written in it, that the earth shal neuer be destroyed with ouerflowing of waters. Therefore if any fond Philosopher, to scorne the simplicitie of our faith, doe affirme that such varietie of colours doth naturally arise of reflected beames and a cloude set against them: let vs grant it indeede, but let vs laugh to scorne his senselesse follie, which doth not acknowledge God the Lorde and gouernour of nature: which at his owne will vseth all the elements to the seruice of his owne glorie. If he had imprinted such tokens in the sunne, the starres, the earth, stones, and such like, they shoulde all haue bene 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 stricken with a common marke, it is made money, and receiueth a newe valuation. And shall not God be able to marke his creatures with his worde, that they may be made sacraments, which before were naked elements? Of the second kinde these were examples, when he shewed to *Abraham* a light in a smoking ouen: when he watered the fleece with dewe, the earth remaining drie: againe he watered the earth, the fleece being vntouched, to promise victorie to *Gideon*: when he drew the shadowe of the dial ix. lines backwarde, to promise safete to *Ezechias*. These things, when they were done to relieue and stablsh the weakenes of their faith, were then also sacraments.

Gen. 15. 17.
Iud. 6. 37.
2. King. 20. 9.
Esa. 38. 7.

Sacrament on
Gods behalfe te-
stimonies of grace,
on ours noies and
markes of profes-
sion.
Lib 9 contra
Fauft. Mani.
ca. 11.

19 But our present purpose is, to discourse peculiarly of those sacramentes, which the Lorde willed to be ordinarie in his Church, to nourish his worshippers and seruants into one faith and the confession of one faith. For (to vse the wordes of *Augustine*) men can bee congealed together into no name of religion either true or false, vnlesse they be bounde together with some fellowship of visible signes and sacraments. Sith therefore the most good father foresawe this necessitie, he did from the beginning ordeine certaine exercises of godlinesse for his seruants, which afterwarde Satan by turning them to wicked and superstitious worshippings, hath manie waies depraued and corrupted. Heereupon came those solemne professions of the the Gentiles into their holy orders, and other bastarde vsages: which although they were full of errour and superstition, yet they also were therewith a prooffe that men coulde not in profession of religion bee without such outwarde signes. But because they neither were grounded vpon the word of God, nor were referred to that truth wherunto all signes ought to be directed, they are vnwoorthie to be rehearsed where mention is made of the holy signes which are ordeined of God, and haue not vsaued from their foundation, that is, that they should be helpes of true godlines. They consist not of bare signes, as were the bowe and the tree, but vpon ceremonies: or rather the signes that be here giuen are ceremonies. But as it is aboue saide, that they be on the Lordes behalfe testimonies of grace and saluation: so they bee againe on our behalfe markes of profession, by which we openly sweare to the name of God, for our partes binding our faith vnto him. Therefore *Chrysostome* in one place sirly calleth them couenantings wherby God bindeth himselfe in league with vs, & we be bound to purenesse and holinesse of life, because heere is made a mutuall forme of couenanting betweene God and vs. For as the Lorde therein promiseth that hee will cancell and blot out whatsoever guiltinesse and penaltie we haue gathered by offending, and doth reconcile vs to himselfe in his onely begotten sonne: so we againe on our behalves doe by this profession binde our selues vnto him to the following of godlinesse and innocencie: so that a man may rightly saie that such sacraments are ceremonies,

ceremonies, by which God will exercise his people first to the nourishing, stirring vp, and strengthening of faith inwardly, then to the testifying of religion before men.

20 And euen these sacraments also were diuers, after the diuers order of time, according to the distribution whereby it pleaseth the Lorde to shewe himselfe after this or that manner to men. For to *Abraham* and his posteritie Circumcision was commanded whereunto afterward purifyinges and Sacrifices, and other Ceremonies were added out of the lawe of *Moses*. These were the Sacraments of the Iewes vntill the coming of Christ: at which coming those being abrogate, two Sacraments were ordained, which now the Christian Church vseth, Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lorde. I speake of those that were ordained for the vse of the whole Church. For as for the laying on of hands, 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 do not reckon it among the ordinary sacraments. As for the rest which are commonly called sacraments, what they are to be accounted, we shall see by and by. Howbeit the olde Sacraments also had respect to the same marke, whereunto ours do tend, that is, to direct and in a maner lead by the hand to Christ: or rather as images to represent him, and shew him forth to be knowen. For whereas we haue already taught, that they are certaine 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 teach vs of some promise of God, they must needs shew Christ. Whereunto pertaineth that heauenly pattern of the tabernacle and of the worshipping in the law, which was giuen to *Moses* in the mount. One onely difference there is, that those did shadow out Christ being promised, when he was yet looked for: these doe testifie him alreadie giuen and deliuered.

21 When these things shall all be particularly and ech one severally declared, they shall be made much plainer. Circumcision was to the Iewes a signe, whereby they were put in minde, that whatsoeuer cometh of the seede of man, that is to say the whole nature of man is corrupt, and hath neede of proyming. Moreouer it was a teaching, and token of remembrance whereby they shoulde confirme themselues in the promise giuen to *Abraham*, concerning that blessed seede in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, from whom they had their owne blessing to be looked for. Nowe that healthfull seede (as wee are taught of *Paul*) was Christ, in whom alone they hoped that they should recouer that which they had lost in *Adam*. Wherefore Circumcision was to them the same thing which *Paul* saith that it was to *Abraham*, namely the seale of the righteousness of faith: that is to saie, the seale whereby they should be more certainly assured, that their faith wherewith they looked for that seede, shoulde be accounted to them of God for righteousness. But we shall vpon a better occasion in another place go through with the comparison of Circumcision and Baptisme. Baptisinges and purifyinges did set before their eies their owne vcleannesse, filthinesse and pollution, wherewith they were defiled in their owne nature: but they promised another washing, whereby all their filthinesse should be wiped and washed awaie. And this washing was Christ, with whose blood we being washed do bring his cleannes into the sight of God, that it may hide all our deflings. Their sacrifices did accuse them of their owne wickednes, and therewithal did reach, that it was necessarie that there shoulde be some satisfaction which shoulde be paid to the iudgement of God. That therefore there shoulde be some one chiefe bishop, a mediator betweene God and men, which should satisfie God by shedding of bloude, and by offering of a sacrifice which shoulde suffice for the forgiuenes of sins. This chiefe Priest was Christ: he himselfe shed his owne blood: he himselfe was the Sacrifice: for hee offered himselfe obedient to his father vnto death: by which obedience he tooke away the disobedience of man, which had prouoked the displeasure of God.

Sacraments before Christ and after, & the scope of both.

Gen. 17. 10.
Leuit. 10.
Matt. 28. 19.
& 26. 26.

1. Cor. 1. 20.

The intent of circumcision, purifyinges and sacrifices of the Law.
Gen. 22. 28.

Gal. 3. 16.

Rom. 4. 11.

Hebr. 9. 1.

1. Iohn. 1. 7.
Reue. 1. 5.

Heb. 4. 14. &
5. 5 & 9. 11.
1. hil. 2. 8.
Rom. 5. 19.

Cap. 14. Of the outward meanes

The sacraments of
the new testament
baptisme and the
supper of the Lord,
wherein Christi
hath more
cleerely than in
the sacraments
of the olde.
1. Iohn. 5. 6.

22 As for our sacraments, they doe so much more cleerely present Christ vnto vs, as he was more neerely shewed to men, since he hath bene truly deliuered of his father such as he had bene promised. For baptisme doth testifie vnto vs that we are cleansed and washed, the Supper of thankesgiuing testifieth that we be redeemed. In water, is figured washing: in blood, satisfaction. These two things are founde in Christ, which (as *Iohn* saith) came in water and blood, that is to say that hee might cleanse and redeeme. Of which thing the Spirit of God also is a witness. Yea there are three witnesses in one, Water, Blood, and Spirit. In water and blood we haue a testimonie of cleansing and redeeming: but the Spirit the principall witness bringeth vnto vs assured credite of such witnessing. This high mysterie hath notably well bene shewed vs in the crosse of Christ, when water and blood flowed out of his holy side: which side for that cause *Augustine* rightfully called the fountaine of our Sacraments: of which yet we must intreate somewhat more at large. There is no doubt but that more plentifull grace also of the Spirit doth here shew foorth it selfe if you compare time with time. For that pertaineth to the glory of the kingdom of Christ, as we gather out of many places, but specially our of the 7. Chapter of *Iohn*. In which sense we must take that saying of *Paul*, that vnder the law were shadowes, but in Christ is the body. Neither is it his meaning to spoile of their effect the testimonies of grace, in which Gods will was in the olde time to prooue himselfe to the Fathers a true speaker, euen as at this day he doth to vs in Baptisme and in the holy Supper. But onely his purpose was by way of comparison to magnifie that which was giuen vs, least any should thinke it marvellous, that the Ceremonies of the law were abolished by the coming of Christ.

Iohn. 19. 34.
Hom. in Ioh. 20.

Col. 2. 17.

Too great a difference made by
Schoolemen betweene the Sacra-
ments of the law
and ours.
1. Cor. 10. 3.

23 But that same schoole doctrine (as I may also briefly touch this by the way) is viterly to be hissed out, whereby there is noted so great a difference betweene the Sacraments of the old and new law, as though those did nothing but shadow out the grace of God, and these doe presently giue it. For the Apostle speaketh no lesse honorably 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 emptie signe, which deliuered to the Iewes a true communion of Christ? And the grounde of the cause which the Apostle there handleth, doth plainly fight on our side. For, that no man trusting vpon a colde knowledge of Christ, and emptie title of Christianitie, and outward tokens, should presume to despise the iudgement of God: hee sheweth foorth examples of Gods seueritie to be seene in the Iewes: that we should know that the same paines which they haue suffered, hang ouer vs, if we follow the same faults. Now that the comparison may be fit, it behoued that he should shew that there is no vnequalitie betweene vs and them in those good things whereof he did forbid vs to boast falsely. Therefore first hee maketh vs equall in the Sacraments, and leaueth to vs not so much as any small peece of prerogative, that might encourage vs to hope of escaping vnpunished. Neither verily is it lawfull to giue any more to our Baptisme, than he in another place giueth to circumcision, when he calleth it the seale of the righteousness of faith. Whatsoever therefore is at this day giuen vs in our Sacraments, the same thing the Iewes in olde time receiued in theirs, that is to say, Christ with his spirituall riches. What power our Sacraments haue, the same they also felt in theirs: that is to say, that they were to them seales of Gods good will towards them, into the hope of eternall saluation. If they had bene apt expositors of the Epistle to the Hebrues, they would not haue so been blinded. But when they reade there, that sinnes were not cleansed by the Ceremonies of the law, yea that the old shadowes had no auailing force to righteousness: they neglecting the comparison which is there handled, while they tooke holde of this one thing, that the lawe of it selfe nothing profited the followers of it, thought simple that the figures were void of truth. But the Apostles meaning is to

Rom. 4. 11.

Hcb. 10. 1.

bring

bring the ceremoniall lawe to nothing, vntill it come to Christ, vpon whom alone hangeth all the effectuallnes of it.

24 But they will obiekt those things which are read in *Paul* concerning the circumcision of the letter, that it is in no estimation with God, that it giueth nothing, that it is vaine. For such sayings seeme to presse it downe farre beneath Baptisme. Not so. For the verie same might rightfully be said of Baptisme. Yea and also the same is said, first of *Paul* himselfe, where he sheweth that God regardeth not the outward washing whereby we enter into profession of religion, vnlesse the minde within be both clenfed and continue in cleanness to the ende: againe of *Peter*, when hee testified that the truth of Baptisme standeth not in the outward washing, but in a good witnessing of conscience. But he seemeth also in another place vterly to despise the circumcision made with hand, when he copareth it with the circumcision of Christ. I answer that euen in this place nothing is abated of the dignitie of it. *Paul* there disputeth against them, which required it as necessarie when it was nowe abrogate. Therefore he warneth the faithfull, that leauing the old shadowes they should stand fast in the truth. These maisters (saith he) instantly call vpon you, that your bodies may be circumcised. But yee are spiritually circumcised according to the soule and body. Yee haue therefore the deliuerance of the thing indeede, which is much better than the shadow. A man might take exception to the contrary and say that the figure is not therefore to be despised because they had the thing in deede: forasmuch as the putting off of the olde man, of which he there spake, was also among the fathers, to whom yet outward circumcision had not bin superfluous: He preuenteth this obiection, when he by and by addeth, that the *Colossians* were buried with Christ by Baptisme. Whereby he signifieth that at this day baptisme is the same to Christians, which circumcision was to the old people: and therefore that circumcision cannot bee enioyned to Christians without wrong done to Christ.

25 But that which followeth, and which I euen now alleaged, is harder to assoile, that all the Iewish ceremonies were shadowes of things to come, and that in Christ is the body: but most harde of all is that which is intreated in many Chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrues, that the bloud of beastes, attained not to consciences: that the law had a shadow of good things to come, not an image of things: that the followers of it obtained no perfection of the Ceremonies of *Moses* and such other. I goe backe to that which I haue already touched, that *Paul* doth not therefore make the ceremonies shadowish, because they had no sounde thing in them: but because the fulfilling of them was after a certaine maner hanged in suspence vntill the deluering of Christ. Againe I say that this is to be vnderstanded not of the effectuallnes, but rather of the maner of signifying. For till Christ was manifestly shewed in the flesh, all the signes did shadowe him out as absent, howsoeuer hee did inwardly vtter to the faithfull the presence of his power and of himself. But this we ought chiefly to mark, that in all those places *Paul* doth not speake simplie, but by way of contention. Because he strued with the false Apostles, which woulde haue goodlines to consist in the ceremonies onely without any respect of Christ: to confute them, it sufficeth onelie to intreate, of what value ceremonies are by themselves. This marke also the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues followed. Let vs therefore remember that here is disputed of ceremonies, not as they be taken in their owne and naturall signification, but as they be wrested to a false and wrongfull exposition: not of the lawfull vse of them, but of the abuse of superstition. What maruel is it therefore if ceremonies being seuered from Christ, are vnclodded of all force? For all signes whatsoever they be, are brought to nought, when the thing signified is taken away. So when Christ had to do with them which thought that *Manna* was nothing else but meate for the belly, hee applieth his speech to their grosse opinion, and saith that he ministrereth better meate, which may feede soules to hope of immortalitie. But if you require a plainer solution,

What is spoken in Scripture to diminish the estimation of circumcision, the same in like occasion and sense might as well bee said of baptisme.
1. Cor. 10. 5.
1. Pet. 3. 21.
Col. 2. 11.

The sacraments of the lawre shadowes not in respect of their working but in regard of their manner of signifying that which is wrought & spoken of as things of smal account not simply but when Christ is seuered fro them.

John. 6. 27.

the summe of all tendeth to this : First, that all that furniture of ceremonies, which was in the law of *Moses*, is a vanishing thing and of no value, vnlesse it be directed to Christ. Secondly, that they so had respect to Christ, that when hee at length was manifestly shewed in the flesh, they had their fulfilling. Finally that it behooued that they should be taken away by his comming, euen as a shadow vanissheth away in the cleare light of the sun. But because I do yet defer longer discourse of that matter vnto that place where I haue purposed to compare baptisine with circuncision, therefore I do now more sparingly touch it.

In what sense the fathers haue so much extolled the sacraments of the new testament above the old.

In proem. enar. Psa. 73. quæst. li. per. Nam. c. 33. Lib. 9. c. 14.

Lib. 2. con. lit. Petil. c. 37.

Hom. In Io. 26.

In Psa. 77. Lib. 9. contra Faust. cap. 13.

De doctrina Christi lib. 3. Epist. ad Ianu.

26 Perhaps also those innumerable praises of sacraments, which are read in old writers concerning our signes, deceiued those miserable Sophisters. As this of *Augustine*. That the Sacraments of the old law did onely promise the Sauiour, but ours do giue saluation. When they marked not that these and such other formes of speaking were spoken : they also published their excessiue doctrines, but in a cleane contrarie sense from the writing of the old fathers. For *Augustine* meant no other thing in that place, than as the same *Augustine* writeth in another place. That the Sacraments of the law of *Moses* did foretell of Christ, but ours do tell of him present. And against *Favstus*. That those were promises of things to be fulfilled, these were tokens of things fulfilled : as if he should say, that those figured him when he was looked for, but ours do as it were shew him present which hath bene already deliuered. Moreover he speaketh of the maner of signifying, as also he sheweth in another place. The law (saith he) and the Prophets had Sacraments, foretelling of a thing to come : but the Sacraments of our time do testifie that that is already come, which those did declare to be to come. But what he thought of the thing and effectualnesse, he expoundeth in many places : as when hee saith, that the Sacraments of the Iewes were in signes, diuers : but in the thing signified, equal with ours : diuers in visible forme, but equal in spirituall power. Again : in diuers signes is all one faith : so in diuers signes, as in diuers words : because words change their sounds by times : and truly wordes are nothing but signes. The Fathers did drinke the same spirituall drinke, for they drinke not the same bodily drinke. See ye therefore, faith remaining one, the signes varied. To them the rocke was Christ : vs that is Christ which is set vpon the altar. And they drinke for a great Sacrament, the water flowing out of the rocke : what we drinke, the faithfull know. If thou consider the visible forme they drinke an other thing : if an vnderstandable signification they drinke the same spirituall drinke. In an other place, in the mysterie the same is their meate and drinke 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 grant that there is some difference. For both sacraments do testifie that the fatherly good wil of God and the graces of the holy Ghost are offered vs in Christ : but our sacraments testifie it more clearly and brightly. In both is a deliueing of Christ : but in these more plenteous & fuller, namely as that difference of the old & new Testament beareth, of which we haue intreated before. And this is it that the same *Augustine* meant (whom we more often alieage as the best and faithfulllest wittnes of all the old writers) where he teacheth that when Christ was reuealed, sacraments were ordained both in number fewer, in signification higher, in force more excellent. Of this thing also it is expedient that the readers briefly be warned, that whatsoeuer the sophisters haue trillingly taught concerning the worke wrought, is not onely false, but disagreeeth with the nature of the Sacraments, which God hath ordained, that the faithful being void and needie of all good things should bring nothing thither but beggerie. Whereupon followeth that in receiuing them, these men do nothing whereby they may deserue praise : or that in doing (which in this their respect is meerey passiu) no worke can be ascribed vnto them.

The xv. Chapter.

Of Baptisme.

Baptisme is a signe of the entring wherewith we are receiued into fellowship of the Church, that being grafted into Christ, wee may be reckened among the children of God. Now it was giuen vs of God to this end, (which I haue taught to be common to all the mysteries) first, that it should serue to our Faith with him, and to our confession before men. We will orderly declare the manner of both purposes. Baptisme bringeth three things to our Faith, which also must be feuerally intreated of. This is the first which the Lord setteth out vnto vs, that it should be a token & prooue of our cleansing: or (to expresse my minde better) it is like to a certaine sealed charter, whereby he confirmeth vnto vs, that all our finnes are so defaced, cancelled, and blotted out, that they may neuer come in his sight, nor be rehearsed, nor be impured. For he willeth that all they that beleue, should be baptised into forgiveness of finnes. Therefore they which thought that baptisme is nothing else but a marke and token whereby we professe our religion before men, as souldiers beare the countenance of their Captaine for a marke of their profession, weigh not that which was the cheefe thing in Baptisme. That is this, that we should receiue it with this promise, that whoe soeuer beleue and are baptised, shall be saued.

2 In this sense is that to be vnderstood which *Paul* writeth, that the Church is sanctified of Christ her spouse, and cleansed with washing of water in the worde of life. And in another place, that we are saued according to his mercie by the washing of regeneration and of the renewing of the holy Ghost. And that which *Peter* writeth, that baptisme saueth vs. For *Pauls* will was not to signifie, that our washing and saluation is perfectly made by water; or that water containeth in it selfe the power to cleanse, regenerate and renew. Neither did *Peter* meane the cause of saluation, but onely the knowledge and certaintie of such giftes to be receiued in this Sacrament: which is euidently enough exprest in the words themselues. For *Paul* kniteth together the worde of life, and baptisme of water: as if he had said, that by the Gospell the message of washing and sanctifying is brought vs, that by baptisme such message is sealed. And *Peter* immediately adioyneth, that that baptisme is not the putting away of the filthynes of the flesh, but a good conscience before God, which is of faith. Yea baptisme promisseth vs no other cleansing, but by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ: which is figured by water, for the likeness of cleansing and washing. Who therefore can say that we be cleansed by this water, which certainly testifieth that the blood of Christ is our true and onely washing? So that from no where else can be fetched a surer reason to confute their blinde error which referre all things to the power of the water, than from the signification of Baptisme it selfe: which doth withdraw vs as well from that visible element which is set before our eyes, as from all other meanes, that it may bind our mindes to Christ alone.

3 Neither is it to be thought that Baptisme is applied onely to the time past, that for new fallings, into which we fall backe after Baptisme, we must seeke new remedies of cleansing in I wote not what other Sacramentes, as though the force of Baptisme were worne out of vse. By this errour it came to passe in olde time, that some would not be baptised but in the vttermost perill of life, and at their last gaspings, that so they might obtaine pardon of their whole life. Against which wayward suttile provision the olde Bishops so oft inueigh in their writings. But thus we ought to thinke, that at what time soeuer we be Baptised, we are at once washed and cleansed for all our life. Therefore so oft as we fall 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 the forgiveness of sins. For though when it is once ministred, it seemeth to be

The first vse of baptisme is to be a token of our cleansing, and therefore not a marke of recognition and a signe of profession only as some would haue it.

Mar. 16. 16.

Our cleansing not made by baptisme as by a cause but manifested by it as by a signe.

Ephc. 5. 26.

Tit. 3. 5.

1. Pet. 3. 22.

Baptisme a confirmation of the washing out of all sin and not onely of finnes past before we be baptised.

past, yet by later finnes it is not abolished. For the cleannes of Christ is therein offered vs: that alway flourisheth, is oppressed with no spots, but ouerwhelmeth and wipeth away all our filthines: yet ought we not to take thereof a libertie to sinne in time to come (as verily we be not hereby armed to such boldnes) but this doctrine is giuen onely to them, which when they haue sinned, do groane wearied and oppressed vnder their sins, that they may haue wherewith they may raise vp and comfort themselves, least they should fall into confusion and desperation. So *Paul* saith, that Christ was made to vs a propitiator, vnto the forgiuens of faults going before. Wherin he denieth not that therein is obtained perpetuall and continuall forgiuenes of sins euen vnto death: but he meaneth that it was giuen of the father, onely to poore sinners, which wounded with the searing iron of conscience, do sigh to the pishition. To these the mercie of God is offered. They which by escaping of punishment do hunt for matter and libertie to sin, do nothing but prouoke to themselves the wrath and iudgment of God.

Rom. 3. 25.

The force of baptisime as well as repentance extended throughout our whole liues.

4 I know in deede that it is commonly thought otherwise: that by the benefite of repentance and of the keyes we do after Baptisime obtaine forgiuenes, which at our first regeneration is giuen vs by onely Baptisime. But they which deuise this do erre herein that they do not remember that the power of the keyes, whereof they speake, doth so hang vpon baptisime that it ought in no wise to be secured. The sinner receiueth forgiuenes by the ministerie of the Church, namely not without the preaching of the Gospell. But what maner of preaching is that? That we be cleansed from finnes by the blood of Christ. But what signe and testimonie is there of that washing, but baptisime? We see therefore how that absolution is referred to baptisime. And this error hath bred vs the fained Sacrament of penance: of which I haue touched somewhat before, and the residue I will make an end of in place fit for it. But it is no maruell if men, which according to the grossenes of their wit were immeasurably fastried to outward things, haue in this behalfe also bewrayed that fault, that not contented with the pure institution of God, they did thrust in newe helps fained of themselves. As though baptisime it selfe were not a Sacrament of repentance. But if repentance be commended to vs for our whole life, the force also of baptisime ought to be extended to the same bounds. Wherefore it is also no doubt but that all the godly throughout all their life long, so oft as they be vexed with knowledge in conscience of their owne sins, dare cal back themselves to the remembrance of baptisime, that thereby they may confirme themselves in the affiance of that only and continuall washing which we haue in the blood of Christ.

A second vse of baptisime to shew vs our mortification & newnes of life.
Rom. 6. 3.

5 It bringeth also another fruit, because it sheweth vs our mortification in Christ, and new life in him. For (as the Apostle saith) we are baptised into his death; being buried together with him into death, that we may walke in newnesse of life. By which words he doth not onely exhort vs to the following of him (as though he did say, that we are by Baptisime put in minde, 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 righteousnes), but he fetcheth the matter much deeper: that is to say, that by baptisime 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 baptisime with such faith as they ought, do truly feele the effectualnesse of the death of Christ in the mortifying of their flesh: and therewithall also they feele the effect of his resurrection in the quickening of the Sprite. Hereupon he gathereth matter of exhortation: that if we be Christians, wee ought to be dead to sinne, and to liue to righteousnesse. This selfe same argument he vseth in another place that wee be circuncised, and haue put off the olde man, since that we be buried in Christ by Baptisime. And in this sense, in the same place which we haue before alleaged, hee called it the washing of regeneration and of reuening

Col. 2. 12.
Tit 3. 5.

renewing. Therefore first free forgiveness of sins and imputation of righteousness is promised vs, and then the grace of the holy Ghost, which may reforme vs into newenes of life.

6 Last of all our faith receiveth also this profite of Baptisme, that it certainly testifieth vnto vs, that we are not onely grafted into the death and life of Christ, but that we are so vnited to Christ himselfe that we are partakers of all his good things. For therefore hee hath dedicated and hallowed Baptisme in his owne bodie, that hee might haue it common with vs, as a most strong bonde of the vnitie and fellowship which he vouchsafed to enter into with vs: so that Paul prooueth thereby that we be the children of God, because we haue put on Christ in Baptisme. So wee see that the fulfilling of Baptisme is in Christ, whom also for this reason we call the proper object of Baptisme. Therefore it is no maruell if it be reported that the Apostles baptised into his name, which yet were commanded to baptise into the name of the Father also and of the holy Ghost. For whatsoever giftes of God are set forth in baptisme, are found in Christ alone. And yet it cannot be, but that he which baptiseth into Christ, doth therewithall call vpon the name of the Father and of the holy Ghost. For we are therefore clenfed with his bloude, because the mercifull father according to his incomparable kindnes, willing to receiue vs into fauor, hath set him a mediatur in the midst to procure to vs fauour with him. But regeneration we so onely obtaine, by his death and resurrection, if being sanctified by the spirite we be endued with a new and spirituall nature. Wherefore both of our clensing and regeneration wee obtaine and after a certaine maner distinctly perceiue the cause in the Father, the matter in the Sonne, and the effect in the holy Ghost. So Iohn first baptised, so afterwarde the Apostles, with the baptisme of repentance into the forgiveness of finnes: meaning by this word repentance, such regeneration: and by forgiveness of sins, washing.

7 Whereby also it is made most certaine, that the ministerie of Iohn was altogether the same which was afterwarde committed to the Apostles. For the diuers hands wherewith it is ministred, make not the baptisme diuers: but the same doctrine sheweth it to be the same baptisme. Iohn and the Apostles agreed into one doctrine: both baptised into repentance, both into the forgiveness of finnes, both into the name of Christ, from whom was both repentance and forgiveness of sins. Iohn saide that hee was the lambe of God, by whom the sins of the worlde should be taken away: where he made him the sacrifice acceptable to the father, the Propitiator of righteousness, the author of saluation. What could the Apostles adde to this confession? Wherefore let it trouble no man, that the olde writers labour to seuer the one from the other, whose voice we ought not so much to esteeme that it may shake the certaintie of the Scripture. For who will rather harken to Chrysostome denying that forgiveness of sins was comprehended in the baptisme of Iohn, than to Luke contrariwise affirming that Iohn preached the baptisme of repentance into the forgiveness of sin? Neither is that subtlety of Augustine to be receiued, that in the Baptisme of Iohn sins were forgiven in hope, but in the baptisme of Christ they are forgiven in deed. For whereas the Evangelist plainly testifieth, that Iohn in his baptisme promised the forgiveness of sins: what need we to abate this title of commendation, when no necessitie compelleth vs vnto it? But if any man seeke for a difference out of the word of God, he shall finde none other but this, that Iohn baptised into him that was to come, the apostles into him that had already presented himselfe.

8 As for this that more abundant graces of the Spirite were poured out since the resurrection of Christ, it maketh nothing to stablish a diuersitie of baptisme. For the baptisme which the Apostles ministred while he was yet conuiscant in earth, was called his: yet it had no larger plentifulnesse of the spirite, than the baptisme of Iohn. Yea, euen after his ascension, the Spirite was not giuen to the Samaritans about the common measure of the faithfull before the ascension, although they were baptised

A third use of baptisme to testifie our ingressing into Christ, and partaking of his graces.

Mat. 3. 13.

Gal. 3. 17.

Act. 8. 16. & 19. 5.

Mat. 28. 19.

Mat. 3. 6.

Luk. 3. 16.

Ioh. 3. 23.

and 4. 1.

The baptisme of Iohn the same with that whiche the apostles ministred how seuer the old writers Chrysostome, and Augustine seuer the one from the other.

Act. 2. 28.

Ioh. 1. 29.

Hom. in

Mat. 14.

Luk. 3. 3.

Lib. 3. de bap.

contra Dona.

cap. 10.

Luk. 3. 16.

Act. 19. 4.

The baptising not diuerse because the graces of the spirite were diuers whiche followed the ministerie of Iohn, and of Christs apostles, yea euen of the apostles before and after Christs ascension.

Ag. 8. 14.

into the name of Iesus, till Peter and Iohn were sent vnto them to lay their hands vpon them. This onely thing, as I thinke, deceiued the olde writers, that they saide that the baptisme of Iohn was but a preparation to the baptisme of Christ, because they reade, that they were baptised againe of Paul, which had once receiued the Baptisme of Iohn. But how much they were herein deceiued, shall else where be plainly declared in place fit for it. What is it therefore that Iohn said, that he baptised in deed with water, but that Christ shoulde come which should baptise with the holy Ghost, and with fire? This may in fewe wordes be assoyled. For hee meant not to put difference betweene the one baptisme and the other, but hee compared his owne person with the person of Christ, saying that himselfe was a minister of water, but that Christ was the giuer of the holy Ghost, and shoulde declare his power by visible myracle the same day that hee shoulde sende the holy Ghost to the Apostles vnder fyrie tooings. What could the Apostles boast of more than this? What more coulde they also that baptise at this day? For they be onely ministers of the outwarde signe, and Christ is the author of the inward grace: as the same old writers themselues doe euerie where teach, and specially *Augustine*, whose principall stay against the Donatistes is this, that what a one seuer he be that baptiseth, yet onely Christ is ruler of it.

Matt. 3. 11.

Ag. 2. 8.

The grace of mortification or purification assured vnto vs by baptisme shadowed to the people of Israel darkly vnder other figures.
1. Cor. 10. 2.
Exod. 14. 21.

9 These things which we haue spoken both of mortification and of washing, are shadowed out in the people of Israel, whom for the same cause the Apostle saith to haue bene baptised in the cloud and in the sea. Mortifying was figured, when the Lorde deliuering them out of the hande of Pharao and from cruell bondage, made for them a way through the red sea, and drowned Pharao himself, and the Ægyptians their enimies, that followed them hard at their backes, and were euen in their neckes to ouertake them. For after the same maner also he promiseth to vs in baptisme, and by a signe giuen sheweth vs, that we are by his power brought forth and deliuered out of the thraldome of Ægypt, that is to say out of the bondage of sinne: that our Pharao is drowned, that is to say the diuell, although euen so also he ceaseth not to exercise and wearie vs. But as that Ægyptian was not throwen downe into the bottome of the sea, but being ouerthrowen on the shore, did yet with terrible sight make the Israelites afraide, but could not hurt them: so this our enimie yet in deed threateth, sheweth his weapons, is felt, but cannot overcome. In the cloud was a signe of cleansing. For as then the Lord couered them with a cloud cast ouer them, and gaue them refreshing cold, least they should faint and pine away with too 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 deede an intollerable flame, should lie vpon vs. But although this mysterie was then darke and known to fewe: yet because there is none other way to obtaine saluation, but in those two graces, God would not take away the signe of them both from the old fathers, whome he had adopted to be heires.

Num. 9. 14.

Frischall men by baptisme not rid of originall sinne but cert first that condemnation which is the corruption of their nature but's made them, since it is done away.
Gal. 5. 19.

10 Now it is cleare, how false that is which some haue lately taught, and where- in some yet continue, that by baptisme wee be loosed and deliuered from originall sinne, and from the corruption which was from Adam spread abroad into his whole posteritie, and that we be restored into the same righteousness and purenes of nature, which Adam should haue obtained, if he had stand fast in the same vprightnes wherein he was first created. For such kinde of teachers neuer vnderstoode what was originall sin, nor what was originall righteousness, nor what was the grace of baptisme. But we haue already proued, that originall sinne is the puerfnes and corruption of our nature, which first maketh vs guiltie of the wrath of God, and then also bringeth forth workes in vs, which the Scripture calleth the workes of the flesh. Therefore these two points are seuerally to be marked, namely that we being in all partes of our nature defiled and corrupted are already for such corruption onely, holden worthily condemned and conuicted before God, to whom nothing is acceptable but righteousness,

righteousnes, innocencie and cleannes. Yea, and very infants themselues bring their owne damnation with them from their mothers wombe. Who, although they haue not yet brought forth the fruites of their iniquitie, yet haue the seede thereof sowed within them. Yea, their whole nature is certaine seede of sinne, therefore it cannot but be hatefull and 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 granted both of the fault which should haue bene imputed to vs, and of the paine which we should haue suffred for the fault: they take hold also of righteousness, but such as the people of God may obtaine in this life, that is to say by imputation onely: because the Lord of his owne mercie taketh them for righteous and innocent.

11 The other point is, that this perueniencie neuer ceaseth in vs, but continually bringeth forth new fruits, namely those works of the flesh which we haue before described: none otherwise than a burning fornaice continually bloweth out flame and sparkles, or as a spring infinitely casteth out water. For lust neuer utterly dieth and is quenched in men, vntill being by death deliuered out of the body of death, they haue utterly put off themselues. Baptisme in deede promiseth vs that our *Pharao* is drowned, and the mortification of sin: yet not so that it is no more, or may no more trouble vs, but onely that it may not ouercome vs. For so long as we lue enclosed within this prison of our body, the remnants of sin shall dwell in vs: but if we hold fast by Faith the promise giue vs of God in Baptisme, they shall not beare rule nor reigne. But let no man deceiue himselfe: Let no man flatter himselfe in his owne euill, when he heareth that sinne alway dwelleth in vs. These things are not spoken to this end, that they should carelessly sleepe vpon their sins, which are otherwise too much inclined to sinne: but onely, that they should not faint and be discouraged, which are tickled and pricked of their flesh. Let them rather thinke that they are yet in the way, and let them beleue that they haue much profited, when they feele that there is dayly somewhat minished of their lust, till they haue attained thither whither they trauaile, namely to the last death of their flesh, which shall be ended in the dying of this mortall life. In the meane tyme let them not cease both to strue valiantly, and to encourage them to goe forward and to stirre them vp to full victorie. For this also ought more to whet on their endeouours, that they see that after that they haue long trauailed, they haue yet no small businessse remainyng. This we ought to hold: we are baptised into the mortifying of our flesh, which is begon by baptisme in vs, which we dayly follow: but it shall be made perfect when we shall remouee out of this life to the Lord.

12 Here we say no other thing, than the Apostle *Paul* in the seventh Chapter to the Romanes most clearly setteth out. For after that he had disputed of free righteousness, because some wicked men did thereof gather, that we might lue after our owne lust, because we should not be acceptable to God by the desertings of woikes: he addeth, that all they that are clothed with the righteousness of Christ, are therewith regenerate in Spirit, and that of this regeneration we haue an earnest in baptisme. Hereupon he exhorteth the faithful, that they suffer not sin to haue dominion in their members. Now because he knew that there is alway some weakenesse in the faithful: that they should not therefore be discouraged, he adioyneth a comfort, that they are not vnder the law. Because againe it might seeme, that Christians might grow insolent, because they are not vnder the yoke of the law, he entreateth what manner of abrogating that is, and therewithal what is the vse of the law: which question he had now the second time deferred. The summe is, that we be deliuered from the rigor of the law, that we should cleaue to Christ: but that the office of the law is, that we being conuincd of our perversnes should confesse our owne weakenes and miserie. Now forasmuch as that perversnesse of nature doth not so easilie

Secondly that the works of the flesh shall not beare rule and haue dominion over them.

Baptisme according to Saint Paul the earnest of our regeneration, the weakenes of our nature hereunto, and the greatnesse of our comfort notwithstanding this weakenesse.
Rom. 6. 14.

appeare in a prophane man, which followeth his owne lust without feare of God: he fetterh an example in a man regenerate, namely in himselfe. He saith therefore that he hath a continuall wrastring with the remnants of his flesh, and that he is holden bounde with miserable bondage, that he cannot consecrate himselfe wholly to the obedience of the law of God. Therefore he is compelled with groning to crie out. Vnhappy am I. Who shall deliuer me out of this body subiect to death? If the children of God be holden captiue in prison so long as they liue, they must needs be much carefully grieued with thinking vpon their owne peril, vnlesse this feare be met withall. Therefore he adioyneth to this vse a comfort, that there is no more damnation to them that are in Christ Iesu. Where he teacheth, that they whom the Lord hath once receiued into fauour, engrafted into the communion of his Christ, hath by baptisme admitted into the fellowship of his Church, while they continue in the faith of Christ, although they be besieged of sinne, yea and carrie sinne about within them, yet are acquitted from guiltines and condemnation. If this be the simple and naturall exposition of *Paul*, there is no cause why we should seeme to teach any new vnwonted thing.

Rom. 7. 24.

Rom. 8.

Baptisme the badge of our profession.

1. Cor. 1. 2.

13 But Baptisme so serueth our confession before men. For it is a marke whereby we openly professe that we should be accounted among the people of God: whereby we testifie that we agree with all Christians into the worshipping of one God and into one religion: finally whereby we openly affirme our Faith: that not onely our hearts should breath out the praise of God, but also our tooing, and all the members of our body should sound it out with such vtterances as they be able. For so, as we ought, all our things are employed to the seruice of the glorie of God, whereof nothing ought to be void, and other may by our example be stirred vp to the same endeuours. He creunto *Paul* had respect, when he asked the Corinthians whether they had not bene bapufied into the name of Christ: meaning verily, that euen in this that they were baptised into his name, they auowed themselues vnto him, swore to his name, and bound their Faith to him before men, that they could no more confesse any other, but Christ alone, vnlesse they would forsake the confession which they had made in Baptisme.

The Author of baptisme is also the worker of grace (p. r. s. u. all therein figured not inclosed.

14 Now sith it is declared what our Lord had regard vnto in the institution of Baptisme: it is plaine to iudge what is the way for vs to vse and receiue it. For so far as it is giuen to the raising, nourishing and confirming of our Faith, it is to be taken as from the hand of the Author himselfe: we ought to hold it certaine and fully perswaded, that it is he which speaketh to vs by the signe, that it is he which cleanseth vs, walsheth vs, and putteth away the remembrance of our finnes, that it is he which maketh vs partakers of his death, which taketh away from Satan his kingdome, which feebleth the forces of our lust, yea which groweth into one with vs, that being cloathed with him we may be reckoned the children of God: that these things, 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 cloathed. For this either relation, or similitude, is the most sure rule of Sacraments: that in bodily things we should behold spirituall things, 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 such graces are bound and enclosed in the Sacrament, that they should be giuen vs by the force thereof: but onely becaue the Lord doth by this token testifie his will vnto vs, that is, that he will giue vs all these things. Neither doth he onely feede our eyes with a naked sight, but he bringeth vs to the thing present, and together fulfilleth that which it figureth.

Cornelius and Paul by baptisme were indited with grace but assure

15 Hereof let *Cornelius* the Captaine be an example, which was baptised, hauing before receiued forgiuenesse of finnes and visible graces of the holy Ghost: seeking not by baptisme a larger forgiuenesse but a more certaine exercising of faith, yea

yea an increase of confidence by a pledge. Peradventure some man will object: why therefore did *Ananias* say to *Paul*, that he should wash away his sins by baptisme, if sinnes be not washed away by the power of baptisme it selfe? I answer: We are said to receiue, to obtaine, to get that which so far as concerneth the feeling of our faith, is giuen vs of the Lord, whether he do then first testifie it, or being testified doth more and certainer confirme it. This therefore onely was the meaning of *Ananias*: that thou maist bee assured *Paul*, that thy sins are forgouen thee, bee baptised. For the Lord doth in baptisme promise forgiveness of sins: receiue this, and be out of care. Howbeit I meane not to diminish the force of baptisme, but that the thing and the truth is present with the signe, so far as God worketh by outward meanes. But of this Sacrament, as of al other, we obtain nothing but so much as we receiue by faith. If we want faith, it shall be for a witness of our vnthankfulness, whereby we may be declared guiltie before God, because we haue not beleued the promise there giuen. But so far as it is a signe of our confession, we ought by it to testifie that our assurance is in the mercie of God, and our cleannes is in the forgiveness of sins, which is gotten vs by Iesus Christ: and that by it we enter into the Church of Christ, that we may with one consent of faith and charitie liue of one minde with al the faithfull. This last point did *Paul* meane, when he saith that we are all baptised in one Spirit, that we may be one body.

*that they were en-
dued through
faith, without
which baptisme
doth but testifie
our vnthank-
fulness.*

AQ. 10.48.
AQ. 9.17.

1. Cor. 12.13.

16 Now if this be true which we determine, that a Sacrament is not to be waied according to his hande of whom it is ministred, but as of the verie hand of God, from whom without doubt it proceeded: hereupon we may gather that nothing is added to it nor taken from it by the worthinesse of him by whose hand it is deliuered. And euen as among men, if a letter be sent, so that the hand and the seale be well knownen, it maketh no matter who or what maner of man be the carrier: so it ought to suffice to acknowe the hand and seale of the Lord in his Sacraments, by what carrier soeuer they be brought. Hereby the error of the Donatistes is very well confuted, which measured the force & value of the sacrament by the worthines of the minister. Such at this day are our Carabaptistes, which deny that we be rightly baptised, because we were baptised by wicked men and idolaters in the Popish kingdome: therefore they furiously call vpon vs to be baptised againe. Against whose follies we shall be armed with a reason strong enough, if we thinke that we were professed by baptisme not into the name of any man, but into the name of the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost, and that therefore it is not the baptisme of man, but of God, of whom soeuer it be ministred. Although they were neuer so much ignorant or despisers of God and all godlines, which baptised vs, yet they did not baptise vs into the fellowship of their owne ignorance or sacrilege, but into the faith of Iesus Christ: because they called not vpon their owne name, but the name of God, nor baptised vs into any other name. Now if it were the baptisme of God, it hath verily inclosed in it a promise of the forgiveness of sinnes, the mortifying of the flesh, the spirituall quickening, and the partaking of Christ. So it nothing hindered the Iewes, to haue beene circumcised of vnclane priestes and apostataes: neither was the signe therefore void, that it needed to be done of newe: but it was sufficient to returne to the naturall beginning. Where they object that baptisme ought to be celebrate in the assemblies of the godly, that prooueth not, that that which is faulty in part, should destroy the whole force thereof: or when we teach what ought to be done that baptisme may be pure, and void of all defiling, we do not abolish the ordinance of God, although idolaters corrupt it. For when in old time Circumcision was corrupted with many superstitions, yet it ceased not to be taken for a signe of grace: neither did *Iosias* and *Ezechias*, when they gathered out of al Israel them that had departed from God, call them to a second Circumcision.

*Nothing added
vnto or taken
from baptisme by
their worthines or
vnworthines
which are mini-
sters of it: and
therefore rebap-
tisation not to be
receiued.*

Matt. 28.19.

17 Now whereas they aske vs, what faith of ours hath yet followed baptisme
in.

Baptisme not made void by their remaying a long time in blindnesse that are baptised.

Rom. 3. 3.

in certaine yeeres past, that they thereby might prooue that the baptisme is void, when it is not sanctified vnto vs, but by the word of promise receiued by faith: to this question we answer that we in deede being blinde and vnbeleeuing, did in a long time not holde fast the promise giuen vs in baptisme: yet the promise it selfe, for as much as it was of God, continued alway staid, stedfast, and true. Although all men beliers and faithbreakers, yet God ceaseth not to be true: although al men be lost, yet Christ remaineth saluation. Wee confesse therefore that Baptisme, for that time profited vs nothing at all: for as much as in it the promise offered vs, without which Baptisme is nothing, lay nothing regarded. Now sith by the grace of God, we haue begunne to waxe wiser, wee accuse our owne blindnesse and hardnesse of heart, which haue so long bene vnthankfull to his so great goodnesse. But we beleue that the promise it selfe is not vanished away: but rather thus we consider, God by baptisme promisseth the forgiuenesse of sinnes, and sith he hath promised it, will vndoubtedly performe it to all that beleue it. That promise was offered vs in baptisme: by faith therefore let vs embrace it. It hath in deede long bene buried from vs becaule of infidelitie: nowe therefore let vs receiue it by faith. Wherefore where the Lorde calleth the Iewish people to repentance, he giueth them no commaundement of a second Circumcision, which being (as we haue said) circumcised with a wicked and vngodly hande, liued a certaine time intangled with the same wickednesse. But hee earnestly calleth vpon the onely turning of the heart. Because, how soeuer the couenant was broken of them, yet the signe of the couenant, by the ordinance of the Lord, remained alway stedfast and inuiolable. Therefore with the onely condition of repentance they were restored into the couenant which the Lord had once made with them in circumcision: which yet being receiued by the hand of a leaguebreaker priest, so much as in them lay, they had defiled againe, and the effect whereof they had quenched.

They whom Iohn had baptised not rebaptised by Paul.

Act. 19. 3.

18 But they thinke that they shake a fierie dart at vs, when they alleage that *Paul* rebaptised them which were once baptised with the baptisme of *Iohn*. For if by our owne confession, the baptisme of *Iohn* was altogether the same that ours is now: euen as they hauing bene before peruersely instructed, when they were taught the true faith, they were againe baptised into it: so that baptisme, which was without true doctrine, is to be taken for nothing, and we ought to be newly baptised againe into the true religion, wherewith wee are nowe first instructed. Some thinke, that there was some wrongfully affectioned man to *Iohn*, which had entred them with their first baptisme rather to a vaine superstition. Of which thing they seeme to gather a coniecture hereupon, because they confessed themselues to be vtterly ignorant of the Holy Ghost: whereas *Iohn* verily would neuer haue sent away from himselfe se holders so vntaught. But neither is it likely that the Iewes although they had not bene baptised at all, were destitute of all knowledge of the holy Ghost, which is famously spoken of by so many testimonies of the scripture. Whereas therefore they answered that they knowe not whether there be a holy Ghost, it is to be vnderstanded as if they had said that they haue not yet heard, whether the graces of the Spirit, of which *Paul* asked them, were giuen to the Disciples of Christ. But I graunt that that was the true baptisme of *Iohn*, and all one and the selfe same with the baptisme of Christ: but I denie that they were baptised againe. What then meane these words, they were baptised in the name of Iesus? Some doe expounde it, that they were but instructed of *Paul* with true doctrine. But I had rather vnderstand it more simply, to be the baptisme of the holy Ghost, that is to say, that the visible graces of the Spirit were giuen them by the laying on of hands: which to bee expressed by the name of baptisme, is no new thing. As on the day of Pentecost it is saide, that the Apostles remembered the wordes of the Lorde, concerning the baptisme of fire and of the spirit. And *Peter* saith that the same came to his remembrance, when he sawe those

Act. 19. 5.

those graces powred out vpon *Cornelius*, and his household and kinred. Neither is that contrarie which is after adioyned: When he had laid his hands on them, the Holy Ghost came downe vpon them. For *Luke* doeth not tell of two diuerse things: but followeth the manner of telling commonly vsed among the Hebrewes, which do first propound the summe of the matter, and then do set it out more at large. Which euery man may perceiue by the very fraining together of the words. For he saith, When they had heard these things, they were baptized in the name of Iesus. And when *Paul* had laid his hands vpon them, the holy Ghost came downe vpon them. In this latter sentence is described, what manner of baptisme that was. If ignorance do so corrupt a former Baptisme, that it must be amended with a second baptisme: the Apostles should haue bene rebaptised first of all, which in whole three yeares after their baptisme, had scarcely tasted any small parcell of purer doctrine. And now among vs what riuers might suffice to renew so many washings, as there be ignorances by the mercie of the Lord daily amended in vs?

19 The force, dignitie, profit, and end of the mysterie if I be not deceived; ought by this time to be plaine enough. So much as concerneth the outward signe, I would to God the naturall institution of Christ had preuailed so much as was meete, to restraine the boldnes of men. For, as though it were a contemptible thing to be baptized with water according to the precept of Christ, there is inuented blessing, or rather inchanting, to defile the true hallowing of the water. Afterward was added a taper with chrefine: but the blowing seemeth 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 both for me and all the godly to refuse whatsoeuer things men haue presumed to adde to the ordinance of Christ. When Satan saw that by the foolish light credit of the world at the verie beginnings of the Gospell his deceits were easily receiued, he brake forth into grosser mockeries. Hereupon spittle, and like trifles, were openly brought in with vnbrideled libertie to the reproch of baptisme. By which experiences let vs learne that nothing is either holier, or better, or safer, than to be content with the authoritie of Christ alone. How much better therefore was it, leauing stagelike pompes, which dazell the eies of the simple, and dull their mindes, so oft as any was to be baptized, that he should be presented to the assembly of the faithfull, and be offered to God, the whole Church looking on as a witnesse: and praying ouer him: that the confession of faith should be rehearsed, wherewith 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 baptized in the name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the holy Ghost: at length that he be sent away with praers and thanksgiuing. So is nothing omitted that might make to the matter, and that the onely Ceremonie which proceeded from God the author thereof, should most clearly shine, being not ouerwhelmed with any forreine filthines. But whether he be wholly dipped which is baptized, and that thrice or once, or whether he be but sprinkled with water onely powred vpon him, it maketh verie little matter: but that ought to be at libertie to Churches according to the diuersitie of countries. Howbeit the verie word of baptising signifieth to dip, and it is certaine that the maner of dipping was vsed of the old Church.

20 This also pertaineth to the purpose, to knowe that it is done amisse if priuate men take vpon themselves the administration of baptisme. For as well the distribution of this as of the supper is a part of the Ecclesiasticall ministry. For Christ did not command women, nor yet euery sort of men, that they should baptize: but whom he had ordained his Apostles, to them he gaue this commandement. And when he commanded his disciples to do that in the ministration of the Supper which they had seene him do, when he executed the office of a right distributor: he would without doubt, that they should therein follow his example. As for this that in many ages past,

Act. 11. 16.
Accessarie in-
uentions of men
added vnto Christ
institution of
baptisme.

Baptisme not to
be administered by
priuate men.

yea and in a maner at the verie beginning of the Church, it hath beene received in vse, that lay men might baptise in perill of death, if the minister were not present in time. I see not with how strong a reason it may be defended. The very old fathers themselves, which either held or suffered this maner, were not sure whether it were well done. For *Augustine* seemeth to haue this doubt, when he saith: Although a lay man compelled by necessitie doe giue baptisme, I can not tell whether a man may godlily say 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 enforce it, it is either none or a veniall sinne. Moreouer of women it was decreed without any exception in the Councell at *Carthage*, that they should not presume to baptize at all. But there is daunger, least if he which is sicke should die without baptisme, he should be deprived of the grace of regeneration. Not so, God pronounceth that he adopteth our infants to be his owne, before they be borne, when he promiseth that he will be a God to vs and to our seed after vs. In this word is contained their saluation. Neither shall any man dare to be so reprochfull against God, to denie that his promise is of it selfe sufficient to worke the effect thereof. How much harme that doctrine being euill expounded, that baptisme is of necessitie to saluation, hath brought in, few do marke: and therefore they take lesse heede to themselves. For where this opinion is growen in force, that all are lost to whom it hath not happened to be washed with water, our state is worse than the state of the old people, as though the grace of God were now more narrowly strengthened than it was vnder the lawe. For Christ shall be thought to be come, not to fulfill the promises, but to abolish them: forasmuch as the promise which then was of it selfe effectuell enough to giue health before the eighth day, now should not be of force without help of the signe.

Women not authorized to baptise.

Lib. cont. Here. 1.

21 But how the custome was before that *Augustine* was borne, first is gathered of *Tertullian*, that it is not permitted to a woman to speake in the Church, nor to teach, nor to baptise, nor to offer, that she should not claime to her selfe the execution of any mans office, much lesse of the priests. Of the same thing *Epiphanius* is a substantiall witness, where he reprocheth *Marcion*, that he gaue women libertie to baptise. Neither am I ignorant of their answers which thinke otherwise, that is, that common vse much differeth from extraordinarie remedy, when extreme necessitie inforce it: but when he pronouncing that it is a mockerie to giue women libertie to baptise, excepteth nothing, it sufficiently appeareth that he condemneth this corruption, so that it is by no colour excusable. Also in the third booke, where teaching that it was not permitted euen to the holy mother of Christ, he addeth no restraint.

Sephora no presiding for womens taking vpon them so baptise. Exod. 4. 25.

Matt. 28. 19.

Heb. 5. 4.
Rom. 14. 23.

22 The example of *Sephora* is vnseasonable alleged. For whereas the Angell of God was appeased, after that she taking a stone, circumcised her sonne, thereupon it was wrongfully gathered that her doing was allowed of God. Otherwise it ought to be said, that the worshipping which the nations that were brought out of *Assyria* raised vp, pleased God. But by other strong reasons it is proved, that that which a foolish woman did, is wrongfully drawn to an example of imitation. If I should say that it is a certaine singular case, which ought not to be made an example, and specially that sith it is no where read that in old time there was giuen to the priests a speciall commandement to circumcise, the order of Circumcision and Baptisme is vnlike: this should be strong enough to confute them. For the words of Christ are plaine: Go ye, teach 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) doeth take honour vpon himselfe in the Church, but he that is called as *Aaron*: whosoeuer without lawfull calling baptiseth, he rusheth into an other mans office. Euen in the smallest things, as in meate and drinke, whatsoeuer we enterprife with a doubtful conscience, *Paul* openly crieth out to be sinne. Therefore in womens baptising is much more grievously sinne, where it is euident that they brake the rule appointed

appointed by Christ, forasmuch as we know that it is vnlawfull to plucke in sunder those things that God conioyneth. But all this I passe ouer. Onely I would haue the readers to note, that *Sephoras* purpose was nothing lesse, than to doe any seruice to God. Seeing hir sonne to be in danger, she grudget, and murmured, and not without stomacking threw the foreskinne vpon the ground, she so taunted hir husband, that she was also angry with God. Finally it is plaine that all this came of a furiousnesse of minde, because she murmured against God and hir husband, for that she was compelled to shed the blood of hir sonne. Moreover if she had in all other things behaued hir selfe well, yet herein is an vnexcusable rash presumption that the circumcised hir sonne, hir husband being present, not any priuate man, but *Moses* the principall Prophet of God, than whom there neuer rose any greater in *Israel*: which was no more lawfull for hir to doe, than at this day it is for women in the sight of the Bishop. But this controuersie shall by and by be easily taken away by this principle, that infants are not debarred from the kingdome of heauen, whio it happeneth to depart out of this present life before that it be graunted them to be dipped in water. But it is already prooued 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 the effect thereof hangeth neither vpon baptisme, nor vpon any additions. There is afterward added to it a Sacrament like a seale, not that it bringeth effectualnes to the promise of God as to a thing weake of it selfe, but onely confirmeth it to vs. Whereupon followeth, that the children of the faithfull are not therefore baptised, that they may then first be made the children of God, which before were strangers from the Church, but rather that they be therefore 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 contempt, nor negligence, we are free from all danger. It is therefore much more holy, to giue this reuerence to the ordinance of God, that we seeke Sacraments from no where else, than where the Lord hath left them. When we may not haue them of the Church, the grace of God is not so bound to them, but that we may obtaine the same by faith out of the word of the Lord.

The xvj. Chapter.

That the Baptisme of Infants doth very well agree with the institution of Christ and the nature of the signe.

BUt forasmuch as in this age, certaine phrentike Spirites haue raised vp sore troubles in the Church for the Baptisme of infants, and do not yet cease to turmoile: I can not choofe but I must ioyne here an addition to restraints their furiousnesse. If peraduenture it shall seeme to some man to be very much too long, let him (I beseech him) weigh with himselfe, that we ought so much to esteeme the puresnes of doctrine in a most great matter, togetlier with the peace of the Church, that nothing ought to be lothsomely receiued, which may auale to procure them both. Beside that, I studie to frame this discourse, that it shall be of no small importance to the clearer declaration of the mysterie of Baptisme. They assaile the baptisme of infantes with an argument indeede fauorable in shew, saying that it is grounded vpon no institution of Christ, but that it was brought in onely by the boldnes of men, and peruerse curiousnesse, and then afterward with fond easinesse rashly receiued in vse. For a Sacrament, vnlesse it rest vpon a certaine foundation of the word of God, hangeth but by a threed. But what if, when the matter is well considered, it shall appeare that the Lords holy ordinance is falsely and vniuently charged with such a slander? Let vs therefore search out the first beginning of it. And if it shall appeare, that it was de-
sed by the only rashnes of men, then bidding it farewell, let vs measure the true obser-

The baptising of infantes not deuised and receiued onely by the rashnes of men without warrant from God himselfe.

uation of baptisme by the onely will of God. But if it shall be prooued that it is not de-
stitute of his certaine authoritie, we must beware, least in pinching the holy ordinan-
ces of God, we be also slanderous against the author himselfe.

*The right consid-
eration of baptis-
me grounded vpon the
promise and spiri-
tuall misterie ther-
of, not vpon the
outwarde cere-
monie alone.*

2 First it is a doctrine wel enough knowne, and confessed among al 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 misteries, for figu-
ring whereof the Lord ordeineth the ceremonies themselues. Therefore hee that will
perfectly learne of what value baptisme is, to what end it tendeth, finally what it is: let
him not stay his thought vpon the element and bodily sight: but rather let him raise
it vp to the promises of God, which are therein offered vs, and to the inward secrets
which are therein represented vnto vs. Hee that knoweth these things 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 this, what the water meaneth,
or what vie it hath. Which sentence is prooued with so many and so cleere testimo-
nies of scripture, that we need not at this present to tarrie long about it. Therefore it
remaineth now, that we seek out of the promises giuen in baptisme, what is the force
and nature of it. The scripture sheweth, that the cleansing of sins, which we obtaine
of the blood of Christ, is heere first shewed: then the mortifying of the flesh, which stan-
deth vpon the partaking of his death, by which the faithfull are regenerate into new-
nesse of life, yea, and into the fellowship of Christ. To this summe may be referred
whatsoeuer is taught in the Scriptures concerning baptisme: sauing that beside this
it is a signe to testifie religion before men.

*The vse of circum-
cision vnder the
law.*

3 But forasmuch as before the institution of baptisme, the people of God had
circumcision instead thereof: let vs see what these two signes differ the one from the
other, and with what likenes they agree together. Whereupon may appeere what is
the relation of the one to the other. Where the Lord gaue circumcision to *Abraham*
to be kept, he telleth him before, that he would be God to him and to his seede: ad-
ding, that with him is the flowing store and suffisance of all things, that *Abraham*
should account that his hand should be to him a spring of all good things. In which
words the promise of eternall life is contained, as Christ expoundeth it, bringing an
argument from hence to prooue the immortalitie of the faithfull, and the resurrection.
For God (saith he) is not the God of the dead, but of the liuing. Wherefore *Paul* also
shewing to the Ephesians from what destruction the Lord had deliuered them, ga-
thereth by this that they had not bene admitted into the couenant of circumcision,
that they were without Christ, without God, without hope, strangers from the testa-
ments of the promise: all which things the couenant it selfe contained. But the first
access to God, the first entrie to immortall life, is the forgiveness of sinnes. Where-
vpon is gathered, that this forgiveness answereth to the promise of Baptisme
concerning our cleansing. Afterwarde the Lord taketh couenant of *Abraham*
that he should walke before him in purenesse and innocencie of hart which belon-
geth to mortifying or regeneration. And that no man should doubt, that circumcisi-
on is a signe of mortifying, *Moses* in another place doth more plainly declare it, when
he exhorteth the people of *Israel*, to circumcise the vncircumcised skin of the hart,
because they were severally chosen to be the people of God out of all the nations of
the earth. As God, where he adopteth the posteritie of *Abraham* to his people, com-
mandeth them to be circumcised: so *Moses* pronounceth that the harts ought to
bee circumcised, declaring verily what is the truth of this circumcision. Then
that no man shoulde endeavour toward it by his owne strength, he teacheth that they
need the grace of God. All these things are so often repeated of the prophets, that

Gen. 17. 10.

Matt. 22. 32.
Luk. 20. 38.
Eph. 2. 12.

Deut. 10. 16.

Deut. 30. 6.

I neede not to heape into this place many testimonies which do each where offer themselves. We haue proued therefore, that in circumcison a spirituall promise was vttered to the fathers, such as in baptisme is giuen: for as much as it figured to them the forgiuencesse of sinnes, and the mortifying of the flesh. Moreouer as we haue taught that Christ is the foundation of baptisme, in whome both these things remaine: so it is euident that he is also of circumcison. For he is promised to *Abraham*, and in him the blessing of all nations. To the sealing of which grace, the signe of circumcison is added.

4 Now we may easily see, what there is like in these two signes, or what there is differing. The promises, whereupon we haue declared that the power of the signes consisteth, is all one in both, namely of the fatherly fauor of God, of the forgiuencesse of sinnes, of life euerlasting. Then, the thing figured also is all one and the same, namely regeneration. The foundation whereupon the fulfilling of these things standeth, is all one in both. Wherefore there is no difference in the inward mysterie, whereby the whole force and propertie of the Sacraments is to be weighed. The vnlikelnes that remaineth, lieth in the outward ceremonie, which is the smallest portion: whereas the chiefest part hangeth vpon the promise and the thing signified. Therefore we may determine, that whatsoeuer agreeth with circumcison, doth also belong to baptisme, except the difference of the visible Ceremonie. To this relation and comparison, the Apostles rule leadeth vs by the hand, whereby we are comman- Rom. 12. 3.
ded to examine all exposition of Scripture by the proportion of faith. And truly the trueth doth in this behalfe almost offer it selfe to be felt. For as circumcison, because it was a certaine token to the Iewes, whereby they were certified that they were chosen to be the people and household of God, and they againe on their behalfe professed that they yeelded themselves to God, was their first entrie into the Church: so now also we by baptisme enter into profession of God, that we may be reckoned among his people, and mutually sweare to his name. Whereby it appeareth out of controuersie, that baptisme is come into the place of circumcison, that it may haue the same office with vs.

5 Now if we list to search out, whether baptisme be lawfully communicate to infants: shall we not say that he doth too much play the foole, yea dote, which will rest only vpon the element of water, and the outward obseruation, but cannot abide to bend his minde to the spirituall mysterie? Whereof if there be any consideration had, it shall without doubt certainly appeare that Baptisme is rightfully giuen to infants, as the thing that is due vnto them. For the Lord in old time did not vouchsafe to admit them to circumcison, but that he made them partakers of all those things which were then signified by circumcison. Otherwise he should with meere deceites haue mocked his people, if he had fed them with deceitfull signes, which is horrible euen to be heard of. For he pronounceth expressly, that the circumcison of a little infant should be in steede of a seale to seale the promise of the covenant. But if the covenant remaine vnbroken and stedfast, it doth at this day no lesse belong to the children of Christians, than vnder the olde testament it pertained to the infants of the Iewes. 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? Although the outward signe cleaue fast together with the word in the Sacrament, so that they cannot be plucked in sunder: yet if they be seuerally considered, whether of them, I pray you shall we esteeme of more value? Truly sith we see that the signe serueth the word, we must say that it is vnder it, and must set it in the inferiour place. Sith therefore the word of Baptisme is extended to infants: why shall the signe, that is to say, the addition hanging to the word, be debarred from them? This one reason, if there were no moe, were abundantly enough to confute all them that will speake to the contrarie. That which is objected, that there

*The agreemnt
and difference be-
tweene circum-
cison & baptisme.*

*Infants being
partakers of the
spirituall grace
may not be denied
the euuarde
signe of baptisme
more than Iewish
children circum-
cison.*

there was a day certainly set for circumcision, is altogether but a shift. We graunt that we be not now bound to certaine dayes, like the Iewes: but when the Lorde howsoever he certainly appointeth no day, yet declareth that he is pleased that infants should with a solemne formall vsage be receiued into his couenant: what seeke we more?

The children of Christian parents being holy seede as Abrahams were, as necessarily the one bound to be baptized as the other to be circumcised.

1. Cor. 7. 14.
Gen. 17. 12.

6 Howbeit the scripture openeth vnto vs yet a certainer knowledge of the truth. For it is most eident, that the couenant which the Lord once made with *Abraham*, is at this day no lesse in force to Christians, than it was in old time to the Iewish people: yea and that this word hath no lesse respect to Christians, than it then had respect to the Iewes. Vnlesse perhaps we thinke, that Christ hath by his coming diminished, or cut short the grace of his father. Which saying is not without abominable blasphemie. Wherefore as euen the children of the Iewes were called a holy seede, because being made heires of the same couenant they were made differing from the children of the vngodly: for the same reason euen yet also the children of Christians are accounted holy, yea although they be the issue but of one parent faithfull: and (as the Apostle witnesseth) they differ from the vncleane seede of Idolaters. Now when the Lord immediately after the couenant made with *Abraham*, commaunded the same to be sealed in infants with an outward Sacrament: what cause will Christians alleadge, why they should not at this day testifie and seale the same in their children? Neither let any man obiect against me, that the Lord commaunded his couenant to be confirmed with no other signe than of circumcision, which is long ago taken away. For we haue in readinesse to answer, that for the time of the old testament he ordeined circumcision to confirme his couenant: but circumcision being taken away, yet alway remaineth the same maner of confirming which we haue common with the Iewes. Wherefore we must alway diligently consider what is common to both, and what they haue feuerall from vs. The couenant is common, the cause of confirming it is common. Onely 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 Iewes were assured of the saluation of their seed, be taken away from vs, it should be brought to passe by the coming of Christ, that the grace of God should be darker and lesse approued by testimonies to vs, than it was before to the Iewes. If that cannot be said without extreme slander of Christ, by whom the infinite goodnesse of the Father hath more clearely and liberally than euer heretofore bene poured forth vpon the earth, and declared to men: we must needs graunt, that it is at the least not more pinchingly to be suppressed, nor to be set forth with lesse testimonie, than it was vnder the darke shadowes of the lawe.

Infants embraced, prayed for, reared the heires of the kingdom of heauen by our Saviour Christ, and therefore not to be excluded from baptisme.

Mat. 9. 13.

7 Wherefore the Lord Iesus, minding to shewe a token whereby the world might vnderstand that he was come rather to enlarge than to limit the mercie of God, gently embraced children offered vnto him, rebuking the disciples which went about to forbid them to come to him: forasmuch as they did leade those, to whome the kingdom 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 follow his example, let vs help infants with prayer, but not baptise them. But let vs weigh the doings of Christ somewhat more heedfully, than such kinde of men do. For neither is this to be lightly passed ouer, that Christ commandeth infants to be brought vnto him, adding a reason why, because of such is the kingdom of heauen. And afterward he witnesseth his will with deede, when embracing them he commended them to his Father with his prayer and blessing. If it be meete that infants be brought to Christ, why is it not also meete that they be receiued to baptisme, the signe of our communion

communion and fellowship with Christ? If the kingdome of heauen be theirs, why shall the signe be denied them, whereby there is as it were an entrie opened into the Church, that being admitted into it they may be adnumbred among the heires of the heavenly kingdome? How vniust shall we be, if we driue away them whom Christ calleth vnto him? if we spoile them, whom he garnisheth with his giftes? if we shut out them whom he willingly receiueth? But if we will examine how much that which Christ there did, differeth from baptisme, yet of how much greater price shall we haue baptisme, (whereby we testifie that infantes are contained in the coucnant of God) than receiuing, embracing, laying one of hands, and prayer, whereby Christ himselfe being present: declareth that they both are his, and are sanctified of him? By the other caullations, whereby they labour to mocke out this place, they doe nothing but bewray their owne ignorance. For they gather an argument of this which Christ saith. Let little ones come to me, that they were in age good bigge ones which were already able to goe. But they are called of the Euangelistes, *brephe*, and *paidia*, by which wordes the Greekes doe signifie babes yet hanging on the brestes. Therefore this word (to come) is simply set for (to haue access). Loe what snares they are compelled to make, which are growen hard against the truth. Now where they say, that the kingdome of heauen is not giuen to them, but to such as be like them, because it is said to be of such, not of them: that is no sounder than the rest. For if that be graunted, what manner of reason shall the reason of Christ be, whereby he meaneth to shew, that infans in age are not strangers from him? When he commandeth that infans be suffered to haue access vnto him, nothing is plainer than that very infancie in deede is there spoken of. And that this should not seeme an absurditie, he by and by addeth: of such is the kingdome of heauen. But if it must needs be that infantes be comprehended herein, it must be plaine that by this word (such) are meant very infans themselves, and such as be like them.

8 Now there is no man that seeth not, that baptisme of infans was not framed by man, which is vpholden by so great approving of Scripture. Neither doe they colourably enough play the fooles, which obiekt that it is no where found, that any one infant was baptised by the hands of the Apostles. For although it be not expressly by name rehearfed of the Euangelistes: yet because againe they are not excluded, so oft as mention happeneth to be made of the baptising of any household: who, vnlesse he be mad, can reason thereupon that they were not baptised? If such argumentes were of any force, women should be forbidden to partake of the Lodes Supper, whom we reade not to haue bene receiued vnto it in the time of the Apostles. But here we be content with the rule of Faith. For when we consider, what the institution of the Supper requireth, thereby also we may easily iudge to whom the vse thereof ought to be communicated. Which we obserue also in baptisme. For when we marke, to what end it was ordeined, we evidently espie, that it belongeth no lesse to infans, than to elder folkes. Therefore they cannot be deprived of it, but that the will of the Author must be manifestly defrauded. But whereas, they spread abroad among the simple people, that there passed a long row of yeares after the resurrection of Christ, in which the baptisme of infantes was vnknown: therein they most fowly doe lie. For there is no writer so old, that doth not certainly referre the beginning thereof to the time of the Apostles.

9 Now remaineth that we briefly shew, what fruite commeth of this obseruation, both to the Faithfull which present their children to the Church to be baptised, and also to the infans 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 scorneth the commandment of Circumcision giuen by the Lord. For what will they bring forth to impugne the baptisme of infantes, which may not also be throwen backe against Circumcision?

Though it be not expressly mentioned in Scripture what infans were baptised by the Apostles: yet in how they are reported to haue baptised families, we haue no reason to thinke that the children in such families were not baptised: no writer so old that maketh not the baptisme of infantes as ancient as the Apostles times.

Act. 16. 15. & 23.

The fruite that commeth by baptisme both to children presented, & to such also as present them themselves.

So the Lord taketh vengeance of their arrogance, which doe by and by condemne that which they comprehend not with the sense of their owne flesh. But God furnisheth vs with other armours, whereby their foolishnesse may be beaten flat. For neither this his holie institution, by which we feele our faith to be holpen with singular comfort, deserueth to bee called superfluous. For Gods signe communicated to a childe doth as it were by an emprinted seale confirme the promise giuen to the godly parent, and declareth that it is ratified that the Lord will be God not onely to him but also to his seed, and will continually shew his good will and grace, not to him onely, but also to his posteritie euen to the thousandth generation. Where when the great kindnesse of God vttereth it selfe, first it yeeldeth most large matter to aduance his glorie, and ouerspreadeth godly hearts with singular gladnes, because they are therewithall more earnestly moued to loue againe 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 saye that the promise ought to suffice to confirme the saluation of our children: for as much as it hath pleased God otherwise, who as hee knoweth our weakenes, willed in this behalfe to much to beare tenderly with it. Therefore let them that embrace the promise of Gods mercy to be extended to their children, thinke that it is their dutie to offer them to the Church to be signed with the signe of mercie, & therby to encourage themselues to a more assured confidence, because they do with present eye behold the couenant of the Lord grauen in the bodies of their children. Againe, the children receiue some commodie of their baptisme, that being engrafted into the bodie of the Church, they be somewhat the more commended to the other members. Then when they are grown to riper age, they be thereby not scenderly stirred vp to earnest endeouour to worship God, of whom they haue been receiued into his children by a solemne signe of adoption, before that they could by age acknow him for their Father. Finally that same condemnation ought greatly to make vs afraide, that God will take vengeance of it, if any man despise to marke his sonne with the signe of the couenant, because by such contempt the grace offered is refused and as it were foresworne.

Gen. 17. 14.

The difference which the enemies of baptisme ministred vnto children do put betweene the thing signified by baptisme and circumcision, ouerthroweth them, their difference betweene the one and the other couenant most false.

10 Now let vs examine the arguments, whereby certaine furious beasts do not cease to assaile this holy institution of God. First because they see that they be exceedingly neere driuen and hard strained with the likenes of baptisme and Circumcision, they labour to plucke in sunder these two signes with great difference, that the one should not seeme to haue any thing common with the other. For they say that both diuers things are signified, and that the couenant is altogether diuers, and that the naming of the children, is not all one. But while they goe about to prooue that first point, they alleage that Circumcision was a figure of mortification and not of baptisme. Which verily we do most willingly graunt them. For it maketh verie well for our side. Neither do we vse any other prooue of our sentence, than that baptisme and circumcison are signes of mortification. Hereupon we determine that baptisme is set in the place of circumcison, that it should represent vnto vs the same thing which in old time it signified to the Iewes. In assuming the difference of the couenant, with how barbarous boldnes do they turmoile & corrupt the scripture: and that not in one place alone, but so as they leaue nothing safe or whole? For they depaint vnto vs the Iewes so to be carnal that they be liker beasts than men: with whom forsooth the couenant made proceedeth not beyond the temporall life, to whom the promises giuen do rest in present and bodily good things. If this doctrine take place, what remaineth but that the natiō of the Iewes were for a time filled with the benefites of God, none otherwise than as they fat a hearde of swine in a stie, that at length they should perish with eternall damnation. For so soone as we alleage Circumcision and the promises annexed vnto it, they answer that circumcison was a literall signe, and the promises thereof were carnall.

11 Truly if circumcision was a literall signe, there is no other wise to be thought of bapisme. For the Apostle in the second Chapter to the Colossians maketh the one no more spirituall than the other. For he sayeth that we are circumcised in Christ, with a circumcision not made with hand, putting away the body of sinne that dwelled in our flesh: which he calleth the circumcision of Christ. Afterward for declaration of that saying, he adioyeth, that we be buried with Christ by bapisme. What meaneth he by these words, but that the fulfilling and truth of bapisme, is alio the truth and fulfilling of circumcision, because they figure both one thing? For he traileth to shew, that bapisme is the same to Christians, which circumcision had been before to the *Iewes*. But forasmuch as we haue now evidently declared, that the promises of both the signes, and the mysteries that are represented in them, doe agree together, we will for this present carrie no longer vpon them. Onely I will put the faithfull in minde, that though I hold my peace, they should weigh with themselves whether it be taken for an earthly and literall signe, vnder which nothing is contained but spirituall and heavenly. But that they should not sell their smokes to the simple, we will by the way confute one objection wherwith they colour this most shamelesse lie. It is most certaine that the principall promises, wherein was contained the couenant which in the Old Testament God stablished with the Israelites, were spirituall and tended to eternal life: and then againe, that they were receiued of the Father, spiritually, as it was meete, that they might thereof receiue affiance of the life to come, whereunto they longed with the whole affection of their hart. But in the meane time we deny not, but that he witnessed his good wil toward them with earthly and carnall benefites: by which also we say that the same promise of spirituall things was confirmed. As when he promised euerlasting blessednesse to his seruant *Abraham*, that he might set before his eyes a maifest token of his fauour, he addeth an other promise concerning the possession of the land of *Chanania*. After this manner we ought to vnderstand all the earthly promises that are giuen to the *Iewish* nation, that the spirituall promise, as the head, whereunto they are directed, should alway haue the chiefe place. But sith I haue more largely entreated of these things in the difference of the new and olde Testament, therefore now I doe the more slightly knit it vp.

12 In the naming of the children they finde this diuersitie, that in the old Testament they were called the children of *Abraham*, which issued of his seede: but that now they are called by that name, which follow his faith: And that therefore that carnall infancie, which was by circumcision grafted into the fellowship of the couenant, figured the infants of the New Testament, which are regenerate by the word of God to immortal life. In which words we beholde in deed a small sparkle of truth: but herein these light spirites grieuously offend, that when they catch hold of that which first commeth to their hand, when they should goe further and compare many things together, they stand stilly vpon one word. Whereby it cannot otherwise be but that they must sometime be deceiued which rest vpon the sound knowlde of nothing. We graunt in deed that the carnall seed of *Abraham* did for a time hold the place of the spirituall seede which is by faith grafted into him. For we be called his children howsoeuer there is no naturall kined betweene him and vs. But if they meane, as they plainly shew that they doe, that there was neuer spirituall blessing promised to the carnall seede of *Abraham*, herein they are much deceiued. Wherefore we must leuell to a better marke, whereunto we are directed by the most certaine guiding of the Scripture. The Lord therefore promised to *Abraham*, that he should haue a seede, wherein all nations of the earth shall be blessed: and the eyn shall assureth him, that he would be a God to him and his seede. Whosoever doe by Faith receiue Christ the Author of blessing, are heires of this promise, and therefore are called the children of *Abraham*.

Promises Spirituall and heavenly, not earthly and carnall, onely made to the fathers in the olde Testament.
Colos.2.11.

Gen.15.1.& 18.

The supposed difference which the aduersaries of infants bapisme doe put betweene the ancient circumcised, and the new baptised seeds of Abraham.

Gal.4.28.
Rom.4.12.

The dignitie of
Abrahams chil-
dren, circumcised
and vncircumci-
sed equal.
Matt 8. 11
Exod. 19. 5.

13 But although since the resurrection of Christ the boundes of the kingdome of God haue begun 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 *Iacob*: yet he had many ages before extended that same so great mercie to the Iewes. And because passing ouer all other, he had chosen out that onely nation, in which he would restraime his grace for a time, called them his peculiar possession, and his purchased people. For testifying of such liberalitie, Circumcision was giuen, by the signe whereof the Iewes might be taught that God is to them the author of saluation: by which knowledge their mindes were raised into hope of eternall life. For what shall hee want, whom God hath once receiued into his charge? Wherefore the Apostle meaning to prooue that the Gentiles were the children of *Abraham* as well as the Iewes, speaketh in this manner: *Abraham* (saith he) was iustified by faith in vncircumcision. Afterward he receiued the signe of circumcision, the seale of 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 follow the faith which our father *Abraham* had in vncircumcision. Do not we see that both sorts are made egall in dignitie? For during the time appointed by the decree of God, he was the father of circumcision. When, the wall being plucked downe (as the Apostle writeth in another place) by which the Iewes were seuered from the Gentiles, the entry was made open to them also into the kingdom of God, he was made their father, and that without the signe of circumcision, because they haue bapisme in steed of circumcision. But where he expressly by name denieth, 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 godlines, did boast themselues of only ceremonies. After which manner at this day also their vanitie may be confuted which seeke in bapisme nothing but water.

The carnall and
spirituall seede of
Abraham hereto-
fore with the esti-
mation due to
them both.

14 But another place of the Apostle out of the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romanes shall be alleged to the contrary, where he teacheth that they which are of the flesh, are not the children of *Abraham*: but they only are counted his seed, which are the children of promise. For he seemeth to signifie, that the carnall kinred of *Abraham* is nothing, which yet we do see in some degree. But it is more diligently to be marked, what matter the Apostle there entreateth of. For, meaning to shew to the Iewes how much the goodnesse of God was not bound to the seed of *Abraham*, yea how it nothing aualeth of it selfe, he bringeth foorth *Ismael* and *Esau* for example to prooue it: whom being refused, as if they were strangers, although they were according to the flesh the naturall offspring of *Abraham*, the blessing rested in *Isaac* and *Iacob*. Whereupon is gathered that which he afterward affirmeth, that saluation hangeth of the mercie of God, which he extendeth to whom it pleaseth him: and that there is no cause why the Iewes should stand in their owne conceit, or boast vpon the name of the couenant, vnlesse they keepe the lawe of the couenant, that is to say, do obey the word. Again when he hath thrown them downe from vaine confidence of their kinred, yet because on the other side he sawe, that the couenant which was once made of God with the posteritie of *Abraham*, could in no wise be made voide, in the eleuenth chapter, he argueth that the carnall kinred is not to be spoiled of his due dignitie: by the beneficiall meane whereof he teacheth that the Iewes are the first and naturall heires of the Gospel, but in respect that by their vnthankfulness, they were forsaken as vnwoorthie: yet so that the heauenly blessing is not vtterly remoued from their nation. For which reason, how much soeuer they were stubborne and couenant breakers, neuertheless he calleth them holy (so much honor he giueth to the holy generation, with whom God had vouchsafed to make his holy couenant) but calleth vs, if we be compared with them, as it were after borne, yea or the vntimely borne.

borne children of *Abraham*, and that by adoption, not by nature: as if a twig broken off from his naturall tree, should be grafted into a strange stocke. Therefore that they should not be defrauded of their prerogative, it behooued that the gospel should be first preached to them: for they be in the household of God as it were the first begotten children. Wherefore this honor was to be giuen them, vntill they refused it being offered them, and by their owne vnthankfulnesse brought to passe that it was carried away to the Gentiles. Neither yet, with how great obstinacy 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 still remaine among them: as verily the Apostle testifieth that it shall neuer vterly depart from thence: because the giftes and calling of God are without repentance.

Rom. 11. 29.

15 Behold of what force is the promise giuen to the posteritie of *Abraham*, and with what balance it is to be weied. Wherefore although in discerning the heires of the kingdome from bastards and strangers, we nothing doubt that the onely election of God ruleth with free right of government: yet we also therewithall perceiue, that it pleased him peculiarly to embrace the seede of *Abraham* with his mercie, and that the same mercie might be the more surely witnessed, to seale it with Circumcision. Now altogether like state is there of the Christian Church. For as *Paul* there reasoneth that the *Jewes* are sanctified of their parents: so in another place he teacheth, that the children of Christians receiue the same sanctification of their parents. Whereupon is gathered, that they are worthily seuered from the rest, which on the other side are condemned of vncleannes. Now who can doubt, but that it is most false which they do therupon conclude, that say that the infants which in old time were circumcised, did only figure spirituall infancie, which ariseth of the regeneration of the word of God. For *Paul* doth not so subtly play the Philosopher, where he writeth that Christ is the minister of Circumcision, to fulfill the promises which had bene made to the fathers, as if he said thus: Forasmuch as the covenant made with *Abraham* hath respect to his seede, Christ, to performe and discharge the promise once made by his Father, came to saluation to the nation of the *Jewes*. See you not how also after the resurrection of Christ, he iudgeth that the promise of the couenant is to be fulfilled, not onely by way of allegorie, but as the very words doe found to the carnall seede of *Abraham*. To the same entent serueth that which *Peter* in the second Chapter of the Actes, declareth to the *Jewes*, that the benefit of the Gospell is due to them and their seede by right of the couenant, and in the Chapter next following he calleth them the children of the Testament, that is to say heires. From which also not much disaccordeth the other place of the Apostle about alleaged, where he accounteth and setteth Circumcision emprinted in infants, for a testimonie of that communion which they haue with Christ. But if we harken to their trifles, what shall be wrought by that promise, wherby the Lord in the second article of his law vndertaketh to his seruants, that he will be fauorable to their seede euen to the thousandth generation? Shall we here flee to allegories? But that were too trifling a shift. Or shall we say that this is abolished? But so the law should be destroyed, which Christ came rather to stablish, so farre as it turneth vs to good vnto life. Let it therefore be out of conuersion, that God is so good and liberall to his, that for their sakes, he will haue also their children, whom they shall beget, to be adnumbred among his people.

16 Moreover the differences which they go about to put betweene baptism and circumcision, are not onely woorthy to be laughed at, and voide of all colour of reason, but also disagreeing with themselves. For when they haue affirmed that baptism hath relation to the first daye of the spirituall battell, but Circumcision to the eight when mortification is already ended, by and by forgetting the same, they turne their song, and call Circumcision a figure of the flesh to be mortified, but baptism they call buriall, into which none are to be put till they be already

The like difference betweene the one and the other now in the Christian Church.

1. Cor. 7. 14.

Then must they grant that circumcision was a of baptisme, wh yet w not of them: but make one for subst: wh bapt though different in ce

Rom. 15. 8.

Act. 2. 39.

Act. 3. 25.
Eph. 2. 21.

Absurd differences betweene baptism and circumcision to exclude children from the one, though from the others they were not excluded.

dead. What dotages of phrentike men, can with so great lightnesse leape into sundry diuersities? For in the first sentence, baptisme must goe before circumcision: by the other, it is thrust backe into the later place. Yet is it no new example, that the wits of men be so tossed vp and downe, when in steed of the most certaine worde of God they worship whatsoever they haue dreamed. We therefore say that that former difference is a meer dreame. If they listed to expound by way of allegorie vpon the eight day, yet it agreed not in that maner. It were much fitter, according to the opinion of the old writers, to referre the number of eight to the resurrection which was done on the eight day, whereupon we know that the newnes of life hangeth: or to the whole course of this present life, wherein mortification ought alway to goe forward, till when life is ended, mortification it selfe may also be ended. Howbeit God may seeme to haue minded to prouide for the tendernes of age, in deferring circumcision to the eight day, because the wound should haue bene more dangerous to the children new borne, and yetted from their mother. How much stronger is that, that we being dead before, are buried by baptisme: when the scripture expressly crieth to the contrary that we are buried into death to this intent, that we should die, and from thenceforth should endeouour to this mortification? Now, a likewise handling it is, that they cauil that women ought not to be baptised, if baptisme must be framed like to circumcision. For if it be most certaine that the sanctifying of the seed of Israel was testified by the signe of circumcision: thereby also it is vndoubted, that it was giuen to sanctifie both males and females. But the only bodies of male children were marked with it, which might by nature be marked: yet so that women were by them after a certaine maner companions and partners of circumcision. Therefore sending far away such follies of theirs, let vs sticke fast in the likenes of baptisme and circumcision, which we most largely see to agree, in the inward mysterie, in the promises, in vse, in effectualnes.

Childrens want of understanding no reason to keepe them from being baptised which is the seale of that sanctitie whereof they are capable.

17 They thinke also that they bring forth a most strong reason, why children are to be debarred from baptisme, when they alleage that they are not yet for age able to vnderstand the mysterie there signified. That is spirittall regeneration, which cannot be in the first infancie. Therefore they gather, that they are to be taken for none other than the children of *Adam*, till they be grown to age meete for a second birth. But the truth of God each where speaketh against all these things. For if they be to be left among the children of *Adam*, then they are left in death: forasmuch as in *Adam* we can do nothing but die. But contrariwise Christ commandeth them to be brought vnto him. Why so? because he is life: Therefore that he may giue life to them, he maketh them partakers of himselfe: when in the meane time these fellows driuing them far away do adudge them to death. For if they say for a sluft that infants do not therefore perish if they be accounted the children of *Adam*, their error is abundantly confuted by witness of the scripture. For whereas it pronounceth that all do die in *Adam*, it followeth that there remaineth no hope of life but in Christ. Therefore that we may be made heires of life, we must communicate with him. Again when it is written in an other place, that by nature we are subiect to the wrath of God, and conceived in sinne, whereunto damnation perpetually cleaueth: wee must depart out of our owne nature, before that the entrie be open to vs into the kingdome of God. And what can be more plainly spoken, than that flesh and blood can not possesse the kingdome of God? Therefore let all be done away whatsoever is ours (which shall not be done without regeneration) then we shall see this possession of the kingdome. Finally if Christ say truely, when he reporteth that he is life, it is necessary that we be grafted into him, that we may be deliuered out of the bondage of death. But (say they) how are infants regenerate, which are not endued with knowledge neither of good nor of euil? But we answer, that the worke of God is not yet no work at all, although it be not subiect to our capacity. Morcouer it is nothing doubtful,

1. Cor. 15. 22.

Ephes. 2. 3.

Psal. 51. 7.

1. Cor. 15. 50.

Iohn. 11. 25.

& 14. 5.

that the infants which are to be sau'd (as verily of that age some are sau'd) are before regenerate of the Lord. For if they bring with them from their mothers wombe the corruption naturally planted in them: they must be purged thereof, before that they be admitted into the kingdom of God, whereinto nothing entreth that is defiled or spotted. If they be borne sinners, as both *Dauid* and *Paul* affirme: either they remaine out of fauour and hatefull to God, or they must needes be justified. And what seeke we more, when the Iudge himselfe openly affirmeth that the enty into heavenly life is open to none but to them that be borne againe? And to put such carpers to silence, he shewed an example in *Iohn* the Baptist, whom he sanctified in his mothers wombe, what he was able to doe in the rest. Neither doe they any thing preuaile by the shift wherewith they here mocke, that that was but once done: wherupon it doth not by and by follow that the Lord is wont commonly to doe so with infants. For neither doe we reason after that manner: onely our purpose is to shew, that the power of God is by them vnjustly & cruiously limited within those narrow boundes within which it suffreth not it selfe to be bound. Their other by shift is euen of as great weight. They alleage that by the vsuall manner of the Scripture, this word (from the wombe,) is as much in effect, as if it were said, frō childhood. But we may clearly see, that the Angell when he declared the same to *Zachary*, meant an other thing: that is, that it which was not yet borne, should be filled with the holy Ghost. Let vs not therefore attempt to appoint a law to God, but that he may sanctifie whom it pleaseth him, as he sanctified this child, forasmuch as his power is nothing minished.

18 And truly Christ was therefore sanctified from his first infancie, that he might sanctifie in himselfe his elect out of euery age without difference. For as, to doe away the fault of disobedience which had been committed in our flesh, he hath put on the same flesh vpon himselfe, that he might in it for vs and in our steede performe perfect obedience: so he was conceiued of the holy Ghost, that hauing the holinesse thereof fully poured into him in the flesh which he had taken vpon him, he might power forth 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 prooff vnto vs, that the age of infancie is not so fure vnfit for sanctification. But howsoeuer it be, yet this we hold out of controuersie, that none of the elect is called out of this present life, which is not first made holy and regenerate by the Spirit of God. Whereas they obiekt to the contrary, that in the Scriptures the Spirit acknowledgeth no other regeneration but of incorruptible seede, that is, of the word of God: they doe wrongfully expound that saying of *Peter*, wherein he comprehendeth only the faithfull which had beene taught by preaching of the Gospell. To such in deed we graunt that the word of the Lord is the onely seede of spirituall regeneration: but we denie that it ought therupon to be gathered, that infants cannot be regenerate by the power of God, which is to him as easie & ready as to vs it is incomprehensible and wonderfull. Moreouer it should not be safe enough for vs to take this away frō the Lord; that he may not be able to shew himselfe to be knowne to the by whatsoeuer way he will.

19 But Faith, say they, is by hearing, whereof they haue not yet gotten the vse, neither can they be able to know God, whom *Moses* teacheth to be destitute of the knowledge both of good and euill. But they consider not that the Apostle, when he maketh hearing the beginning of Faith, describeth onely the ordinarie distribution of the Lord and disposition which he vseth to keepe 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 the calling of many, to whō he hath giuen the true knowledge of himselfe by an inward manner, by the enlightening of the Spirit, without any preaching vsed for meane thereof. But whereas they thinke it shall be a great absurdity, if any knowledge of God be giuen to infants, from whom *Moses* taketh away the vnderstanding of good and euill: I beseech them to answere me what danger is there

Reue. 21. 27.

Eph. 2. 3.

Pial. 51. 7.

Iohn 3. 3.

Luke 1. 15.

Christ in his infancie sanctified so shew that Christ in infants are capable of sanctific.

1. Pet. 1. 23.

No absurditie that infants haue some sparke of that beauenly light here whereof in heauen the full brightnesse doth shine vnto them though they be in their infancie.

Deut. 1. 39.

if they be said to receiue some part of that grace, whereof a little after they shall enioy the full plentifulnesse. For if the fulnesse of life standeth in the perfect knowledge of God, when many of them, whom in their verie first infancie death by and by taketh away, do passe into eternall life, truly they are receiued to behold the most present face of God. Whom therefore the Lord will enlighten with the full brightnesse of his light, why may he not presently also, if it so please him, send out to shine vpon them some small sparkle thereof: specially if he do not first vnclouth them of ignorance, before that he take them out of the prison of the flesh? Not that I mean rashly to affirme that they be endued with the same Faith which we seele in our selues, or that they haue altogether like knowledge of faith: (which I had rather leaue in suspense) but somewhat to restrain their foolish arrogance, which according as their mouth is puffed vp with fulnes, do boldly deny or affirme they care not what.

20 But that they may yet stande more strongly in this point, they adde that baptisme is a Sacrament of repentance and of Faith, wherefore sith neither of these can befall in tender infancie, we ought to beware least if they be admitted to the cōmunion of baptisme, the signification of it be made void and vaine. But these dares are thrown rather against God than against vs. For it is most euident by many testimonies of Scripture, that circumcision also was a signe of repentance. Moreover it is called of *Paul* the seale of the righteousnesse of Faith. Let therefore a reason be required of God himselfe why he commaunded it to be marked in the bodies of infants. For sith baptisme and circumcision are both in one case, they can giue nothing to the one but that they must also therewithall graunt the same to the other. If they looke backe to their wonted starting hole; that then by the age of infancy were figured spiritual infants, the way is already stopped vp against them. We say therefore, sith God hath communicated to infants circumcision a Sacrament of repentance and faith, it seemeth no absurditie if they be made partakers of baptisme: vnlesse they list openly torage against the ordinance of God. But both in all the dooings of God, and in this selfe same doing also shineth wise dome and righteousnesse enough, to beat down the backbitings of the wicked. For though infants, at the same instant that they were circumcised, did not comprehend in vnderstanding what that signe meant: yet they were truly circumcised into the mortification of their corrupt and desiled nature, in which mortification they should afterwarde exercise themselves when they were growen to riper age. Finally it is verie easie to assoile this obiection, with saying that they be baptised into repentance and Faith to come: which although they be not formed in them, yet by secret working of the Spirit the seed of both lyeth hidden in them. With this answer at once is ouerthrown whatsoever they wrest against vs which they haue fetched out of the signification of baptisme. Of which sort is that title wherewith it is commended of *Paul*, where he calleth it the washing of regeneration and of renewing. Whereupon they gather that it is to be giuen to none but to such a one as is able to conceiue those things. But we on the contrary side may answer, that neither was circumcision which betokened regeneration, to be giuen to any other than to them that were regenerate. And so also we condemne the ordinance of God. Wherefore (as we haue already touched in diuers places) whatsoever arguments do tend to the shaking of circumcision, they haue no force in the assailing of baptisme. Neither do they escape away, if they say that we ought to take that for determined and certaine, which standeth vpon the authoritie of God, although there appeare no reason of it: which reuerence is not due to the baptisme of infants, nor to such other things which be not cōmended vnto vs by the expresse word of God: sith they are still fast holden with this double argument. For the commandement of God concerning infants to be circumcised, was either lawfull and subiect to no cauillations, or worthy to be found fault withall. If there were no inconuenience nor absurditie in the commandement of circumcision, neither can there any absurditie be noted

Infants not excluded from baptisme more than from circumcision for want of faith and repentance.
Rom. 14. 11.

Tit. 3. 5.

noted in obseruing the baptisme of infants.

21 As for the spot of absurditie which in this place they go about to lay vpon it, we thus wipe it away. Whom the Lord hath vouchsafed to elect, if hauing receiued the signe of regeneration, they depart out of this present life before that they be come to riper age, he reneweth them with the power of his spirite incomprehensible to vs, in such maner as he alone foreseeeth to be expedient. If they chance to growe vpper to age, wherby they may be taught the truth of baptisme, they shall hereby be the more inkindled to the endeouour of renewing, the token wherof they shall learne to haue beene giuen them from their first infancie, that they shoulde exercise themselues in it throughout the whole course of their life. To the same entent ought that to be applied which *Paul* teacheth in two places, that by baptisme wee are buried together with *Christ*. For he doth not meane thereby, that he which is to be baptised, must be alreadie first buried together with *Christ*: but simple declareth what doctrine is contained vnder baptisme, yea and that to them that be alreadie baptised: so that verie mad men would not affirme by this place that it goeth before baptisme. After this maner *Moses* and the prophets did put the people in minde what circumcision ment, wherewith yet they had been marked while they were infants. Of the same effect also is that which he writeth to the Galathians, that they when they were baptised, did put on *Christ*. To what ende? Verily that they shoulde from thence forth liue to *Christ*, because they had not liued before. And although in the older sort the receiuing of the signe ought to follow the vnderstanding of the mysterie: yet it shall be by and by declared that infants ought to be otherwise esteemed and accounted of. And no otherwise ought we to iudge of the place of *Peter*, in which they thinke that they haue a strong hold: when he saith that it is not a washing to wipe away the filthineses of the body, but the witness of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of *Christ*. They indeed doe gather thereby, that nothing is left to the baptisme of infants, but that it should be a vaine smoke, namely from which this truth is farre distant. But they often offend in this error, that they wil haue the thing in order of time to go alway before the signe. For the truth of circumcision also consisted of the same witness of good conscience. If it ought of necessitie to haue gone before, infants should neuer haue been circumcised by the commandement of God. But he shewing that the witness of a good conscience was contained vnder the truth of circumcision, and yet therewithall also commanding infants to be circumcised, doth in that point sufficiently declare that circumcision is applied to the time to come. Wherefore there is no more present effectualnes to bee required in baptisme of infants, than that it should confirme and stablish the covenant made by the Lord with them. The rest of the signification of that Sacrament shall afterward followe at such time as God himselfe foreseeth.

22 Now I thinke there is no man, that doth not cleerely see that all such reasons of theirs are meere misconstruings of Scripture. As for the rest that bee of a neere kinde to these, we will lightly runne through them by the way. They object that baptisme is giuen vnto the forgiuenes of sinnes: which when it is granted, will largelic make for defence of our sentence. For sith we be borne sinners, wee doe euen from our mothers wombe neede forgiuenes and pardon. Nowe seeing the Lorde doth not cut off, but rather assure to that age the hope of mercy: why shoulde wee take from them the signe which is much inferiour than the thing it selfe? Wherefore that which they go about to throw against vs, we thus throw backe against themselues: infants haue remission of sins giuen them, therefore they ought not to haue the signe taken from them. They alleage also this out of the Epistle to the Ephesians: that the church is clenied of the Lorde, with the washing of water in the worde of life. Than which there could nothing bee alleaged more fit to ouerthrowe this error: for therewith groweth an easie prooffe of our side. If the Lord will haue that washing wherewith

No necessitie that the vnderstanding should goe before the receiuing of the holy mysterie of baptisme.

Rom. 6.4.
Col. 2.12.

Gal. 3.27.

1. Pet. 3.21.

Baptisme of infants prooued by allegacion brought to disproue it, as that it is ministred to the forgiuenesse of sinnes, that the Church is therewith clenied of the Lorde in the word of life, that thereby wee are grassed into the body of Christ.
Eph. 5.26.

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he cleaseth his church, to be testified by baptisme: it seemeth not rightfull that it should want the testimonie of it in infants, which are rightfully accounted part of the church, forasmuch as they be called heires of the heavenly kingdome. For *Paul* speaketh of the whole church, where he saith that it was cleaseth with the baptisme of water. Likewise of this that in another place hee saith that wee be by baptisme graffed into the bodie of Christ, wee gather that infantes, whom hee reckoneth among his members, ought to bee baptised, least they bee plucked awaie from his bodie. Beholde with what violence with so many engines they assault the fortresses of our faith.

1. Cor. 12. 7.

The apostles in not baptising any come vnto yeeres of discretion without repentance & profession made of their faith, meant not heereby to teach that none should be baptised but onely such as were of yeeres to doe this.

Act. 2. 37.

Act. 8. 37.

23 Then they come downe to the practise and custome of the time of the apostles, wherein none is found to haue bene admitted to baptisme, but hee which hath before professed faith and repentance. For where *Peter* was asked of them that were minded to repent, what was needfull to bee done, he counsell'd them first to repent, and then to be baptised into the forgiuenes of sinnes. Likewise *Philip*, when the Eunnuch required to be baptised, answered that he might be baptised if he beleued with all his hart. Heereby they thinke that they may winne, that it is not lawfull that baptisme be graunted to any, but where faith and repentance go before. Truly if we yeeld to this reason, the first of these two places where is no mention made of faith, will prooue that repentance alone sufficeth: and the other place, wherein repentance is not required, will prooue 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 saie also likewise, that other places must be laid together which make somewhat to the vndoing of this knot: forasmuch as there bee many sentences in scripture, the vnderstanding whereof hangeth vpon the circumstance of the place. As this presently is an example. For they to whom *Peter* and *Philip* spake these things were of age sufficient to haue practise of repentance and to conceiue faith. Wee earnestly denie that such ought to be baptised, vntil after perceiuing of their conuersion and faith, at least so farre as it may be searched out by the iudgement of men. But, that infantes ought to be accounted in another number, it is more than euident enough. For in old time if any man did ioyne himselfe into communion of religion with *Israel*, it behooued that he should first be taught the couenant of the Lord, and instructed in the lawe, before that he were marked with circumcision, because in birth he was a stranger from the people of *Israel*, with whom the couenant had bene made with circumcision established.

As faith in Abraham went before circumcision, but in his seed circumcision before faith, so it is with baptisme in christian men and children.

Gen. 1. 5. 7.

Gen. 17. 16.

Gen. 16. 20.
and 23. 37.

24 As also the Lord, when he adopteth *Abraham* to himselfe, doth not begin at circumcision, hiding in the meane time what hee meaneth by that signe: but first hee declareth what couenant he intendeth to make with him, and then after faith giuen to the promise, he maketh him partaker of the Sacrament. Why doth in *Abraham* the sacrament follow faith, and in *Isaac* his sonne it goeth before all vnderstanding? Because it is meete that he, which being in full growen age is received into fellowship of the couenant, from which he had bene hitherto a stranger, shoulde first learne the conditions thereof: but an infant begotten of him needed not so, which by right of inheritance according to the forme of the promise is euen from his mothers wombe contained in the couenant. Or (that the matter may be more cleerely and briefly shewed) if the children of the faithfull, without the helpe of vnderstanding, are partakers of the couenant, there is no cause why they should be debarred from the signe for this that they cannot sweare to the forme of the couenant. This vcrily is the reason, why in some places God affirmeth that the infants which are issued of the *Israelites*, are begotten and borne to him. For without doubt he esteemeth as his children the children of them to whose seede hee promiseth that hee will bee a Father. But he which is vnfaithfull, issued of vngodly parents, till hee be by faith vnitied to God, is iudged a stranger from the communion of the couenant. Therefore

it is no marvell if he be not partaker of the signe, the signification whereof shoulde be deceitfull and voide in him. To this effect *Paul* also writeth, that the gentiles so long as they were drowned in their idolatrie, were out of the Testament. With this short summe, (as I thinke) the whole matter may be cleerely opened: that they which in grown age, embrace the faith of Christ, for as much as they were hitherto strangers from the couenant, are not to be marked with baptisme, but whereas faith and repentance come betweene, which onely can open them the entrie into fellowship of the couenant: but the infants that are issued of Christians, as they are receiued of God into the inheritance of the couenant, so soone as they be borne; so ought to be receiued to baptisme. Hereunto must that be applied which the Euangelist speaketh of, that they were bapufed of *Iohn*: which confessed their sinnes. Which example at this day also we thinke meete to be kept. For if a Turke offer himselfe to baptisme, he should not be rashly bapufed of vs, namely not till after confession whereby hee may satisfie the Church.

25 Moreouer they bring fourth the wordes of Christ, which are rehearsed in the thirde Chapter of *Iohn*, whereby they thinke that a present regeneration is required in baptisme. Vnlesse a man be borne againe of water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of God. Loe (say they) how baptisme is by the Lordes owne mouth called regeneration. Then therefore whome it is more than enough known to be vnable to receiue regeneration, by what colour doe we admit to baptisme which cannot bee without regeneration? First they are deceived in this that they thinke that in this 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 him, that men must be borne of new, because *Nicodemus* dreamed of a bodily new birth, he there shewed the manner how God doth regenerate vs, namely by water and the spirit: as though he should say by the spirit which in cleansing and watering faithfull soules, doth the office of water. Therefore I take water and the spirit, simply for the spirit, which is water. Neither is this a new forme of speech, for it altogether agreeth with the same which is in the third Chapter of *Matthew*: He that followeth me, it is he that bapufeth in the holy Ghost and fire. Therefore as to baptise in the holy Ghost and fire, is to giue the holy Ghost, which hath the office and nature of fire: so to be borne againe of water and the spirit, is nothing else but to receiue that power of the holy spirit which doth the same thing in the soule that water doth in the bodie. I knowe that other doe otherwise expounde it: but I am out of doubt that this is the naturall meaning: because the purpose of Christ is none other, but to teach that all they must put off their owne nature which aspire to the heauenly kingdome. Howbeit if we list to cauill vnfauorily as they doe, it were easie for vs (when we haue graunted as they would haue it) to inferre vpon them that baptisme is before faith and repentance: for as much as in the wordes of Christ it goeth before the spirit. It is certaine that this is vnderstanded of spirituall giftes: which if it come after baptisme, I haue obtained what I require. But leauing cauellations, we must hold fast the plaine exposition, which I haue brought, that no man till he haue bene renewed with liuing water, that is, with the spirit, can enter into the kingdome of God.

26 Now hereby also it is euident that their fained inuention is to be hissed out, which adudge all the vn-bapufed to eternall death. Therefore let vs according to their request imagine bapufine to be ministered to none but to them that be grown in age: What will they say, shall become of a childe, which is rightly and well instructed with the introductions of godlinesse, if when the day of bapufing is at hand, he happen to be taken away with sudden death beside all mens hope? The Lordes promise is cleere, that whosocuer hath beleued in the sonne, shall not see death, nor shall come into iudgement, but is already passed from death into life: and it is no

Ephes. 2.12.

Matt. 3.6.

The wordes of Christ concerning birth of water and the spirit nothing lesse than a prooue that actual regeneration must presently alwayes concur with baptisme

Iohn. 3.5.

Matt. 3.11.

All vn-bapufed not to be aduudged to eternall death.

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where founde that he euer damned him that was not yet baptised. Which I woulde not haue so taken of mee as though I meant that Baptisme might freely bee despised (by which despising I affirme that the Lordes couenant is defiled: so much lesse can I abide to excuse it) onely it is enough for mee to prooue, 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, whome any chaunce withholdeth from baptisme, with how great faith foucer (by which Christ himselfe is possessed) otherwise they are endued. Morcouer they make all infants guiltie of eternall death, to whome they denie baptisme, which by their owne confession is necessarie to saluation. Now let them looke how trimly they agree with the words of Christ, by which the kingdome of heauen is adiuſed to that age. But, to graunt them euery thing so much as pertaineth to the vnderstanding of this place, yet they shall gather nothing thereof, vnlesse they ouerthrowe the former doctrine which we haue stablished concerning the regeneration of infants.

Matt. 19. 14.

The baptisme of infants not disapproved by the commandment which Christ gave to teach and baptise, nor by the promise of saluation which he maketh to euery one that beleueth and is baptised.

Matt. 28. 19.

Mark. 16. 16.

Matt. 3. 13.

Luk. 3. 23.

27 But they glorie that they haue the strongest hold of all in the very institution of baptisme, which they fetch out of the last Chapter of *Matthew*: where Christ sending forth his Apostles to all nations, giueth them the first commandment to teach them, and the second to baptise them. Then also out of the last of *Marke* they adioyne this, He that beleueth and is baptised, shall be saued. What seeke we further (say they) when the Lords owne words doe openly found, that we must first teach ere we baptise, and doe assigne to baptisme the second state after faith? Of which order the Lord also shewed an example in himselfe, which woulde be baptised not till the thirtieth yeere. But here, O good God, how many waies do they both entangle themselves, and bewray their owne ignorance? For herein they now more than childishly erre, that they fetch the first institution of baptisme from thence, which Christ had from the beginning of his preaching giuen in charge to his Apostles to minister. Therefore there is no cause why they should affirme that the law and rule of baptisme is to be fetched out of these places, as though they contained the first institution thereof. But to beare with them for this fault, yet how strong is this manner of reasoning? Truly if I listed to dallie with them, there is not a little lurking hole, but a most wide field offereth it selfe open for vs to escape them. For when they sticke so fast to the order of words, that they gather that because it is saide, Go, preach and baptise. Again, he that beleueth and is baptised, therefore they must preach before that they baptise, and beleeue before that they require baptisme: why may not we againe answere them with saying that we must baptise before that we must teach the keeping of those things that Christ hath commanded, namely sith it is said, baptise ye, teaching them to keepe whatsoever things I haue commanded you? which same things we haue noted in that saying of Christ which hath been euen now alleged concerning the regeneration of water and the Spirit. For if it be so vnderstood as they would haue it, verily in that place baptisme must be before spirituall 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.

Mark. 16. 15.

The Gospell by Christes appointment to be preached to men of capacitie and they to beleeue before they be baptised: but not infants therefore to be unbaptised till they come vnto yeeres of habilitie to heare and beleeue.

28 Now this inuincible reason whereupon they beare themselves so bolde, seemeth to be somewhat shaken: but because truth hath defence enough in simplicitie, I will not escape away with such light arguments. Therefore let them take with them a full answer. Christ in this place giueth the chiefe commandment concerning preaching of the Gospell, whereunto he adioyneth the ministerie of baptisme as an addition hanging vpon it. Again he speaketh none otherwise of baptisme, but so farre as the ministracion of it is vnder the office of teaching. For Christ sendeth the Apostles to publish the Gospell to all the nations of the worlde, that they should from eachwhere with the doctrine of saluation gather together into his kingdome men that

that before were lost. But whom, or what manner of men? It is certaine that there is no mention but of them that are able to receiue teaching. Afterwarde hee addeth that such, when they are instructed, ought to be baptised, adioyning a promise, that they which beleue and are baptised shall be saued. Is there in all that saying so much as one syllable of Infants? What forme therefore of reasoning shall this be wherewith they assaile vs: they which are of growen age, must first be instructed, that they may beleue, ere they be baptised: therefore it is vnlawfull to make baptisme common to infants? Although they would burst themselues, they shall prooue nothing else by this place but that the Gospell must be preached to them that are of capacite able to heare it, before that they be baptised, forasmuch as he there speaketh of such one-ly. Let them hereof if they can make a stop to debar infants from baptisme.

29. But that euen blinde men also may with groping finde out their deceits, I will point them out with a very cleere similitude. If any man caull that infants ought to haue meate taken from them, vpon this pretence that the Apostle suffereth none to eate but them that labour, shall he not be woorthie that all men shoulde spit at him? Why so? Because he with difference draweth that to all men, which was spoken of one kind and one certaine age of men. No whit handsomer is their handling in this present cause. For that which euerie man seeth to belong to one age alone, they draw to infants, that this age also may be subiect to the rule which was made for none but them that were more growen in yeeres. As for the example of Christ it nothing withholdeth their side, He was not baptised before that he was thirtie yeeres old. That is indeed true: but there is a reason thereof readie to be shewed: because he then purposed by his preaching to lay a sound foundation of baptisme, or rather to stablish the foundation which had been before laid of *Iohn*. Therefore when he minded with his doctrine to institute baptisme, to procure the greater authoritie to his institution, hee sanctified it with his owne bodie, and that in such fitnes of time as was most conuenient, namely when he began his preaching. Finally, they shall gather nothing else hereof, but that baptisme tooke his original and beginning at the preaching of the Gospell. If they list to appoint the thirtieth yeere, why do they not keepe it, but do receiue euerie one to baptisme as he hath in their iudgement sufficiently profited? yea and *Sernettus* one of their masters, when he stiffely required this time, yet began at the 21. yeere of his age to boast himselfe to be a prophet. As though he were to be suffred that taketh vpon himselfe the place of a teacher in the church, before that he be a member of the Church.

30. At the last they obiect, that there is no greater cause why baptisme should be giuen to infants, than the Lords supper, which yet is not granted them. As though the scripture did not euery way expresse a large difference. The same was indeed visually done in the old church, as it appeereth by *Cyprian* and *Augustine*: but that manner is worthily growen out of vse. For if we consider the nature and propertie of baptisme, it is truly an entrie into the Church, and as it were a forme of admission, whereby wee are adnumbred into the people of God, a signe of our spiritual regeneration by which wee are borne againe into the children of God: whereas on the other side the supper is giuen to them that bee more growen in age, which hauing passed tender infancie, are nowe able to beare strong meate. Which difference is verie euidently shewed in the scripture. For there the Lorde so much as pertaineth to baptisme, maketh no choise of ages. But he doth not likewise giue the supper to all to take part of it, but onely to them which are fit to discern the bodie and bloud of the Lorde, to examine their own conscience, to declare the Lords death, to weigh the power thereof. Woulde we haue any thing plainer, than that which the apostle teacheth when he exhorteth that euerie man shoulde prooue and examine himselfe, and then eate of this bread and drinke of this cup? Therefore examination must goe before; which shoulde in vaine be looked for of infants. Againe, he that eateth vnworthily, eateth

Children no more excluded fro baptisme by commandement giuen that no men should bee baptised before they beleue, than from meate by the apostles iniunction that none shoulde eate that laboureth not.

2. Theſ. 3. 10.

Luk. 3. 23.

The scripture sheweth reason why the Lodes supper shoulde not bee giuen vnto infants, but why baptisme should not; none.

1. Cor. 11. 28.

and

and drinketh damnation to himselfe, not discerning the Lords body. If none can partake worthily but they that can well discern the holines of the Lordes bodie, why should we giue to our tender children, poison in steed of liuely foode? What is that commandement 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 yee shall eate of this bread, yee shall declare the Lords death till he come? What remembrance (I beseech you) shall we require at our infants of the thing which they neuer attained with vnderstanding, what preaching of the crosse of Christ, the force and benefit whereof they do not yet comprehend in minde? None of these things is prescribed in baptisme. Therefore betwene these two signes is great difference: which we note also in like signes in the old testament; Circumcision, which is known to answer to our baptisme, was appointed for infants. But the Passeouer into whose place the Supper hath now succeeded, did not receiue all maner of guesstes without difference. But was rightly eaten of them onely that might by age enquire of the signification of it. If these men had remaining one crum of sound braine, would they be blinde at a thing so cleere and offering it selfe to sight.

*Treatise argu-
mentes of Seruet-
tus against the
baptisme of chil-
dren answered.*

31 Although it greuethe me to lode the Readers with a heap of trifles: yet it shall be woorth the trauaile briefly to wipe away such gay reasons as *Seruetus* not the least of the Anabaptistes, yea the great glorie of that companie, thought himselfe to bring when he prepared himselfe to confict. He alleageth, that Christs signes as they be perfect, so do require them that be perfect or able to conceiue perfection. But the solution is easie: that the perfection of baptisme, which extendeth euen to death, is wrongfully restrained to one point of tme. I say yet further, that perfection is foolishly required in man at the first day, whereunto baptisme allureth vs all our life long, by continuall degrees. He obiecteth that Christs signes were ordained for remembrance, that euerie man should remember that he was buried together with Christ. I answer that that which he hath fained of his owne head, needeth no confutation: yea that which he draweth to baptisme, *Pauls* words shewe to be proper to the holie Supper, that euerie man should examine himselfe: but of baptisme there is no where any such thing. Whereupon we gather that they be rightly baptised which for their smalnesse of age, are not yet able to receiue examination. Whereas hee thirdly alleageth, that all they abide in death which beleene not the sonne of God, & that the wrath of God abideth vpon them: and therefore that infants which cannot beleue lie in their damnation: I answer that Christ there speaketh not of the general giltyneesse wherewith all the posteritie of *Adam* are enwrapped, but onely threatneth the despisers of the Gospell, which doe proudly and stubbornly refuse the grace offered them. But this nothing pertaineth to infants. Also I set a contrarie reason against them: that whomsoever Christ blesteth, he is discharged from the curse of *Adam* and the wrath of God: Sith therefore it is known that infantes are blessed of him, it followeth that they are discharged from death. Then he falsely citeth that which is no where read, that whosocuer is borne of the spirite, heareth the voice of the spirite. Which although wee grant to be written, yet shall prouoe nothing else but that the faithfull are framed to obedience, according as the spirite worketh in them. But that which is spoken of a certaine number, it is faultie to drawe indifferently to

4 all. Fourthly, he obiecteth: because that goeth before which is naturall wee must tarrie ripe time for baptisme which is spirituall. But although I grant that all the posteritie of *Adam* begotten of the flesh doe from the verie wombe beare their owne damnation, yet I deny that that wishstandeth but that God may presently bring remedie. For neither shall *Seruetus* prouoe, that there were many yeeres appointed by God that the spirituallnesse of life may begin. As *Paul* testifieth, although they which are borne of the faithfull are by nature damned: yet by supernaturall grace they are saued. Then hee bringeth forth an allegoric, that *Dauid* going vp into the towre

John. 3. 36.

1. Cor. 13. 46.

1. Cor. 7. 14.

towre of *Sion*, did leade neither blinde men nor lame men with him but strong soul-
 diers. But what if I set a parable against it, wherein God calleth to the heavenly ban-
 ket blinde men and lame men: how will *Seruentus* vnynde himsele out of this knot?
 I aske also whether lame and maimed men had not first beene souldiers with *David*.
 But it is superfluous to tarrie longer vpon this reason, which the readers shall finde
 by the holy historie to be made of meere falsehood. There followeth another alle-
 gorie, that the Apostles were fishes of men, not of little children. But I aske, what
 that saying of Christ meaneth, that into the net of the Gospell are gathered all kindes
 of fishes. But because I like not to play with allegories, I answer that when the office
 of teaching was enioyned to the Apostles, yet they were not forbidden from baptis-
 ming of infants. Howbeit I would yet knowe, when the Euangelist nameth them *An-
 thropous*, men, (in which word is comprehended all mankind without exception)
 why they should deny infants to be men. Scuenthly he allegeth, that sith spirituall
 things agree with spirituall, infants which are not spirituall, are also not meete for
 baptisme. But first it is plainly euident how wrongfully they wrest the place of *Paul*.
 There is entreated of doctrine: when the Corinthians did too much stande in their
 owne conceite for vaine sharpenesse of wit, *Paul* rebuketh their sluggishnesse, for
 that they were yet to be instructed in the first introduction of heavenly wisdom. Who
 can thereof gather that baptisme is to be denied to infants, whom being be-
 gotten of the flesh God doth by free adoption make holy to himselfe? Whereas hee
 saith, that they must be fed with spirituall meate, if they be newe men, the solution
 is easie, that by baptisme they are admitted into the flocke of Christ, and that the
 signe of adoption sufficeth them, til being growen to age they be able to beare strong
 meate: that therefore the time of examination which God expressly requirerth in
 the holy Supper, must be tarried for. Afterwarde he obiecterth that Christ calleth all
 his to the holy Supper. But it is certaine enough that he admitteth none, but them
 that be already prepared to celebrate the remembrance of his death. Whereupon
 followeth that infants whome he vouchsafed to imbrace, doe stay in a seuerall and
 proper degree by themselves til they grow to age, and yet are not strangers. Where-
 as he saith, that it is monstrous that a man after that he is borne, should not eate:
 I answer that soules are otherwise fed than by the outward eating of the Supper:
 and that therefore Christ is neuertheless meate to infants, although they abstaine
 from the signe. But of baptisme the case is otherwise, by which onely the gate into
 the Church is opened to them. Againe he obiecterth that a good steward distribu-
 teth meate to the houtholde in due time. Which although I willingly graunt: yet
 by what right will he appoint vnto vs the certaine time of baptisme, that he may
 prooue that it is not giuen to infants out of time. Moreouer he bringeth in that com-
 mandement of Christ to the Apostles, that they should make haste into the harvest,
 while the fieldes waxe white. Verily Christ meaneth this onely, that the Apostles
 seeing the fruite of their labour present, should the more cheerefully prepare them-
 selues to teach. Who shall therefore gather that the onely time of harvest is the ripe
 time for baptisme? His eleuenth reason is, that in the first Church Christians and dis-
 ciples were all one: but we see now that he fondly reasoneth from the part to the
 whole. Disciples are called men of full age, which had been already throughly taught,
 and had professed Christ: as it behooued that the Iewes vnder the law should be the
 disciples of *Moses*: yet no man shall thereof rightly gather, that infants were stran-
 gers, whom the Lord hath testified to be of his houthold. Beside these he allegeth,
 that all Christians are brethren, in which number infants are not vnto vs, so long
 as we debarre them from the Supper. But I returne to that principle, that none are
 heires of the kingdome of heauen, but they that are the members of Christ: then,
 that the embracing of Christ was a true token of the adoption, whereby infants are
 ioyned in common with full growen men, and that the abstaying for a time from
 the

2. Sam. 5. 8.
Lukc. 14. 21.

6
Matt. 4. 19.
Matt. 13. 47.

7
1. Cor. 2. 13.

9
Matt. 24. 46.

10
Iohn. 4. 35.

11
Act. 11. 26.

the Supper withstandeth not but that they pertaine to the body of the Church. Neither did the theefe that was conuerted on the Crosse, cease to be brother of the godly,

13 although he neuer came to the Supper. Afterwarde he addeth, that none is made our brother but by the Spirit of adoption, which is giuen only by the hearing of faith. I answer, that he still falleth backe into the same deceitfull argument, because hee ouerthwardly draweth that to infants which was spoken onely of growen men. *Paul* teacheth there that this is Gods ordinarie manner of calling to bring his elect to the faith, when he stirreth vp to them faithfull teachers, by whose ministerie and trauell he reacheth his hand to them. Who dare thereby appoint a lawe to him, but that he

14 may by some other secret way graffe infants into Christ? Where he obiecteth that *Cornelius* was baptised after he had receiued the holy Ghost: howe wrongfully hee doth out of one example gather a generall rule, appeereth by the Eunuch and the Samaritanes, in whome the Lord kept a contrarie order, that baptisme went before the giftes of the holy Ghost. The fiftenth reason is more than foolish. He saith that we are by regeneration made gods: and that they be gods to whom the worde of God is spoken, which accordeth not to children that be infants. Whereas he saith a Godhead to the faithfull, that is one of his dorages, which it pertaineth not to this present place to examine. But to wrest the place of the Psalme to so contrarie a sense, is a point of desperate shamelesnesse. Christ saith, that Kings and Magistrates are called of the Prophet gods, because they beare an office appointed them of God. But, that which concerning the speciall commaundement of gouernance is directed to certaine men, this handsome expositor draweth to the doctrine of the

16 Gospell, that he may banish infants out of the Church. Againe he obiecteth, that infants cannot be accounted new men, because they are not begotten by the worde. But I doe now againe repeat that which I haue often saide, that to regenerate vs doctrine is the vncorruptible seede, if wee be fit to receive it: but when by reason of age there is not yet in vs aptnesse to learne, God keepeth his degrees of regene-

17 rating. Afterwarde he commeth backe to his allegories, that in the lawe a sheepe and a goate were not offered in sacrifice so soone as they came out of the wombe. If I liked to drawe figures to this purpose, I could likewise readily obiect against him, that all first begotten things were consecrate to God so soone as they had opened the wombe: then, that a lambe must be killed at a yeres age. Whereupon followeth that manly strength is not to be tarried for, but rather that the new and yet tender issues are chosen of God for sacrifices. Furthermore he affirmeth that none can come

18 to Christ, but they that haue beene prepared of *Iohn*. As though *Iohns* office were not enduring but for a time. But, to omit this, truly that same preparation was not in the children whom Christ embraced and blessed. Wherefore let him goe with his false principle. At length he calleth for patrones *Trismegistus* and the *Sibylles*, to prouoe

19 that holy washings pertaine not but to them that are of growen age. Lo how honorably he thinketh of the baptisme of Christ, which he reduceth to the ceremonies of the Gentiles, that it may be no otherwise ministred than pleaseth *Trismegistus*. But we more esteeme the authoritie of God, whome it hath pleased to make infants holy to himselfe, and to admit them with the holy signe, the force whereof they did not yet by age vnderstand. Neither doe we count it lawfull to borrow out of the cleansings of the Gentiles any thing that may change in our baptisme the euerlasting and inuio-

20 lable lawe of God, which he hath stablished concerning circumcision. Last of all, he maketh this argument: that if it bee lawfull to baptise infants without vnderstanding, then baptisme may enterludlike and in sport be ministred of boyes when they play. But of this matter let him quarell with God by whose commaundement circumcision was common to infants before that they had attained vnderstanding. Was it therefore a playing matter, or subiect to the follies of children, that they might ouerthrowe the holy ordinance of God? But it is no maruell that these reprobate

A&. 10. 24.
A&. 8. 27.

Iohn. 1. 35.

Exod. 13. 2.
Exod. 12. 5.

spirites, as though they were vexed with a phrensie, doe thrust in all the grossest absurdities for defence of their errors, because God doth with such giddines iustly take vengeance of their pride and stubbornnesse. Verily I trust I haue made plaine with how feeble succours *Sermetus* hath holpen his silly brethren the Anabaptists.

32 Now I thinke it will be doubtfull to no sober man, how rashly they trouble the Church of Christ, that mooue brawles and contentions for the bapisme of infants. But it is profitable to consider, what Satan goeth about with this so great subtletie: euen to take away from vs the singular fruite of affiance & spirituall ioy which is to be gathered hereof, and to diminish as much also of the glory of the goodnes of God For how sweete is it to godly mindes, to be certified not onely by word, but also by sight to be seene with eies, that they obtaine so much fauour with the heavenly Father, that he hath also care of their posteritie? For here it is to be seene, how he taketh vpon him the person of a most prouident father of household toward vs, which euen after our death doth not lay away his carefulnesse of vs, but prouideth and foreseeth for our children. Ought we not here after the example of *Dauid* with all our hart to leape vp vnto thanksgiving, that by such shew of his goodnes, his name may be sanctified? This, verily Satan intendeth, in assailing with so great armies the bapisme of infantes: namely, that this testifying of the grace of God being taken away, the promise which by it is present before our eies, may at length by little and little vanish away. Whereupon should grow not onely a wicked vnthankfulness toward the mercie of God, but also a certaine slouthfulness in instructing our children to godlinesse. For by this spurre we are not a little pricked forward to bring them vp in the earnest feare of God and in the keeping of his law, when we consider that euen immediatlie from their birth, he taketh and acknowledgeth them for his children. Wherefore vnlesse we list enuiously to darken the bountifullnes of God, let vs offer to him our children, to whom he giueth a place among them that be of his familie and household, that is to say, the members of the Church.

*The drift of Satans
in stirring up
contention about the
bapisme of in-
fantes.*

Psal. 48. 11.

The xvij. Chapter.

Of the holy Supper of Christ: and what it auaileth vs.

After that God hath once receiued vs into his familie, and not onely to take vs as his seruants, but as his children: that he may fulfill the office of a most good Father, and carefull for his issue, he taketh also vpon him to nourish vs throughout the whole course of our life. And not contented therewith, it pleased him by a pledge giuen to assure vs of this continuall liberalitie. To this end therefore he hath giuen his Church an other Sacrament by the hand of his onely begotten Sonne, namely a spirituall banquet, wherein Christ testifieth himselfe to be the quickning bread, wherewith our soules are fed to true and blessed immortalitie. But forasmuch as the knowledge of so great a mysterie is very necessarie, and according to the greatnesse thereof, requireth a diligent declaration: and Satan, that he might bereaue the Church of this inestimable treasure, hath long ago spread miltes, and since that time darkenesse, to obscure the light of it, and then hath stirred strifes and battailes that might estrange the mindes of the simple from tasting of this holy foode, and hath also in our time attempted the same craft: therefore when I shall haue briefly knit vp the summe for the capacitie of the vnlearned, I will vndoe those knottes, wherewith Satan hath endeouored to snare the world. First, bread and wine are signes, which represent vnto vs the inuisible foode, which we receiue of the flesh and blood of Christ. For as in bapisme God againe begetting vs doth grasse vs into the fellowship of his Church, and by adoption doth make vs his owne: so we haue said that he performeth the office of a prouident Father of household, in this that he continually ministreth

*The Sacrament of
the supper of Christ
instructed so testi-
fie that our soules
are not onely once
made a liue, but
continually kept
and nourished by
Christ as by foode.*

vs meate, that he sustaineth and preserueth vs in that life whereunto he hath by his word begotten vs. Now the onely meate of our soule is Christ, and therefore the heavenly father calleth vs to him, that being refreshed with common partaking of him, we may from time to time gather lively force, vntill we attaine to heavenly immortality. But for as much as this mysterie of the secret vniing of Christ with the godly is by nature impossible to bee comprehended, hee giueth the figure and image thereof in visible signes most fit for our small capacitie: yea, as it were by earnest and tokens giuen, he maketh it so assured vnto vs as if it were seene with our eies, because this so familiar a similitude entrenchen to the grossest minds, that soules are so fed with Christ, as bread and wine do sustaine the bodily life. Now therefore we haue it declared, to what end this mysticall blessing tendeth, namely to assure vs, that the bodie of the Lord was so once offered for vs, that we now eat it, and in eating it do feele in vs the effectuall working of that onely sacrifice that his blood was so once shed for vs, that it is vnto vs continuall drinke. And so sound the words of the promise there adioyned. Take, this is my body, which is deliuered for you. The body therefore which was once offered vp for our saluation, we are commanded 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 which bringeth life shall be effectuall in vs. Whereupon also he calleth the cup, the couenant in his blood. For after a certain maner it reneweth, or rather continueth the couenant which he hath once stablished with his blood, so much as pertaineth to the confirming of our faith, so oft as he reacheth vnto vs that holy blood to be tasted of.

Matt. 26. 26.
Mar. 14. 17.
Luk. 22. 19.
1. COR. 11. 24.

The exchange which Christ hath made by taking that vpon him which was ours, & communicating that which is his to vs confirmed by this sacrament.

2 A great fruit verily of affiance and sweetnes may godly soules gather of this sacrament, because they haue a witness, that we are grown together into one body with Christ, so that whatsoever is his we may call ours. Hereupon followeth that we may boldly promise vnto our selues, that euerlasting life is ours, whereof he is heire: and that the kingdome of heauen, whereinto he is now entred, can no more fall away from vs than from him: againe that we cannot now be condemned by our finnes, from the guiltines whereof he hath acquitted vs, when he willed them to be imputed to himselfe as if they were his owne. This is the marvellous exchange, which of his immeasurable bountifulnes he hath made with vs: that he being made with vs the sonne of man, hath made vs with him the sonnes of God: that by his conuincing downe into earth, he hath made vs a way to goe vp into heauen: that putting vpon him our mortalitie, he hath giuen vs his immortalitie: that taking on him our weakness, he hath strengthened vs with his power: that taking our pouertie to himselfe, he hath conueyed his riches to vs: that taking to him the weight of our vnrightheadnes, wherewith we were oppressed, he hath clothed vs with his righteousnes.

Christ truly giuen & made ours in this sacrament: the whole pith wherof in a maner standeth herein, that for vs the body and blood of Christ were offered which we receiue represented vnder bread and wine to teach that they are to the soule the same which these visible creatures to the bodie.

3 Of all these things we haue so full a witnessing in this sacrament, that we must certainly determine, that Christ is truly giuen vs, as if Christ himselfe were set present before our eies, and handed with our hands. For this word can neither lye to vs, nor mocke vs: Take, eate, drinke: this is my body which is deliuered for you: this is the blood, which is shed into the forgiveness of finnes. Whereas he commaundeth to take, he signifieth that it is ours. Whereas hee commaundeth to eate, he signifieth that that is made one substance with vs. Whereas he saith of the body, that it is deliuered for vs: of the blood, that it is shed for vs: therein he teacheth that both are not so much his as ours: because he tooke and laid away both, not for his commoditie, but to our saluation. And truly it is to be diligently marked, that the chiefe 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 our Lord are now distributed, vnlesse they had bene once giuen forth for our redemption and saluation. Therefore they are represented vnder bread and wine, that we should learne that they are not onely ours, but

also ordeined for the nourishment of spirituall life. This is it that we before said, that from the corporall things which are shewed forth in the Sacraments, we are by a certain proportionall relation guided to spirituall things. So when bread is giuen vs for a signe of the body of Christ, we ought by and by to conceiue this similitude: As bread nourisheth, sustaineth, and maintaineth the life of our body: so the body of Christ is the onely meate to quicken and giue life to our soule. When we see wine set forth for a signe of his blood: we must call to minde what vses wine bringeth to the body, that we may consider that the same are brought to vs spirituallly by the blood of Christ: those vses be, to cherish, to refresh, to strengthen, to make mery. For if we sufficiently weigh, what the deliuering of this holy body, what the shedding of this holy blood, hath profited vs: we shall plainly perceiue that these things which are spoken of bread and wine, according to such proportionall relation doe very well accord with them toward vs when they are communicated vnto vs.

4 Therefore the chiefe partes of the Sacrament are not simple and without higher consideration to reach to vs the body of Christ: but rather that same promise, whereby he testifieth, that his flesh is verily meate, and his blood is drinke, with which we are fed into eternall life: whereby he affirmeth himselfe to be the bread of life, of which who so eateth, he shall liue for euer: to scale (I say) and confirme that promise: and for bringing the same to passe, to send vs to the crosse of Christ, where that promise hath bene truely performed, and in all pointes fulfilled. For we doe not well and healthfully eate Christ but crucified, when we doe with liuely feeling conceiue the effectualnes of his death. For whereas he calleth himselfe the bread of life, he did not borrow that name of the Sacrament, as some do wrongfully expound it: but because he was giuen vs such of the Father, & performed himselfe such, when being made partaker of our humane mortalitie, he made vs partners of his diuine immortalitie: when offering himselfe for sacrifice, he tooke our accursednes vpon himselfe, that he might fill vs with blessing: when with his death he deuoured and swallowed vp death: when in his resurrection he raised vp this our corruptible flesh which he had put on, to glory and vncorruption.

5 It remaineth that by appliance all the same may come to vs. That is done, both by the Gospell, and more clearly by the holy Supper, where both he offereth himselfe to vs with all his good things, and we receiue him by Faith. Wherefore the Sacrament maketh not that Christ first beginneth to be the bread of life: but when it bringeth into remembrance, that he was made the bread of life, which we continually eate, and when it giueth vnto vs the tast and saour of that bread, then it maketh vs to feele the strength of that bread. For it promisseth vs, that whatsoever Christ did or suffred, the same was done to giue life to vs. Then, that this giuing of life is eueralting, by which we may without end be nourished, sustained, and preferred in life. For as Christ should not have bene to vs the bread of life, vnlesse he had been borne and had died for vs, vnlesse he had risen againe for vs: so now he should not be the same vnlesse the effectualnesse and fruite of his birth, death and resurrection, were an eueralting and immortall thing. All which Christ hath very well expressed in these words. The bread which I will giue, is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world. By which words without doubt he signifieth, that his body should therefore be to vs for bread, to the spirituall life of the soule, because it should be giue 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. Once therefore he gaue it, that he might be made bread, when he gaue forth himselfe to be crucified for the redemption of the world: dayly he giueth it, when by the word of the Gospell he offereth it vnto vs to be receiued, so farre as it was crucified: where he sealeth that deliuerance with the holy mystery of the Supper: where he inwardly fulfilleth that which he outwardly betokeneth. Now herein we must beware of two faultes, that neither dooing too much in abasing the signes, we

The highest consideration in this sacrament is of the promise whereby Christ hath testified his flesh to be meate & his blood to be drinke vs deede.

This Sacrament maketh not Christ to be the bread of life, but testifieth vnto vs that he is so so such as receiue him in the due estimation of these mysteries whereby he is receiued, so receiue him so eate his flesh & drinke his blood, an effect of helpe and a thing to be distinguished from faulth. Iohn 6. 51.

seeme to plucke them from their mysteries to which they are in a manner knit fast : nor that being immeasurable in aduancing the same, we seeme in the meane time somewhat to darken the mysteries themselves. That Christ is the bread of life, wherewith the faithfull are nourished into eternall saluation, there is no man but he graunteth, vnlesse he be altogether without religion. But this point is not likewise agreede vpon among all men, what is the maner of partaking of him. For there be that in one word define, that to eate the flesh of Christ and to drinke his blood, is nothing else but to beleue in Christ himselfe. But I thinke that Christ meant some certainer and higher thing, in that notable sermon where he commendeth to vs the eating of his flesh, namely, that we are quickened by the true partaking of him; which also he therefore expressed by the words of eating and drinking, least any man should thinke, that the life which we receiue of him is conceiued by bare knowledge onely. For as not the sight, but the eating of bread sufficeth the body for nourishment: so it behooueth that the soule be truly and throughly made partaker of Christ, that by the power of him it may be quickened into a spirituall life. But in the meane time we confesse that there is no other eating, but of faith: as there can no other be imagined. But this is the difference betweene my words and theirs, that with them to eate is onely to beleue: but I say that the flesh of Christ is eaten with beleeuing, because by faith he is made ours, and I say that eating is the fruit and effect of faith. Or, if you will haue it plainer, with them eating is faith: and I thinke it rather to follow of faith. In wordes verily the difference is but small: but in the thing itselfe, not small. For though the Apostle teacheth that Christ dwelleth in our harts by faith: yet no man will expound this dwelling to be faith: but all men do perceiue that there is expected a singular effect of faith, for that by it the faithfull do obtaine to haue Christ dwelling in them. After this manner, the Lord meant, in calling himselfe the bread of life, not onely to teach 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 becommeth ours: like as bread, when it is taken for foode, ministreth liuelinesse to the bodie.

Ephc. 3. 17.

Iohn. 6. 51.

*The meaning of
saint Augustine
and saint Chryso-
stome when they
speake of the par-
ticipation of the
body of Christ.*

6 Neither did *Augustine*, whom they bring in for their patrone, in any other meaning write that we eate by beleeuing, than to shew that this eating is of faith, not of the mouth. Which I also denie not: but yet therewithall I adde, that we do by faith embrace Christ, not appeering a farre of, but making himselfe one with vs, that he may be our head, and we his members. Yet do not I vterly disallow that manner of speaking: but onely I deny it to be a full declaration, if they meane to define what it is to eate the flesh of Christ. Otherwise I see that *Augustine* hath oft vsed this forme of speech: as when he saith in the third booke of Christian doctrine, Vnlesse ye eate the flesh of the sonne of man: this is a figure teaching that wee must communicate with the passion of the Lord, and must sweetly and profitably lay vp in remembrance that for vs his flesh was crucified and wounded. Again when he saith that the three thousand men which were conuerted at *Peters* sermon, did drinke the blood of Christ by beleeuing, which they had shedde by cruell dealing. But in many other places hee honourably setteth out that benefite of faith, that by it our soules are no lesse refreshed with the communicating of the flesh of Christ, than our bodies are with the bread which they eate. And the same is it which in a certaine place *Chrysostome* writeth, that Christ doth not onely by faith, but also in dedde make vs his bodie. For he meaneth not that we do from any other where than from faith, obtaine such a benefite: but this onely he meaneth to exclude, that none when hee heareth faith to be named, should conceiue a naked imagination. As for them that will haue the Supper to be onely a marke of outwarde profession, I doe now passe them ouer: because I thinke that I haue sufficiently confuted their error, when I entreated of sacraments generally. Onely this thing let the readers marke, that

Hom in Ioh. 31.
and. 40.
Act. 2. 41.

Hom. 60.

that when the cup is called the covenant in the blood, there is a promise expressed that may be of force to confirme Faith. Whereupon followeth, that vnlesse we haue respect to God, and embrace that which he offereth, we doe not rightly vse the holy Supper. Luke 22.20.

7 Morcouer they also doe not satisfie me, which acknowledging that we haue some communion with Christ, when they meane to expresse it, do inake vs partakers only of the spirite, without making any mention of flesh & blood. As though all those things were spoken of nothing, that his flesh is verily meate, and his blood is verily drinke: that none hath life, but he that eateth that flesh, and drinketh that blood: and such other sayings that belong to the same ende. Wherefore if it be certaine that the full communicating of Christ proceedeth beyond their description, as it is too narrowly strained: I will now goe about to knit vp in few words, how large it is and how farre it extendeth it selfe, before that I speake of the contrary fault of excesse. For I shall haue a longer disputation with the excessiue teachers, which, when according to their owne grosseness they frame a manner of eating and drinking full of absurditie, doe also transfigure Christ stripped out of his flesh into a fantasie: if yet a man may with any words comprehend so great a mysterie, which I see that I can not sufficiently comprehend with minde: and therefore I doe willinglie confesse it, that no man should measure the highnes thereof by the small proportion of my childishnes. But rather I exhort the readers, that they doe not restrain the sense of their mindes within these two narrow bounds: but endeuour to rise vp much higher, than they can by my guiding. For I my selfe, so oft as I speake of this thing, when I haue trauced to say all, thinke that I haue yet said but little in respect of the worthines thereof. And although the minde can do more in thinking than the tooing in expressing: yet with greatnesse of the thing, the minde also is furnished and ouerwhelmed. Finally therefore nothing remaineth, but that I must breake forth into admiration of that mysterie, which neither the minde can suffice to thinke of, nor the tooing to declare. Yet after such manner as I can, I will set forth the summe of my sentence: which as I nothing doubt to be true, so I trust that it will not be disallowed of Godly harts.

8 First of al, we are taught out of the Scripture, that Christ was frō the beginning that life bringing word of the Father, the fountaine and originall of life, from whence all things euer receiued their hauing of life. Wherefore *John* sometime calleth him the word of life, and sometime writeth that life was in him: meaning that he euen then flowing into all creatures, powred into them the power of breathing and liuing. Yet the same *John* addeth afterward, that the life was then and not till then openly shewed, when the Sonne of God taking vpon him our flesh, gaue himselfe to be seene with eyes and felt with handes. For though he did before also spread abroad his power into the creatures: yet because man, being by sinne estranged from God, hauing lost the communion of life, saw on euery side death hanging ouer him: that he might recouer hope of immortallitie, it behooued that he should be receiued into the communion of that worde. For how small a confidence maicst thou conceiue thereof, if thou heare that the word of God in deede, from which thou art most farre remooued, containeth in it selfe the fulnesse of life, but in thy selfe and round about thee nothing offereth it selfe and is present before thine eyes but death? But since that fountaine of life beganne to dwell in our flesh, now it lieth not a farre off hidden from vs, but presently delucreth it selfe to be partaken of vs. Yea and it maketh the very flesh, wherein it resteth, to be of power to bring life to vs, that by partaking thereof we may be fedde to immortallitie. I am (saith he) the bread of life, that am come downe from heauen. And the bread which I will giue is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world. In which wordes he teacheth not onely that he is life, in respect that he is the eternall word of God which came downe to

*They straine the
Communion of
Christ too narrow-
ly who make it no-
thing but the par-
ticipation of his
spirite onely.*

*Christ from the be-
ginning the foun-
taine of life, by ta-
king our flesh maketh it of power
being fed on to be
sustenance that
susterech immor-
tallitie.*

John 6. 48. & 58.

vs from heauen, but that in comming down he powred the same power into the flesh which he did put on, that from thence the communicating of life might flow foorth vnto vs. Hereupon also these things now follow, that his flesh is verily meate, and his blood is verily drinke, with which sustenances the faithfull are fostered into eternall life. Herein therefore consisteth singular comfort to the godly, that now they finde life in their owne flesh. For so they do not onely with easie passage attaine vnto it, but haue it of it selfe laid abroad for them and offering it selfe vnto them. Onely let them hold open the bosome of their hart that they may embrace it being present, and they shall obtaine it.

The flesh of Christ being (though not of it selfe) in vnwasted fountaine from whence life floweth, he that will haue must of necessity be partaker thereof, and haue fellowship with it.
Ioh. 5. 19.

9 But although the flesh of Christ haue not so great power of it selfe, that it can giue life to vs, which both in the owne first estate of it was subiect to mortalitie, and now being endued with immortalitie, liueth not by it selfe: yet it is rightfully called life bringing, which is filled with fulnesse of life to powre it into vs. In which meaning I do with *Cyrl* expound that saying of Christ: as the father hath life in himselfe, so he hath also giuen to the sonne to haue life in himselfe. For there he properly speaketh of his giftes, not which he from the beginning possessed with the father, but with which he was garnished in the same flesh in which he appeared. Therefore he sheweth that in his manhoode also dwelleth the fulnes of life, that whosoever partaketh of his flesh and blood, may therewithall also enjoy 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 drunke, sometime is drawn, sometime by furrowes is conueied to the watering of grounds, which yet of it selfe doth not ouerflow into so many vses, but from the very spring it selfe which with euerlasting flowing yeeldeth and ministrerth vnto it from time to time new abundance: so the flesh of Christ is like a rich and vnwasted fountaine which powreth into vs the life springing from the Godhead into it selfe. Now who seeth not that the communion of the flesh and blood of Christ is necessarie to all that aspire to heavenly life? Hereunto tendeth that saying of the Apostle, that the Church is the bodie of Christ and the fulfilling of it: and that he is the head out of which the whole bodie coupled and knit together by ioints maketh encrease of the bodie: that our bodies are the members of Christ. All which things we vnderstand to be impossible to be brought to passe, but that he must wholly cleaue to vs in spirit and body. But that most neere fellowship whereby we are coupled with his flesh, he hath yet set out with a more glorious title, when he said that we are members of his bodie, and are of his bones and of his flesh. At the last, to declare it to be a matter greater than all wordes, he concludeth his saying with an exclamation. This is (saith he) a great secret. Therefore it should be a point of extreme madnesse to acknowledge no communion of the faithful when the flesh and blood of the Lord, which the Apostle declareth to be so great, that he had rather wonder at it than expresse it.

Iphc. 5. 30.

The body & blood of Christ truly giuen vs, & not bare and naked figures thereof in this sacrament.

10 Let the summe bee, that our soules are so fed with the flesh and blood of Christ, as bread and wine do maintaine and sustaine the bodily life. For otherwise the proportionall relation of the signe should not agree, vlesse soules did find their food in Christ. Which cannot be done, vlesse Christ do truly grow into one with vs, and refresh vs with the eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood. But although it seeme 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 about all our senses, and how foolish it is to goe about to measure his vnmeasurablenesse by our measure. That therefore which our munde comprehendeth not, let our faith conceiue, that the spirit truly knitteth in one those things that are seuered in places. Now that same holy communicating of his bodie and blood, whereby Christ powreth his life into vs, euen as if hee pearced it into our bones and marowes, hee in the Supper also testifieth and sealcth: and that

not with setting before vs a vaine or void signe, but bringing forth there the effectuall working of his spirite whereby he fulfilleth that which he promitteth. And verily he there offereth and deliuereth the thing signified to all them that sit at that spirituall banquet: although it be receiued with fruite of the faithfull onely, which receiue so great bountifullnes with true Faith and thankfulness of minde. After which maner the Apostle saide, that the bread which we breake is the communion of the body of Christ: and that the cuppe which we hallowe with the word and prayers to that purpose, is the communion of his blood. Neither is there any cause why any man should object, that it is a figuratiue speech, by which the name of the thing signified is giuen to the signe. I graunt verily that the breaking of the bread is a signe, not the thing 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 man will call God a deceiver, he can neuer be so bold to say that he setteth before vs an emptie signe. Therefore if by the breaking of bread the Lord doth truly represent the partaking of his body, it ought to be out of doubt that he truly performeth and deliuereth it. And this rule is alway to be holden of the Godly, that so oft as they see the signes ordained of the Lord, they certainly thinke and perswade themselues that the truth of the thing signified is there present. For to what purpose should the Lord deliuer to thee into thy hand the signe of his body, but to assure thee of the true partaking of it? If it be true, that a visible signe is giuen vs, to seale the gift of an inuisible thing: when we receiue the signe of the body, let vs no lesse certainly beleue that the body it selfe also is giuen vs.

2. Cor. 10. 16.

11 I say therefore (which both hath beene alway receiued in the Church, and all they teach at this day that thinke right) that the holy myserie of the Supper consisteth of two things: that is to say of the bodily signes, which being set before our eyes doe represent vnto vs inuisible things: according to the capacite of our weaknesse: and of spirituall truth, which is by those signes both figured and deliuered. Of what sort that is, when I meane to shew it familiarly, I vse to set three things: the signification, the matter which hangeth of the signification, the vertue or effect which followeth of both. The signification consisteth in the promises, which are after a certaine maner wrapped together with the signe. The matter of substance I call Christ with his death and resurrection. By effect I vnderstand the redemption, righteousnesse, sanctification, and eternall life, and whatsoever other benefites Christ bringeth vs. Now although all these things haue respect to Faith: yet I leaue no place to this causillation: as though when I say that Christ is receiued by Faith, I would haue him conceiued with vnderstanding onely and imagination. For the promises offer him, not that we should sticke fast in the sight alone and in bare knowledge: but that we should enioy the true communicating of him. And truly I see not how any man may haue confidence that he hath redemption and righteousnesse in the crosse of Christ, and life in his death, but principally standing vpon the true communion of Christ himselfe. For those good things should not come to vs, vnlesse Christ first made himselfe ours. I say therefore, that in the myserie of the Supper, by the signes of bread and wine Christ is truly deliuered to vs, yea and his body and blood, in which he hath fulfilled all obedience for purchasing of righteousness to vs: namely that first we should grow together into one body with him: and then being made partakers of his substance, we may also feele his power in the communicating of all his good things.

Christ himselfe by faith, euen his bodie & blood truly participateth, in this Sacrament.

12 Now I come down to the excessiue mixtures, which superstition hath brought in. For herein Satan hath played with marvellous subtiltie, that withdrawing the mindes of men from heauen, he might fill them with peruerse error, as though Christ were fastened to the element of breade. And first wee must not dreame such a presence of Christ in the Sacrament, as the craftsmen of the court of Rome haue

A local presence of the bodie of Christ not needfull vnto vs, that we may enioy the partaking of it which the spirite of Christ performeth in vs without such presence.

fained : as though the body of Christ were made present with presence of place, to be handled with hands, to be broosed with teeth, and swallowed with mouth. For this forme of recantation Pope *Nicholas* endited to *Berengarius*, to bee a witness of his repentance: namely with wordes so farr monstrous, that the author of the glose crieth out that there is danger, if the readers do not wisely take heed to themselves, least they sucke out of them an heresie woofse than was that of *Berengarius*. In the second distinction, in the Chapter beginning thus, *Ego Berengarius*. But *Peter Lombarde*, although he trauell much in excusing the absurditie, yet more inclineth to the contrarie sentence. For as we nothing doubt that it hath limits according to the perpetual nature of the bodie of men, and is holden in heaven, into which it was once receiued, vntill he returne to iudgement: so to draw it backe vnder these corruptible elements of to imagine it present every where, we account it to be viterly vnlawfull. Neither verily is it so needfull to this that we may enioy the partaking of it: for as much as the Lord giueth vs this benefit by his Spirit that we be made one with him in body, Spirit, and soule. The bonde therefore of this conioyning is the spirite of Christ, by the knitting whereof we be coupled together, and as it were a certaine conduct, by which whatsoever Christ himselfe both is and hath, is conueyed to vs. For if we behold the sunne shining forth with his beames vpon the earth after a certaine manner to cast forth his substance vnto it to engender, nourish, and quicken the fruits thereof: why should the extending of beames of the spirit of Christ be inferiour 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 thereof to the spirit. Yet in steed of many, one place shall be sufficient. For *Paul* in the eighth chapter to the Romanes, saith that Christ dwelleth in vs none other wise than by his spirit: wherby yet he taketh not away that communion of his flesh & blood of which we now speake, but teacheth that the Spirit alone worketh that we possesse whole Christ and haue him dwelling in vs.

13 The schoolmen thought more shamefastly which were withholden with hor-
rour of so barbarous vngodlinesse. Yet they also themselves do nothing but mocke
with sutler deceites. They graunt that Christ is not contained there by way of cir-
cumscription nor after a bodily manner: but afterward they inuent a way, which
neither themselves doe vnderstand, nor they can declare to other: yet it is such as
falleth to this point that Christ must be sought in the forme of breade as they call it.
For what is it? When they say that the substance of bread is turned into christ, do they
not fasten him to the whitenes which they there leaue? But (say they) he is so contain-
ed in the Sacrament, that he abideth in heaven: and we determine no other pre-
sence but of habitude. But whatsoever words they bring in to cloake it with a deceit-
full colour, this is the ende of all, that that is by consecration made Christ, which be-
fore was bread: that from thence forth Christ lieth hid vnder that colour of bread.
Which also they are not ashamed in plaine words to expresse. For these be the words
of *Lombarde*: that the body of Christ, which in it selfe is visible, when the consecra-
tion is ended, lieth hidden and is couered vnder the forme of bread. So the forme of
that bread is nothing else but a visour, that taketh away the sight of the flesh from the
eyes. Neither need we many coniectures, to finde what snares they minded to lay with
these words, sith the thing it selfe plainly speaketh it. For it is to be feene with howe
great superstition in certaine ages past, not only the common sort of men, but also the
verie chiefe of them haue bene holden; and at this day be holden in popish Churches.
For hauing little care of true faith (by which alone we both come into the fel-
lowship of Christ, and do cleave together with him) so that they haue a carnall pre-
sence of him, which they haue framed beside the word, they thinke that they haue him
present enough. Therefore in a summe, we seee that thus hath bene gotten by this
wittie fustlerie that bread was taken for God.

Chryso. Ser. de
spiritu sancto.

The manner of
presence which
the schoolemen
haue deuised in
this sacrament.

Lib. 4. dist.

14 From hence proceeded that same fained transubstantiation, for which at this day they fight more earnestly than for all the other articles of their faith. For the first builders of that locall presence could not vnwinde themselves from this doubt howe the bodie of Christ shoulde be mingled with the substance of bread, but that by and by many absurdities did thrust themselves in place. Therefore they were driuen of necessitie to flee to this inuention, that there is made a turning of bread into the body: not that the body is properly made to God, but because Christ that hee might hide himselfe vnder the forme, bringeth the substance to nothing. But it is maruellous, that they fell to so great ignorance, yea senselesse dulnesse, that not onely that Scripture but also the consent of the olde Church fighting against it, they brought abroad that monster. I grant indeede that some of the olde writers sometime vsed the name of turning: not for that they would destroy the substance in the outwarde signes, but that they might teach that the bread dedicate to the mysterie differeth far from common bread and is now other. But ech where they all plainly declare, that the holy supper consisteth of two partes, an earthly part, and a heauenly: and the earthly part they doe without controuerse expounde to be bread and wine. Truly whatioeuer they babble, it is plaine that in confirming of this doctrine they want the defence of antiquitie, which they oftentimes presume to set against the euident word of God. For it is not so long ago since it was inuented, it was verily vnknown not onely to those better ages, in which the purer doctrine of religion yet flourished, but also euen when that same purenesse was much defiled. There is none of the old writers that doth not in expresse wordes confesse that the holie signes in the supper are bread and wine: although, as we haue saide, they sometime set it out with diuers titles, to aduance the dignitie of the mysterie. For whereas they say that in the consecration is made a secret turning, that nowe it is another thing then bread and wine: I haue euen now giuen warning that they do not therby meane that the things themselves, are brought to nought, but that they are nowe to bee otherwise esteemed than common meats, which are appointed only to feede the belly: for as much as in them is deliuered to vs the spirituall meate and drinke of the soule. This we also deny not. If (say these men) there bee a turning, it must needes bee that there is of one thing made another thing. If they meane that there is some thing made which before was not, I agree with them. If they will drawe it to that is their owne imagination, let them answer me what change they thinke to be made in baptisme. For herein the fathers also do determine a maruellous turning, when they say that of a corruptible element is made a spirituall washing of the soule, yet none of them denieth that water remaineth. But (say they) there is no such thing in baptisme, as is that in the Supper. This is my body. As though the question were of those wordes, which haue a meaning plaine enough: and not rather of that worde of turning, which ought to signifie no more in the Supper than in baptisme. Therefore farewell they with these snares of syllables, whereby they doe nothing else but bewray their owne hungrienesse. For otherwise the signification woulde not agree together vnlesse the truth which is there figured, had a lively image in outwarde signe. Christes will was by the outwarde signe to testifye that his flesh is meate. If he did set before vs onely an empiric imaginatiue forme of bread not true bread, where were the correlation or similitude which should lead vs from the visible thing to the invisible? For, that all things may agree together, the signification shall extend no further, but that we be fed with the forme of the flesh of Christ. As, if in baptisme the forme of water shoulde deceiue our eyes, it shoulde not be to vs a certaine pledge of our washing: yea by that deceitfull shewe there is ouerthrowen, vnlesse in the manner of signifying the earthly signe answer to the heauenly thing. And therefore wee loose the truth of this mysterie, vnlesse true bread represent to vs the true bodie of Christ. I repeat it againe:

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Sith the supper is nothing else, than a visible testifying of that promise which is in the sixt Chapter of *Iohn*, namely that Christ is the bread of life, which came down from heauen: there must bee visible bread vsed for a meane whereby that same spirituall bread may be figured: vnlesse wee will that we loose all the fruite which in this behalfe God tenderly granteth to susteine our weakenes. Now by what reason shoulde *Paul* gather, that al we are one body and one bread, which do together partake of one bread, if there remained onely an imaginative forme and not rather a naturall truth of bread?

1. Cor. 10. 17.

The visible elements in this Sacrament changed not in respect of their nature but of their use onely.

Exo. 17. 6.

1. Cor. 10. 4.

15 But they could neuer haue bene so fowly beguiled with the deceites of Satan, but because they were already bewitched with this error, that the body of Christ inclosed vnder bread was by the bodily mouth sent downe into the bellie. The cause of so brutish imagination was, that consecration signified as much among them as a magicall enchantment. But this principle was drawn to them, that bread is a sacrament to none but to men, to whom the worde is directed: like as the water of baptism is not changed in it selfe, but so soone as the promise is adioyned, it beginneth to be that to vs which it before was not. This shall better appeere by example of a like 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 wine doth figure to vs in the Supper. For *Paul* teacheth that they drunke the same spirituall drinke. But it was a common watering for the beasts and cattell of the people. Whereupon it is easily gathered, that in earthly elements, when they are applied to a spirituall use, there is made no other turning but in respect of men, insomuch as they are to them seales of the promises. Moreouer sith Gods purpose is (as I often repeate) as it were by handsome chariots to lift vs vp to himselfe, they do by their waywardnes wickedly disappoint the same, which doe indeede call vs to Christ, but lurking inuisibly vnder bread. For it is not possible that the minde of men, vncombing it selfe from the immeasurableness of places, shoulde attaine to Christ euen about the heauens. That which nature denied them, they attempted to amende with a more hurtfull remedie: that abiding in earth, we shoulde neede no heauenly neerenesse of Christ. Loe, this is the necessitie, that compelled them to transfigure the bodie of Christ. In *Bernards* time, although a harder manner of speaking was growen in use, yet transubstantiation was not then knowne. And in all ages before that, this similitude did flie about in euerie mans mouth, that there is with bread and wine a spirituall thing ioyned in this mysterie. Of the wordes they answer as they thinke, wittilie: but bringing nothing fit for this present cause. The rodde of *Moses* (say they) being turned into a serpent, although it did get the name of a Serpent, yet keepeth still the olde name, and is called a rodde. So in their opinion it is as probable, that although the bread passe into a newe substance, it may be abusiuely and yet not vnaptly called that which it appeereth to the eies. But what likelihood or neerenesse find they betwene a cleere miracle, and their fained illusion, of which no eie in earth is witnesse? The Magicians had mocked with deceits, so that the *Ægyptians* were persuaded, that they excelled in diuine power to change creatures about the order of nature. *Moses* came forth, and driuing awaie all their deceites, shewed that the inuincible power of God was on his side, because his owne rod consumed all the rest. But forasmuch as that was a turning discernable with eies, therefore as wee haue saide, it pertaineth nothing to this present cause: and a little time after, the rod visible returned into his owne forme. Beside that it is not knowne, whether that sudden turning was of substance or no. Also the alluding to the rodde of the Magicians is to be considered, which the Prophet therefore would not call Serpents, least he should seeme to signifie a turning where none was: because those deceiuers had done nothing but cast a mist before the eies of the beholders. What likenes herewith haue these formes of speech. The bread which we breake, So oft $\alpha\alpha\lambda$ $\beta\epsilon$ shal eat this bread, They communicated in breaking

Exod. 4. 3.
& 7. 10.

1. Cor. 10. 26.
& 11. 26.
& 2. 24.

breakeing of bread, and such other? It is certaine that their eyes were onely deceiued with the enchauntment of the Magicians. As concerning *Moses*, the matter is more doubtfull, by whose hand it was no more hard for God to make of a rod a Serpent, and againe of a Serpent to make a rod, than to cloth Angels with fleshly bodies, and by and by after to vnclouth them. If the nature of this mysterie were the same or like, there were some colour for their solution. Let this therefore remaine certaine, that it is not truly nor fitly promised vs that in the Supper the flesh of Christ is truly to vs for meate, vnlesse the true substance of the outward signe agree with it. And (as one error groweth of another) the place of *Ieremie* is so foolishly wrested to prooue transubstantiation, that it irketh me to rehearse it. The Prophet complaineth that wood Ier. 11. 19. is put in his bread: meaning that by the crueltie of his enemies, his bread was infected with bitternesse. As *Dauid* with a like figure bewaileth that his meate was corrupted with gall, and his drinke with vineger. These men will haue it that the body of Christ was by way of allegorie fastened to the crosse. But some of the olde fathers thought so. As though we ought not rather to pardon their ignorance, and to burie their shame, than to adde shamelésnesse to compell them yet still to fight like enemies with the naturall meaning of the Prophet.

16 Other, which see that the proportionall relation of the signe and the thing signified, cannot be ouerthrowen, but that the truth of the mysterie must fall, doe confesse that the bread of the Supper is verily a substance of an earthly and corruptible element, and suffereth no change in it selfe, but hath vnder it selfe the body of Christ inclosed. If they did so declare their meaning, that when the bread is deliuered in the mysterie, there is adioyned the deliuering of the body, because the truth is vnseuerable from the signe: I would not much strue with them. But because they placing the body in the bread, doe faine to it a being euery where contrarie to the nature thereof, and in adding vnder the bread, they will haue it lie there hidden: it is necessarie a litle while to draw such sutleries out of their dennes. For my minde is not as of set purpose to go through with all this point: but onely that I may lay the foundations of the disputation which shall by and by follow in place fit for it. They will therefore haue the body of Christ to be inuisible and immeasurable, that it may be hid vnder the bread: because they thinke they doe not otherwise communicate with him than if he descend into the bread: but they comprehend not the manner of descending, whereby he listeth vs vpward to himselfe. They lay vpon it all the colours that they can: but when they haue said all, it sufficiently appeereth, that they stay vpon the local presence of Christ. Whence commeth that? euen because they can abide to conceiue no other partaking of the flesh and bloud, but which consisteth either of ioyning and touching of place, or of some grosse enclosing.

17 And, that they may obstinately defende the error once rashly conceiued, some of them sticke not to say, that the flesh of Christ had neuer any other measurings, but so farre and wide as heauen and earth is broad. Whereas he was borne a childe out of the wombe, whereas he grew, whereas he was spread abroad on the crosse, whereas he was inclosed in the sepulchre, the same was done by a certaine dispensation, that he might be borne and die, and performe the other duties of man. Whereas after his resurrection he was scene in his wonted forme of body, whereas he was taken vp to heauen, whereas last of all also after his ascension he was scene of *Stephen* and *Paul*: it was done by the same dispensation, that it might appeere to the sight of men that he was made a king in heauen. What is this else, but to raise vp *Marcion* out of hel. For no man can doubt that the body of Christ was a fantasie or a fantastical thing, if he was of such state. Some slip away somewhat more sutclly, with saying that this body which is giuen in the sacrament is glorious and immortall: and that therefore it is no absurditie, if it be contained in many places, if in no place, if with no forme, vnder the Sacrament. But I aske what manner of body Christ gaue:

The error of consubstantiation & the cause whereof it riseth.

The flesh of Christ by some grossly extended as wide as heauen and earth, by others suttelle imagined to bee because glorious therefore free from the naturall properties of things corporall.

Act. 1. 3. and 7. 55 and 9. 3.

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to the disciples, the day before that he suffered? doe not the wordes founde that he gaue the same mortall bodie, which was within a little after to be deliuered? He had already before (say they) shewed his glorie to be seene to three of the disciples. That is true in decde, but his will was by that brightnesse to giue them a taste of immortalitye for an hower. In the meane time they shall not there finde a double body, but that one body which Christ did beare, garnished with new glorie. But when he distributed his body at his first supper, the time was now at hande, when he being striken of God, and humbled shoulde lie without glorie as a leproous man: so farre is it off that he then would shew foorth the glorie of his resurrection. And how great a windowe is here opened to *Marcion*, if the body of Christ was seene in one place mortall and base, and in another place was holden immortall and glorious? Howbeit if their opinion take place, the same happeneth daily: because they are compelled to confesse that the bodie of Christ being visible in it selfe, lieth hid inuisibly vnder the signe of bread. And yet they that vomit out such monstrousnesse are so not ashamed of their owne shame, that they doe vnprovoked hainoufly raile at vs, because we doe not subscribe to them.

18 Now if they list to fasten the body and bloud of the Lord to bread and wine: the one shall of necessitie be plucked in sunder from the other. For as the bread is deliuered severally from the cup, so the body vnitd to the bread must needs be diuided from the bloud inclosed in the cup. For when they affirme that the body is in the bread and the bloud in the cup: and the bread and wine are by spaces of place distant the one from the other: they can by no shift escape, but that the body must be severed from the bloud. But whereas they are wont to alleage, that by a accompanying (as they faine) in the body is the bloud, and likewise in the bloud is the body, that verily is too trifling: for as much as the signes in which they are inclosed, are so severed. But if we be lifted vp with our eies and minds to heauen, that we seeke Christ there in the glorie of his kingdome: as the signes doe allure vs to him whole, so vnder the signe of bread, we shall be fed with his body, vnder the signe of wine we shall severally drinke his bloud, that at length we may enjoy him whole. For although he hath taken away his flesh from vs, and in his body is ascended vp into heauen, yet he sitteth at the right hand of the father, that is to say he reigneth in the power, and maiestie, and glorie of the father. This kingdome is neither bounded with any spaces of place, nor compassed about with any measurings, but that Christ may shew foorth his might wheresoever it pleaseth him both in heauen and in earth: but that he may shew himselfe present with power and strength: but that he may alway be at hande with them that be his breathing his life into them, may lue in them, strengthen them, quicken them, preferre them safe, euen as if he were present in body: finally, but that he may feede them with his owne body, the communion whereof hee doth by the power of his spirit powe into them. After this manner the body and bloud of Christ is deliuered to vs in the Sacrament.

19 But we must appoint such a presence of Christ in the supper, as may neither fasten him to the element of bread, nor shut him vp in the bread, nor by any meane compass him in, (for it is plaine that all these things abate his heavenly glorie) finally such as may neither take from him his owne measure, nor diuersly drawe him in many places at once, nor faile to him such an vnmeasurable greatnesse as is spread abroad throughout heauen and earth, for these things are plainly against the truth of the nature of manhood. Let vs (I say) neuer suffer these two exceptions to be taken away from vs. The one, that nothing be abated from the glorie of Christ, which is done, when he is brought vnder the corruptible elements of this world, or is bounde to any earthly creatures. The other, that nothing be by fayning, applied to his bodie, that agreeth not with the nature of man: which is done, when it is either saide to bee infinite, or is set in many places at once. But these absurdities being taken

away,

Mat. 17. 2.

Esa. 53. 4.

The bodie and bloud of Christ though not fastned vnto, yet spirituallly deliuered in the bread and wine of the holy Eucharist.

The true manner of Christes presence, & the substantiall communicating of his bodie and blood in the Lords supper made hateful to the world by the vnjust iudgements of men.

away, I willingly receiue whatsoeuer may auail to expresse the true and substantiall communicating of the bodie and bloud of the Lorde, which communicating is deliuered to the faithfull vnder the holy signes of the supper: and so that they may be thought not to receiue it by imagination onely or vnderstanding of minde, but to enioy it in deede to the foode of eternall life. Why this sentence is so hatefull to the worlde, and all defence taken away from it by the vniust iudgements of many, there is no cause at all, but for that the diuell hath with horrible bewitching madded their mindes. Truly that which we teach, doth in all points verie well agree with the Scriptures: it containeth neither any absurditie, nor darkenes, nor doubtfulness: it is not against true godlines and sound edification: finally, it hath nothing in it, that may offend, sauing that in certaine ages past, when that ignorance and barbarousnes of Sophisters reigned in the Church, so cleere light and open truth hath been vnworthily oppressed. Yet because Satan at this day also trauaileth by troublesome spiritres to spot it with all the slaunders and reproches that he can, and bendeth himselfe to no other thing with greater endeuour: it is profitable the more diligently to defende and rescue it.

20 Nowe before that we go any further, we must entreate of the selfe institution of Christ: specially because this is the most glorious obiection that our aduersaries haue, that we depart from the words of Christ. Therefore, that we may be discharged of the false cause of malice wherewith they burden vs, our fittest beginning shall be at the exposition of the words. Three Euanghlistes and *Paul* rehearse, that Christ tooke bread: when he had giuen thanks he brake it, gaue it to his disciples and said, Take, eate, this is my bodie which is deliuered, or broken for you. Of the cup *Matthewe* and *Marke* saie thus: This cup is the bloude of the newe Testament, which shall bee shed for manie vnto forgiveness of sinnes. But *Paul* and *Luke* saie thus: This cup is the newe testament in my bloude. The patrones of transubstantiation wil haue by the pronounce (this) the forme of bread to be signified, because the consecration is made in the whole content of the sentence, and there is no substance that can be shewed. But if they be holden with religious care of the words, because Christ testified, that that which he reached into the disciples handes, was his bodie: truly this their denise, that that which was bread is nowe the bodie, is most farre from the proper meaning of them. That which Christ tooke into his handes and gaue the Apostles, hee affirmeth to be his bodie: but he tooke bread: who therefore cannot vnderstande that bread is yet shewed? and therefore there is no greater absurditie, than to remooue that to the forme, which is spoken of the bread. Other, when they expound this worde (is) for (to be transubstantiate,) do flee to a more enforced and violently wrested glose. Therefore there is no cause why they shoulde pretende that they be mooued with reuerence of wordes. For this was vnheard of among all nations and languages, that the worde (is) shoulde be taken in this sense, namely for to be turned into another thing. As for them that leaue bread in the supper, and affirme that there is the body of Christ, they much differ among themselves. They which speake more modestly, although they precisely exact the letter. This is my bodie, yet afterwarde swaue from their precisensse, and say that it is as much in effect as that the body of Christ is with bread, in bread, and vnder bread. Of the matter it selfe which they affirme, we haue already touched somewhat, and we shall by and by haue occasion yet to speake more. Now I dispute onely of the wordes, by which they say they are restrained that they cannot admit bread to be called the bodie, because it is a signe of the bodie. But if they slunne all figures, why do they leape away from the plaine shewing of Christ, to their owne manners of speaking farre differing from it? For there is great difference betwene this that bread is the bodie, and this that the bodie is with bread. But because they saue it to be impossible, that this simple proposition might stande, that bread is the bodie: they haue attempted to scape

*The wordes of
Christes institutio,
in worde helde, in
deed peruerbed &
forsaken by the au-
thors as well of
transubstantiation
as consubstantiat-
ion.*

*Matt. 26. 26.
Mark. 14. 22.
Luk. 22. 17.
1. Cor. 11. 24.*

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away by those formes of speech, as it were by crooked turnings. Some more bolde sticke not to affirme that euen in proper speaking, bread is the body, and by this mean they truly prooue themselves to be literall men. If it be objected, that therefore the bread is Christ, and is God: this verilie they will denie, because it is not expressed in the wordes of Christ. But they shall nothing preuaile by denying it: forasmuch as all doe agree that whole Christ is offered vs in the Supper. But it is an intollerable blasphemie, that it be without figure spoken of a fraile and corruptible element, that it is Christ. Nowe I aske of them, whether these two propositions bee both of one effect, Christ is the sonne of God, and bread is the bodie of Christ. If they grant that they are diuerse, (which we will enforce them to grant whether they will or no) then let them answer whence commeth the difference. I thinke they will bring none other but that the bread is after the sacramentall manner called the body. Whereupon followeth, that Christes wordes are not subiect to the common rule, nor ought to be tried by Grammar. Also I aske of the precise and stiffe requirers of the letter, where *Luke* and *Paul* do call the Testament in the bloude, whether they do not expresse the same thing which they did in the first part, where they call bread the bodie. Truly the same religion was in the one part of the mysterie that was in the other: and because shortnesse is darke, longer speech doth better open the meaning. So oft therefore as they shall affirme by one worde, that the bread is the bodie: I will out of moe wordes bring a fit exposition, that it is the Testamēt in the bodie. For why? Shall we neede to seeke a more faithfull or surer expositor than *Paul* and *Luke*? Neither yet doe I tende heereunto, to diminish any thing of that communicating of the bodie of Christ which I haue confessed: onely my purpose is to confute that foolish waiwardnesse, whereby they doe so hatefully braule 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. Howsoever they crie out that they be touched with reuerence of the wordes of Christ, whereby they do not figuratiuely vnderstande those things that are plainly spoken: yet this is not a pretence rightfull enough, why they should refuse all the reasons which wee obiect to the contrarie. In the meane time, as I haue already giuen warning, it is conuenient to learne, what maner of thing this is, The testamēt in the body and bloud of Christ: because the couenant stablished with the sacrifice of death, shoulde otherwise not profite vs, vnlesse there were adioyned that secret communicating whereby we growe into one with Christ.

21 It remaineth therefore that for the affinitie which the things signified haue with their signes, we confesse that the selfe name of the thing was giuen to the signe: figuratiuely in deed, but not without a most fit proportionall agreement. I leaue allegories and parables, least any man shoulde quarrell that I seeke staringholes, and wander out of the present purpose. I say that this is a speech by figure of transnominatiō which is commonly vsed in the Scripture, when mysteries are entreated of. For neither can you otherwise vnderstand that which is saide: that circumcision is a couenant: that the lambe is the passeouer: that the Sacrifices of the law are expiations: finally that the rocke, out of which water flowed in the desert, was Christ, vnlesse you take it to be spoken by way of transferring of names. Neither are names transferred only from the higher name to the lower: but contrariwise the name of the visible signe is also giuen to the thing signified: as when it is said that God appeared to *Moses* in the bush: when the arke of couenant 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 corporall and visible: yet because it doth not onely figure the thing which it is holily appointed to represent, as a naked and empty token, but doth also truly deliuer it in deede: why

Luk. 22. 10.
1. Cor. 11. 25.

*Figuratiue speech
vsuall, and vnto
signes the names of
things signified gi-
uen when sacra-
mentall mysteries
are entreated of:
which thing S.
Augustine plain-
ly teacheth.*

Exod. 3. 2.
Psal. 84. 8. & 42. 3.
Matt. 3. 16.

may not the name of the thing rightly accorde with it? If signes deuised by men, which are rather images of things absent, then marks of things present, which selfe absent things, they doe oftentimes deceitfully shadowe, are yet sometime garnished with the titles of the things: then those things that are ordained of God, doe by much greater reason borrowe the name of those things, of which they alway both beare a sure and not deceitfull signification, and haue the truth adioyned with them. There is therefore so great likenesse and neerenesse of the one to the other, that it is easie to drawe their names to and fro. Therefore let our aduersaries cease to heape vnsaourie scoffings against vs, in calling vs Trinitists, because we expound the sacramentall manner of speaking after the common vse of the Scripture. For whereas the Sacraments agree together in many things: in this transferring of names, they haue all a certaine communitie together. As therefore the Apostle teacheth, that the stone out of which spirituall drinke did spring to the Israelites, was Christ, because it was a visible signe, vnder which that spirituall drinke was truly indeede but not discernably to the eye perceived: so bread is at this day called the bodie of Christ, for as much as it is a signe whereby the Lorde offereth to vs the true eating of his body. Neither did *Augustine* otherwise thinke or speake least any man should despise this as a new inuention. If (saith he) the sacraments had not a certaine likenesse of those things whereof they are sacraments, they should not be sacraments at all. And of this likenesse oftentimes they take the names of the things themselues. As therefore after a certaine manner the sacrament of the body of Christ, is the body of Christ: the sacrament of the bloud of Christ, is the bloud of Christ: so the sacrament of faith is faith. There be in him many like places, which it were superfluous to heape together, sith that one sufficeth: sauing that the readers must be warned that the holy man teacheth the same thing in the epistle to *Euodius*. But it is a trifling shift to say, that where *Augustine* teacheth, that when transferring is often and commonly vsed in mysteries, he maketh no mention of the Supper: because if this shift were receiued, we might not reason from the generaltie to the specialue, neither were this a good argument: Euerie feeling creature hath power of mouing, therefore an ox and an horse haue power of mouing. Howbeit long disputation hereof is in another place ended by the words of the same holy man, where he saith, that Christ sticke not to call it his body, when he gaue the signe of his body. Against *Adimantus* the Manichean, in the twelfth chapter, And in another place, vpon the third Psalme. Maruellous (saith he) is the patience of Christ, that he receiued *Judas* to the banquet, wherein he committed and deliuered to his disciples the figure of his body and bloud.

22 But if some precise man, being blinde at all the rest, doe stand onely vpon this word (this is) as though it seuered this mysterie from all other, the solution is easie. They say that the vehemence of the substantiue verbe (is) is so great that it admitteth no figure. Which if we graunt to them: even in the words of *Paul* is read the substantiue verbe, where he calleth bread the communicating of the body of Christ. But the communicating is another thing than the body it selfe. Yea commonly where Sacraments are entreated of, we finde the same word vsed. As: this shall be to you a couenant with me. This Lambe shall be to you a passeouer. To rehearse no more: when *Paul* saith that the rocke was Christ, why doe they take the substantiue verbe in that place to be of lesse vehemence than in the speech 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 tooke beginning at the ascension of Christ. Finally let them answer, what meaneth that saying of *Paul*, that Baptisme is the washing of regeneration and renewing, which it is euident to be vnprofitable to many. But nothing is stronger to confute them, than that saying of *Paul*, that the Church is Christ. For bringing a similitude of

1. Cor. 10. 4.

Epist. 23. ad
Bonifac.The force of the
substantiue verbe
in the words of
consecration.

1. Cor. 10. 16.

Gen. 17. 13.
Exod. 12. 43.
1. Cor. 10. 4.

Iohn. 17. 39.

Tit. 3. 5.

1. Cor. 11. 12.

the

the body of man, he addeth, So is Christ: in which place he vnderstandeth the onely begotten sonne of God, not in himselfe, but in his members. Hereby I thinke I haue obtained that to sound witted and vncorrupted men the slaunders of our enemies, are lothsome, when they spread abroade, that we withdraw credite from the words of Christ: which we doe no lesse obediently embrace than they, and doe weigh them with more godly reuerence. Yea their negligent carelesnesse sheweth that they doe not greatly care what Christ meant, so that it giue them a buckler to defend their obstinacie: like as our earnest searching ought to be a witnesse how much we esteeme the authoritie of Christ. They odiously spread abroade, that naturall sense of man withholdeth vs from beleueing that which Christ hath vttered with his owne holy mouth: but how maliciously they burden vs with this slander, I haue a great parr already made plaine, and hereafter it shall more cleerely appeere. Therefore nothing withholdeth vs from beleueing Christ when he speaketh, nor from obeying so soone as he doth but with becke will this or that. Onely this is the question, whether it be vnlawfull to inquire of the naturall meaning.

The words and syllables of Christs speech not so precisely to be stood vpon, as all exposition be reiected which being sound and sober bringeth light, but no discredit vnto the speaker.

23 These good masters, that they may seeme well lettered, doe forbid men to depart be it neuer so little from the letter. But I on the other side, when the scripture nameth God a warlike man, because I see that without figuratiue translation it is too rough a manner of speaking, doe not doubt that it is a comparison taken from men. And truly vpon none other pretence in the olde time the Anthropomorphites troubled the true teaching fathers, but that catching fast hold of these sayings, The eyes of God doe see, It went vp to his eares, His hand stretched out, The earth his foote-stoole, they cried out that God had his body taken from him, which the Scripture assigneth vnto him. If this law be receiued, outrageous barbarousnes shall ouerwhelme the whole light of faith. For what monsters of absurdities may not phrenetike men picke out, if it be granted them to alleage euery small title to stablish their opinions? That which they obiekt, 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 minds of the Apostles that bread was figuratiuely called the body, because it was the signe of the body, they had without doubt been troubled with so monstrous a thing. Almost at the same moment *John* reporteth that they did sticke in perplexitie at euery of the least difficulties. They which strue among themselues, how Christ wil go to the father: and do moue question, how he wil go out of the world: they which vnderstand nothing of those things that are spoken concerning the heauenly father, till they see him: how would they haue been so easie to beleue that which al reason refuseth, that Christ sitteth at the boord in their sight, and is inclosed inuisible vnder bread? Whereas therefore they in eating the bread without doubting, testified their consent, hereby appeereth that they tooke Christes wordes in the same sense that we doe, because they remembered that which ought not to seeme strange in mysteries, that the name of the thing signified is transferred to the signe. Therefore it was to the discipline, as it is to vs, a certaine and cleere comfort, entangled with no riddle. Neither is there any other cause why some should depart from our exposition, but because the inchantment of the diuell hath blinded them, namely that they should faime darknesse to themselues, where the exposition of an apt figure offereth it selfe. Moreover if wee precisely stande vpon the wordes, Christ should wrongfully haue spoken in one place generally another thing concerning the bread than he speaketh of the cup. He calleth the bread his bodie, he calleth the wine his blood: either it shall be a confused vaine repetition, or it shall be such a parition as shall diuide the body from the blood. Yea it shall as truly be saide of the cup, This is my body, as of the bread it selfe, and it may likewise interchangeably be saide, that the bread is the blood, If they answer that we must consider to what ende or vse the signes were ordained: I graunt it in deede: but in the meane

time they shall not vnwinde themselves, but that their error must draw this absurditie with it, that the bread is the blood, and the wine is the body. Now 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 indeede a thing differing from a man, and yet that it is properly called a man. In the meane while as though their victorie consisted in obstinacie and railing, they say that Christ is accused of lying, if an exposition be sought of the wordes. Now it shall be easie for vs to shew to the Readers how vnjust wrong these catchers of syllables doe vs, when they fill the simple with this opinion, that we withdraw credit from the words of Christ, which we haue proued to be furiously peruerted and confounded by them, but to be faithfully and rightly expounded by vs.

24 But the slander of this lie cannot be vtterly purged, till another crime be wiped away. For they spread abroad, that we be so addicted to naturall reason, that we giue no more to the power of God, than the order of nature suffereth and common sense teacheth. From so malicious slanders I appeale to the very doctrine it selfe which I haue declared: which doth clearly enough shew, that I doe not measure this mystery by the proportion of mans reason, nor doe make it subiect to the lawes of nature. I beseech you, haue we learned out of naturall physilosophie, that Christ doth so from heauen feede our Soules and bodies with his flesh, as our bodies are nourished with bread and wine? Whence commeth this power to flesh, that it may giue life? All men will say that it is not done naturally. It will no more please mans reason, that the flesh of Christ reacheth to vs, that it may be food vnto vs. Finally whosocuer hath tasted of our doctrine, shall be rauished into admiration of the secret power of God. But these good men that be so zealous of it, forge to themselves a miracle, which being taken away, God himselfe vanissheth with his power. I desire to haue the Readers once againe warned, that they diligently wey what our doctrine bringeth, whether it hang vpon common sense, or with the winges of Faith, surmounting the world, climbeth vp beyond it into the heauens. We say that Christ as well with the outward signe as with his spirit, descendeth to vs, that he may truly quicken our soules with the substance of his flesh and of his blood. In these few words he that perceiueh not to be contained many miracles, is more than senselesse: forasmuch as there is nothing more beside nature, than that Soules should borow spirituall and heauenly life, of the flesh which tooke her beginning of the earth, and which was subiect to death. Nothing is more incredible, than that things distant and a sunder by the whole space of heauen and earth, should in so great distance of places not onely be conioyned but also vnited, that Soules may receiue foode of the flesh of Christ. Therefore let wayward men cease to procure hatred to vs, by a filthy slander, as though we did enuiously restrain any thing of the immeasurable power of God. For they doe either too foolishly erre or too maliciously lie. For it is not here in question what God could, but what he would. We affirme that to be done which pleased him. But it pleased him, that Christ should be made like to his brethren in all things, except sin. What maner of thing is our flesh? Is it not such as consisteth of the certaine measure of it, as is contained in place, as is touched, as is scene? And why (say they) may not God make, that one selfe same flesh may occupie many and diuers places, may be contained in one place, may be without measure and forme? Thou mad man, why requirest thou of the power of God to make flesh at one selfe time to be and not to be flesh? Like as if thou shouldst instantly require, him to make at one selfe time the light to be both light and darkenes. But he willet light to be light, darknesse to be darknesse, flesh to be flesh. He shall in deede when it pleaseth him, turne darkenes into light, and light into darkenes, but when thou requirest that light and darkenesse may not differ, what doest thou else but peruert the order of the wisdome of God?

The unmeasurable power of God not at all diminished by them who refuse the doctrine of consubstantiation.

Heb. 4. 15.

Therefore flesh must be flesh: and Spirite Spirite, every thing in such law and condition as God hath created it. But such is the condition of flesh, that it must be in one yea and that a certaine place, and consist of her measure and of hir forme. With this condition Christ tooke flesh vpon him, to which (as *Augustine* witnesseth) he hath giuen indeed vncorruption and glory, but he hath not taken from it nature and truth.

Ep. ad Dard.

They that make
Christ to lurke in-
uisible vnder
bread, are neither
thereunto led by
the wordes of
Christ, nor helpe
therein by Gods
almightines.
1. Cor. 15. 47.
Phil. 2. 7.

25 They answer, that they haue the worde, whereby the will of God is made plaine: namely if it be graunted them to banish out of the Church the gift of exposition, which may bring light to the word, I grant that they haue the word: but such as in olde time the Anthropomorphites had, when they made God hauing a body: such as *Marcion* and the Manichees had, when they fained the body of Christ to be, either heauenly or phantasticall. For they alleaged for testimonies, The first *Adam* was of the earth earthly, the second *Adam* is of heauen, heauenly: Againe, Christ abased himselfe, taking vpon him the forme of a seruant, and was found in likenes as a man. But the grosse eaters thinke that there is no power of God, vnlesse with the monster forged in their braines, the whole order of nature be ouerthrowen: which is rather to limite God, when we couet with our fained inuentions to prooue what he can doe. For out of what word haue they taken that the body of Christ is visible in heauen, but lurketh inuisible in earth vnder innumerable litle peeces of bread? They will say that necessitie requireth this that the body of Christ should be giuen in the supper. Verily because it pleased them to gather a fleshly eating out of the wordes of Christ: they being caried away by their owne foreiudgement, were driuen to necessitie to coine this subtletie, 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 praise of it is very honorably set out. But forasmuch as they alway accuse vs, that we defraud God of his honor, when we refuse that which according to common sense is hard to be beleued, although it haue been promised by the mouth of Christ: I make againe the same ansuere that I made euen now, that in the mysteries of Faith we doe not aske counsell of common sense, but with quiet willingnes to learne, and with the spirite of meekenes, which *Iames* commendeth, we receive the doctrine come from heauen. But in that when they perniciously erre, I deny not that we follow a profitable moderation. They hearing the words of Christ, This is my body, imagine a miracle most far from his mind. But when out of this fained inuention arise fowle absurdities, because they haue already with headlong hast put snares vpon theselues, they plunge themselves into the bottomlesse depth of the almightines of God, that by this meane they may quench the light of truth. Hereupon commeth that proude precisenes: We will not know how Christ lieth hid vnder the bread, holding our selues contented with this saying of his, This is my body. But we, as we doe in the whole Scripture, doe with no lesse obedience than care, studie to obtaine a sound vnderstanding of this place: neither doe we with preposterous heate rashly and without choise catch hold of that which first thrusteth it selfe into our mindes: but vsing diligent musing vpon it, we embrace the meaning which the spirite of God ministrerh: and standing thereupon we doe from aloft despise whatsoever earthly wisdom is set against it. Yea we hold our mindes captiue that they may not be bolde so much as with one litle word to carpe against it: and doe humble them, that they may not dare to rise vp against it. Hereupon sprung vp the exposition of the wordes of Christ, which to be by the continuall vsage of the Scripture common to all Sacraments, all they that haue been thought but meanely exercised therein, doe know. Neither doe we, after the example of the holy Virgin, thinke it lawfull for vs, in a hard matter to enquire how it may be done.

1. Cor. 1. 21.

Luke 1. 34.

Christe: prouoed by
Scripture not to be
our earsh according

26 But because nothing shall more auile to confirme the Faith of the Godly, than when they haue learned that the doctrine which we haue taught is taken out

of the word of God, and standeth vpon the authoritie thereof: I will make this also euident with as great briefenes as I can. The body of Christ, since the time that it rose againe, not *Aristotle* but the Holy Ghost teacheth to be limited, and that it is comprehended in heauen vntill the last day. Neither am I ignorant that they boldly mocke out those places that are alleaged for this purpose. So oft as Christ saith that he will depart, leauing the world, they answer that that departing is nothing else but a changing of mortall state. But after this manner, Christ should not set the Holy Ghost in this place to supply (as they call it) the want of his absence: forasmuch as he doth not succede into this place, nor Christ himselfe doth descend againe: out of the heauenly glory to take vpon him the state of mortall life. Truly the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the ascending of Christ are things set as contrary: therefore it cannot be that Christ should according to the flesh dwell with vs after the same manner that he sendeth his Spirit. Moreouer he in plaine words expresth, that he will not be alway with his Disciples in the world. Thus saying also they thinke that they doe gayly wipe away, as though Christ said that he will not alway be poore and miserable or subiect to the necessities of this fraile life. But the circumstance of the place cryeth plainely to the contrarie, because there is not intreated of pouertie and neede, or of the miserable state of earthly life, but of worship and honor. The anointing pleased not the Disciples, because they thought it to be a superfluous and vnprofitable cost, and neere vnto riotous excesse, therefore they had rather that the price thereof which they thought to be ill wasted, had bene bestowed vpon the poore. Christ answereth that he shall not alway be present that he may be worshipped with such honour. And none otherwise did *Augustine* expound it, whose words be these which are nothing doubtfull. When Christ said, Ye shall not alway haue me, he spake of the presence of his body. For according to his maiestie, according to his providence, according to his vnspeakeable and inuisible grace, this was fulfilled which he said, behold, I am with you euen to the ending of the world. But according to the flesh which the word tooke vnto him, according to this that he was borne of the Virgin, according to this that he was taken of the Iewes, that he was fastened to the tree, that he was taken downe from the crosse, that he was wrapped in linnen clothes, that he was laid in the graue, that he was manifestly shewed in the resurrection, this was fulfilled, Yee shall not alway haue me with you. Why so? Because he was conuerfant according to the presence of his body fortie daies with his Disciples, and while they accompanied him in seeing not in following he ascended. He is not here: for he sitteth there at the right hand of the Father. And yet he is here: because he is not gone away in presence of Maiestie. Otherwise according to the presence of Maiestie we haue Christ alway: and according to the presence of the flesh it is rightly said, But me ye shall not alway haue. For according to the presence of the flesh, the Church had him a few daies: now she holdeth him by Faith, but seeth him not with eies. Where (that I may note this also briefly) he maketh him present to vs three waies, by maiestie, providence, and vnspeakeable grace, vnder which I comprehend this marvellous communion of his body and blood: if so that we vnderstand it to be done by the power of the holy Ghost, not by that fained enclosing of his body vnder the element. For our Lord hath testified, that he hath flesh and bones which may be felt and seene. And to goe away and Ascende doe not signifie to make a shew of one ascending and going away, but to doe in dede that which the words founde. Shall we then (will some man say) assigne to Christ some certaine coast of heauen? But I answer with *Augustine* that this is a most curious and superfluous question, if so that yet we beleeue that he is in heauen.

27 But what doth the name of ascending so oft repeated? doth it not signifie a remoouing from one place to another? They deny it: because after their opinion, by height is onely signified Maiestie of Empire. But what meaneth the very manner

so the presence of
the flesh, but onely
by maiestie, prou-
idence and grace.

Iohn 14.22.&: 28.

Matt. 26. 11.

Tract. in Ioh. 50.

Matt. 28. 20.

Lib. de side sym.
cap. 16.

Ascending sobi-
tically expounded
to be nothing else
but conuenance
out of sight.

Cap. 17. Of the outward meanes

Actes 1.9.
Mar. 16. 16.
Luke 24. 31.

of ascending? was he not in sight of his Disciples looking on, lifted vp on high? Doe not the Euangelistes plainelie declare that he was taken vp into the heauens? These wittie Sophisters doe answer that with a cloud set betweene him and them hee was conueyed out of their sight, that the faithfull might learne that from thence forth he should not be visible in the world. As though, to make credit of his inuisible presence, he ought not rather to vanish away in a moment, or as though the cloud ought not rather to compas him before that he stirred his foote. But when he is caried vp on high into the aire, and with a cloud cast vnderneath him, teacheth that he is no more to be sought in the earth: we safely gather, that now he hath his dwelling place in the heauens: as *Paul* also affirmeth, and from thence biddeth vs to looke for him. After this maner the Angels warned the Disciples, that they in vaine gazed vp into heauen: because Iesus which is taken vp into heauen, shall so come as they haue seene him goe vp. Here also the aduersaries of sound doctrine start away with a pleasant shift as they thinke, saying that he shall then come visible, which neuer went out of the earth but that he abideth inuisible with them that be his. As though the Angels did there signifie a double presence, and doe not simply make the Disciples witnesses of his going vp seeing it with their eies, that no doubting might remaine: euen as if they had said: he in your sight beholding it, being taken vp into heauen, hath claimed to himselfe the heauenly Empire: it remaineth that ye patiently abide in expectation, till he come againe the Iudge of the world: because he is now entred into heauen, not that he may alone possesse it, but that he may gather together with him you and all the godly.

Phil. 3. 10.

Augustine wrested and abused by the maintainers of consubstantiation.

28 But forasmuch as the defenders of this bastard doctrine are not ashamed to garnish it with the consenting voices of the old writers, and specially of *Augustine*: I will in few wordes declare how peruersly they goe about it. For whereas their testimonies haue bene gathered together of learned and godly men, I will not doe a thing already done: let him that will, seeke them out of their workes. I will not heape together, neither out of *Augustine* himselfe, all that might make to the purpose: but will be content to shew by a fewe that he is without contradiction 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 once offered in the crosse: it is but twising: sith he also calleth it either thanksgiuing, or the Sacrament of the body. But in what sense he useth the words of flesh and blood, we neede not to seeke with long compassing about: forasmuch as he declareth himselfe, saying that Sacramentes take their names of the likenes of the things which they signifie: and that therefore after a certaine manner the sacrament of the body is the body. Wherewith accordeth another place which is well enough knowen, The Lord sticed not to say, This is my body, when he gaue the signe of it. Againe they obiekt, that *Augustine* writeth expressly, that the bodie of Christ falleth to the ground, and entreth into the mouth: euen in the same sense, that he affirmeth it to be consumed, because he ioyneth them both together. Neither doth that make to the contrary, which he saith, that when the mystery is ended the bread is consumed: because he had a litle before said: sith these things are knowen to men, forasmuch as they are done by men, they may haue honor as things: but as maruellous things, they may not. And to no other end tendeth that which our aduersaries doe too vnadvisedly dray to thein selues: that Christ did (after a certaine manner) beare himselfe in his owne hands, when he reacheth the mysticall bread to the Disciples. For by enterlacing this aduerbe of likenesse (after a certaine maner) he sufficiently declareth, that he was not truly nor really inclosed vnder the bread. And no maruell: sith in another place he plainely affirmeth that bodies, if spaces of places be taken from them, shall be no where: and because they shall be no where, they shall not be at all. It is a hungry caullation, to say that in that place is not entreated

Ad Bonifac.
Epist. 25.

Contra Adama.
Mani. Lib. 12.

Lib. 5. de trin. c.

In Psal. 33.

entreated of the Supper, in which God vttereth speciall power : because the question was mooued concerning the flesh of Christ, and the holy man of set purpose answering saith : Christ gaue immortalitye to his flesh, but tooke not nature from it. After this forme it is not to be thought that he is ech where spread abroad : for we must beware that we do not so affirme the Godhead of the man, that we take away the truth of the body. And it followeth not, that that which is in God must be eche where as GOD is. There is a reason by and by added : for one person is God and man, and both are one Christ : ech where, by this that he is God : in heauen, by this that he is man. What a negligence had it beene, not to except the mystery of the Supper being a thing so earnest and weighty, if there had beene in it any thing against the doctrine which he entreated of. And yet if a man doe heedelessly read that which followeth within a litle after, he shall finde that vnder that generall doctrine, the Supper is also comprehended, that Christ the onely begotten Sonne of God and the same the Son of man, is ech where whole present as God : that he is in the Temple of God (that is in the Church) God as it were there dwelling, & in some certayne place of heauen by reason of the measure of his true body. We see how, to the vniing of Christ with the Church, hee doth not drawe his body out of Heauen : which surely he would haue done, if the body of Christ were not truly meate to vs vnlesse it were enclosed vnder bread. In an other place defining how the faithfull doe now possesse Christ. Thou hast him (saith he) by the signe of the Crosse, by the Sacrament of Baptisme, by the meate and drinke of the Altar. How rightly he reckoneth a superstitious vsage among the signes of the presence of Christ, I doe not now dispute : but he that compareth the presence of the flesh to the signe of the Crosse, sufficiently sheweth that he faineth not a two bodied Christ, that the same he may lurke hidden vnder the bread, which sitteth visible in heauen. If this neede plainer declaration, it is by and by after added in the same place, that according to the presence of maiestie, we alway haue Christ : that according to the presence of the flesh, it is rightly saide, Me ye shall not alway haue. They answere, that this is also added, that according to an vspeakeable and inuisible grace, it is fulfilled which is said of him, I am with you, euen vnto the ending of the world. But that is nothing for their aduantage : because this is at length restrained to his maiestie, which is euer in comparison set against the body, and his flesh by expresse name is made different from his grace and power. As in an other place the same comparison of contraries is read in him, that Christ by bodily presence left the Disciples, that by spirituall presence he may be still with them : where it is plaine that the substance of the flesh is distinguished from the power of the spirite, which coniyneth vs with Christ, though we be otherwise farre fettered by distance of places. The same manner of speaking he oftentimes vseth, as when he saith: He is to come againe to the quicke and the dead with bodily presence, according to the rule of Faith and sound doctrine. For with spirituall presence he was also to come to them, and to abide with the whole Church in the world vntill the ending of the world. Therefore this speech is directed to the beleeuers whom he had already begonne to saue with bodily presence, and whom he was to leaue with bodily absence : that he might with his Father saue them with spirituall presence. To take bodily for visible is but trifling : sith he setteth also the body in comparison against the diuine power : and adding (to saue with the Father) he clearly expresth that he doth poure abroad his grace from heauen to vs by his Spirite.

29 And sith they put so much confidence in this lurking hole of inuisible presence, goe too let vs see how well they hide themselves in it. First they shall not bring fourth one syllable out of the Scriptures, whereby they may prouue that Christ is inuisible : but they take that for confessed which no man that hath his sounde wit will graunt them, that the body of Christ can not otherwise be giuen in the Supper but being couered with the visor of bread. And this is the very point about which

Epist. ad Dardan.

Tract. 50. in Ioh.

Matt. 26. 11.

Matt. 28. 20.

The body of Christ
by glory not made
inuisible, which
ph. 3. 21. concerning
Christ hath no manner
of ground in
Scripture.

Act. 3. 21.

Luke 24. 39.

Phil. 3. 21.

they strue with vs, so farre is it off from hauing the place of a principle. And when they so babble, they are compelled to make a double body of Christ: because after their opinion it is in it selfe visible in heauen, but inuisible in the Supper after a speciall maner of dispensation. But how truly this agreeth, it is easie to iudge both by other places of Scripture, and by the witness of *Peter*. *Peter* saith that Christ must be holden or contained in heauen, till he come againe. These men teach that he is euery where, but without forme. They take exception & say that it is vnjust 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 *Seruius*, (which is worthily to be abhorred of all the godly) that the body was swallowed vp of the Godhead. I doe not say that they thinke so. But if this be reckoned among the qualities of a glorified body, to fill all things 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 bee of so many fashions and diuers, that it is scene in one place, and is inuisible in another: where is the very nature of a bodie which consisteth of his measured proportions? and where is vntie? Much more rightly doth *Tertullian* say, which affirmeth that the bodie of Christ was a true and naturall body, because in the mysterie of the Supper the figure of it is set before vs for a pledge and assurance of the spirituall life. And verily Christ saide of his glorified body, see and feele, for a Spirit hath not flesh and bones. Loe by Christs owne mouth the truth of the flesh is prooued, because it can be felt and scene: Take away these thinges, then it shall cease to be flesh. They shall see to their denue of dispensation which they haue framed to themselues. But it is our parte so to embrace that which Christ absolutely pronounceth, that that which he meaneth to affirme may be of force with vs without exception. He prooueth himselfe to be no Ghost, because he is visible in his flesh. Let that be taken away which he claimeth as proper to the nature of his body: must they not then be faine to come a newe definition of a body? Nowe whither soeuer they turne themselues about, their fained dispensation hath no place in that place of *Paul* where he saith, that we looke for a Sauiour from heauen which shall fashion our base body like 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 found any man so dull witted whom they may make to beleue to great an absurditie. Let them not therefore ascribe this gift to Christs glorified body, to be at once 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 Christ being clothed with heauenly glory, did not put off his flesh, who shall make vs in our flesh fellowes and parteners of the same glory, when we shall haue the resurrection common with him. For what doth the Scripture teach more plainly, than that as Christ did put on our true flesh when he was borne of the Virgine, & suffered in our true flesh when he satisfied for vs: so he receiued againe also the same true flesh in rising againe, and caried it vp to heauen? For this is to vs the hope of our resurrection and ascending into heauen, that Christ is risen againe and ascended: and (as *Tertullian* saith) hee caried the earnest of our resurrection into the heauens with him. Now how weake and fraile should that hope be, vnlesse this our selfe flesh had bene raised vp with Christ and entred into the kingdome of heauen? But this is the proper truth of a body, to be contained in space, to consist of his measured proportions, to haue his forme. Therefore away with this foolish deuise, which doth fasten both the mindes of men and Christ to the bread. For to what purpose serueth the secret presence vnder bread, but that they which couet to haue Christ ioyned with them, may rest in that signe? But the Lorde himselfe willed vs to withdraw not onely our eyes but all our senses from the earth, forbidding himselfe to be touched

of the women vntill he had gone vp to his Father. When he seeth *Marie* with godly zeale of reuerence to make haste to kisse his feete, there is no cause why he should disallowe and forbid this touching till hee haue beene taken vp into heauen, but because he will be sought no where else. Whereas they obiekt that he was afterward fene of *Stephen*, the solution is easie. For neither was it therefore necessarie that *Christ* should change place, which could giue to the eyes of his seruant such sharpnesse of sight as might pearce through the heauens. The same also is to be saide of *Paul*. Whereas they obiekt that *Christ* came out of the Sepulchre being shut: and entred in among the disciples, the doores being shut: that maketh neuer a whit more for maintenance of their error. For as the water like a salt pauement made a way to *Christ* walking vpon the lake: so it is no maruell, if at his comming the hardnes of the stone yeelded it selfe. Howbeit it is more prooueable, that by his commandement the stone was remooued, and by and by after passage giuen him returned into his place. And to enter the doores being shut, is not as much in effect as to pearce through the whole substance, but by diuine power to open an entrie for himselfe, that he suddenly stode among the disciples, verily after a maruellous maner, when the doores were fast locked. That which they alleage out of *Luke*, that *Christ* suddenly vanished away from the eyes of the disciples with whom he went to *Emmaus*, pofiteth them nothing, and maketh for vs. For, that he might take away the sight of himselfe from them, he was not made inuisible, but onely went out of sight. As when he went in iourney together with them (as the same *Luke* witnesseth) he did not put on a newe face, that he might not be knowen, but held their eyes. But these fellows do not only transforme *Christ*, that he may be conuersant in earth, but in diuers places they make him diuers and vnlike himselfe. Finally, in so trifling they do not by one word in deed, but by a circumstance, make of the flesh of *Christ* a spirit: and not contented therewith, they put vpon it altogether contrarie qualities. Whereupon of necessitie followeth that it is double.

Iohn. 20. 27.
Act. 7. 56.
Act. 9. 4.
Mat. 28. 6.
Iohn. 20. 19.
Matt. 14. 25.

Luk. 24. 3. 1.

Luk. 24. 16.

30 Now although we graunt them that which they prate of the inuisible presence, the vnmeasurableness shall not be yet prooued, without which they shall in vaine attempt to enclose *Christ* vnder bread. Vnlesse the bodie of *Christ* may be euerie where at once, without any compasse of place, it shall not be likely that he lieth hidden vnder bread in the supper. By which necessitie they brought in the monstrous being enerie where. But it is shewed by strong and plaine witness 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 alleage, to be drawn to the bodie, I am with you euen to the ending of the world. First the continual conioyning cannot stand, vnlesse *Christ* dwell in vs corporally without the vse of the supper. Therefore there is no iust cause why they should so sharply brawle about the wordes of *Christ*, that they may in the Supper enclose *Christ* vnder bread. Againe the text it selfe prooueth, that *Christ* speaketh nothing lesse than of his flesh, but promiseth to his disciples inuincible helpe, whereby he may defend & sustaine them against all the assaultes of Satan and the world. For when he emoynd them a hard charge: least they should doubt to take it in hand, or should fearefully execute it, he strengtheneth them with affiance of his presence: as if he had said, that his succour shall not faile them, which shall be impossible to be ouercome. Vnlesse they listed to confound all things, ought they not to haue made distinction of the manner of presence. And verily some had rather with great shame to vter their ignorance, than to yeeld neuer so little of their error. I speake not of the Papistes: whose doctrine is more tolerable, or at the least more shamefast. But contentiounes so carrieth some away, that they say that by reason of the natures vnted in *Christ*, wherefoeuer the Godhead of *Christ* is, there is also his flesh, which cannot

Though the inuisibility of the body of Christ were granted, yet the vnmeasurableness thereof, which being denied, taketh away the presence of Christ in or vnder the bread, was both condemned in the heresie of Eutiches and hath in Scripture no colour of proofe.
Matt. 2. 20.

be seuered from his Godhead. As though that same vnying haue compounded of those two natures I wote not what meane thing which was neither God nor man. So indeede did *Eutiches* and after him *Seruetus*. But it is plainly gathered out of the Scripture, that the onely one person of Christ doth so consist of two natures, that either of them hath still her owne propertie remaining safe. And that *Eutiches* was rightfully condemned, they will be ashamed to denie: it is maruell that they marke not the cause of his condemning, that taking away the difference betweene the natures, enforcing the vntie of person, he made of God man, and of man God. What madnesse therefore is it, rather to mingle heauen and earth together, than not to draw the body of Christ out of the heauenly sanctuarie? For whereas they bring for themselves these testimonies, None is gone vp to heauen but he that is come downe 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 point of like senseless dulnesse, to despite the communicating of properties which was in olde time not without cause inuented of the holy Fathers. Truly, when the Lord of glorie is said to be crucified, *Paule* doth not meane that he suffered any thing in his Godhead: but because the same Christ which being an abiect and despised in the flesh did suffer, was both God and Lord of glorie. After this maner also the Sonne of man was in heauen: because the selfe same Christ, which according to the flesh did dwell the Sonne of man in earth, was God in heauen. In which sort he is saide to haue descended from the saide place according to his Godhead: not that the Godhead did forsake heauen, to hide it selfe in the prison of the body: but because, although it filled all things, yet in the verie manhood of Christ it dwelled corporally, that is to say naturally and after a certaine vn-speakable maner. It is a common distinction in schooles, which I am not ashamed to rehearse: that although whole Christ be euerie where, yet not the whole that is in him is euerie where. And I would to God the schoolemen themselves had well weyed the pith of this saying: for so should the vnfauorie inuention of the fleshy presence of Christ haue bin met withall. Therefore our mediator, sith he is whole euerie where, is alway at hand with his, and in the supper after a speciall maner giueth himselfe present: but yet so, that whole he is present, not the whole that he is: because, as it is said, in his flesh he is contained in heauen til he appeare to iudgement.

Iohn. 3. 13.

Iohn. 1. 13.

1. Cor. 2. 8.

*Christ present in
the supper though
he descend not
to present his body
visible in bread.*

31 But they are far deceiued, which conceiue no presence of the flesh of Christ in the supper, vnlesse it be made present in bread. For so they leaue nothing to the secret working of the Spirit, which vniteth Christ himselfe vnto vs. They thinke not Christ present, vnlesse he come downe to vs. As though if he did lift vs vp to him, we should not aswell enjoy his presence. Therefore the question is onely of the maner: because they place Christ in the bread, but we thinke it not lawfull for vs to plucke him out of Heauen. Let the readers iudge whether is the righter. Onely let this caillation be driuen away, that Christ is taken away from his supper, vnlesse hee be hidden vnder the couer of bread. For sith this mysteric is heauenly, it is no need to draw Christ into the earth, that he may be ioyned to vs.

*The maner of the
presence of Christ
in the sacrament
incomprehensible
inexplicable.*

32 Now if any man do aske me of the manner, I will not be ashamed to confesse, that it is a higher secret than that it can be either comprehended with my wit, or vitered with my words: and, to speake it more plainly, I rather feele it, than I can vnderstand it. Therefore I do herein without controuersie embrace the truth of God, in which I may safely rest. He pronounceth that his flesh is the meate of my soule, and his blood is the drinke. With such soode I offer my soule to him to be fedde. In his holy Supper he commaundeth me vnder the signes of breade and wine to take, eat, and drinke his bodie and blood. I nothing doubt that both he doth truly deliuer them, and I do receiue them. Onely I refuse the absurdities, which appeare to be either vnwoorthy of the heauenly maiestie of Christ, or disagreeing from the truth of his nature of manhood: for as much as they must also fight with the word of God,

which

which also teacheth that Christ was so taken vp into the glory of the heavenly kingdom that it lifteth him vp above all estate of the world, and no lesse diligently setteth forth in his nature of man, those things that are properly belönging to his true maöhood. Neither ought this to seeme incredible, or not consonant to reason, because as the whole kingdome of Christ is spirituall, so whatsoeuer he doth with his Church, ought not to be reduced to the reason of this world. Or, that I may vse the wordes 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 great effectualnes, that it not onely bringeth to our mindes vndoubted trust of eternall life, but also assureth vs of the immortalitie of our flesh. For it is now quickned of his immortal flesh, & after a certaine maner communicateth of his immortalitie. They which are caried about this with their excessive speeches, doe nothing but with such entanglements darken the simple and plaine truth. If any be not yet satisfied, I would haue him here a while to consider with me, that we now speake of a sacrament, all the parts whereof ought to be referred to faith. But we do no lesse deintly and plentifully feed faith with this partaking of the body which we haue declared, than they that plucke Christ himselfe out of heauen. In the meane time I plainly confesse, that I refuse that mixture of the flesh of Christ with our soule, or the pouring out of it such as they teach: because it sufficeth vs, that Christ doth out of the substance of his flesh breath life into our soules, yea doth power into vs his owne life, although the very flesh of Christ doth not enter into vs. Moreover it is no doubt that the proportion of faith, whereby *Paul* willet vs to examine all exposition of Scripture, doth in this behalfe very well agree with mee. As for them that speake against so euident a truth, let them looke after what rule of faith they fashion themselves. Hee that doth not confesse that Iesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God. These men, although they cloke it, or marke it not, do spoile him of his flesh.

Luk. 24. 26.

Iren. lib. 4. c. 34.

Rom. 12. 3.

2. Iohn. 7.

33 Of communicating is to bee likewise thought, which they acknowledge none, vnlesse they denoue the flesh of Christ vnder breade. 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 bloud of Christ. Yea if the force of the mysterie, such as it is taught of vs, and as it was knowne to the old Church from fower hundred yeeres ago, were weighed according to the worthines of it, there was enough and more whereupon we might be satisfied: the gate had been shut against many foule errors, out of which haue been kindled many horrible dissensions wherewith both in old time and in our age the Church hath bene miserable vexed, while curious men doe enforce an exclusive manner of presence, which the scripture neuer sheweth. And they turmoile about a thing fondly and rashly conceiued, as if the enclosing of Christ vnder bread were (as the prouerbe is) the proue and pouce of godlines. It principally behooued to knowe, howe the bodie of Christ, as it was once deliuered for vs, is made ours: how we are made partakers of his bloud that was shedde: because this is to possesse whole Christ crucified, that we may enjoy all his good things. Now these things, in which was to great importance, being omitted yea neglected and in a manner buried, this onely crabbed question pleaseth them, howe the body of Christ lieth hid vnder bread or vnder the forme of bread. They falsly spread abroad that whatsoeuer we teach concerning spirituall eating, is contrarie to the true and reall eating, as they call it: because we haue respect to nothing but to the maner, which among them is carnall, while they enclose Christ in bread: but to vs it is spirituall, because the secret power of the spirite is the bond of our conioyning with Christ. No truer is that other obiection, that we touch onely the fruit or effect which the faithfull take of the eating of the flesh of Christ. For we haue said before, that Christ himselfe is the substance of the Supper: and that thereupon

Our communicating of Christ in the sacrament spirituall not carnall, such as receiueth Christ himselfe not the effectes of his grace onely, otherwise sacramentall then Lombard and after him others haue dreamed, who thinke his flesh eaten without taste, without faith.

Cap. 17. Of the outward meanes

Li. 4. Dist. 8.

Ioh. 6. 56.

upon followeth the effect, that by the sacrifice of his death we are cleansed from sins, by his blood we are washed, by his resurrection we are raised up into hope of the heavenly life. But the foolish imagination, whereof *Lombard* was the author, hath perverted their mindes, while they thinke that the eating of the flesh of Christ is the sacrament. For this saith he: The Sacrament and not the thing are the formes of bread and wine: the Sacrament and the thing, are the flesh and blood of Christ: the thing and not the Sacrament, is the mysticall flesh. Againe within a litle after. The thing signified and contained, is the proper flesh of Christ: the thing signified and not contained, is his mysticall body. Whereas he maketh difference betwene the flesh of Christ, and the effectuall power of nourishing, wherewith it is endued, I agree: but whereas he saith it to be a sacrament, yea and contained vnder bread, it is an error not to be suffred. Hereupon hath grown the false exposition of sacramentall eating, because they haue thought that wicked men also and euill doers do eate the flesh of Christ, how much soeuer they be strangers from him. But the flesh of Christ, it selfe in the mysterie of the Supper is no lesse a spirituall thing than eternall saluation. Whereupon we gather, that whosoever be voide of the spirit of Christ, can no more eate the flesh of Christ, than they can drinke wine wherewith is ioyned no taste. Truly Christ is too hainously torne in sunder, when that dead body and which hath no liuely strength, is giuen foorth in common to vnbeleeuers: and his expresse wordes are directly against it. Whosoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. They answer that in that place is not entreated of the sacramentall eating: which I grant, so that they will not nowe and then stumble against the same stone, saying that the flesh it selfe is eaten without faith. But I woulde know of them, how long they holde it when they haue eaten it. Heere, in my judgement, they shall haue no way to get out. But they object, that nothing can be withdrawn or faile of the promises of God by the vnthankfulnesse of men. I graunt in deed, and I say that the force of the mysterie remaineth whole, howsoeuer wicked men do, as much as in them lieth, endeuour to make it voide. Yet it is one thing to be offered, and another thing to be receiued. Christ reacheth this spirituall meate and offereth this spirituall drinke to all men, some do greedily eate of it, some doe lothingly refuse it: shall these men refusing make the meate and the drinke to loose their nature? They will say that their opinion is holpen by this similitude, namely, that the flesh of Christ, though it be vnfaurie, is neuertheless his flesh. 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 more of this Sacrament, than they gather with the vessell of faith. So nothing is abated from the Sacrament, yea the truth and effectuallnesse thereof remaineth vnminished, although the wicked depart emprie from the outward partaking of it. If they againe object that this worde, this is my bodie, is diminished, if the wicked receiue corruptible bread and nothing else, we haue a solution readie, that God will not be acknouen true in the receiuing it selfe, but in the stedfastnesse of his owne goodnesse, when he is readie to giue, yea liberally offereth to the vnworthie that which they refuse. And this is the fulnesse of the Sacrament, which the whole world can not breake, that the flesh and blood of Christ is no lesse giuen to the vnwoorthie than to the chosen faithfull ones of God: but therewithall it is true, that as water lighting vpon a hard stone, faileth away, because there is no entrie open into the stone: so the wicked do with their hardnes driue backe the grace of God that it cannot pierce into them. Moreouer, that Christ shoulde be receiued without faith, is no more agreeing with reason, than seede to budde in the fire. Whereas they aske, howe Christ is come to damnation to some, vnlesse they receiue him vnworthily, it is a very cold question: forasmuch as we no where read, that men do procure death to themselves by vnworthily receiuing Christ, but rather by refusing him. Neither doth Christs parable helpe them, where he saith that seede groweth

groweth vp among thornes, and afterwarde being choked is marred: because hee there entreateth, of what value the faith is which endureth but for a time, which they doe not thinke to bee necessarie to the eating of Christes flesh and drinking of his blood, that in this behalfe doe make *Judas* egally fellow with *Peter*. But rather by the same parable their error is confuted, where Christ saith that some seeede falseth in the high way, othersome vpon stoncs, and neither of them taketh roote. Whereupon followeth that to the vnbeleeuers their owne hardnesse is a let that Christ attaineth not to them. Whosoever desireth to haue our saluation holpen by this myserie, shall finde nothing fitter, than that the faithfull being led to the very fountaine, should drawe life out of the Sonne of God. But the dignitie of it is honourably enough set out, when we keepe in minde that it is a helpe whereby we be graffed into the body of Christ, or being graffed doe more and more growe together, till he doe fully make himselfe one with vs in the heauenly life. They obiect that *Paul* ought not to haue made them guiltie of the body and blood of Christ, vnlesse they were partakers of them. But I answer that they are not therefore condemned because they haue eaten them, but onely because they haue prophaned the myserie, in treading vnder feete the pledge of the holy conioyning with God, which they ought reuerently to receiue.

Mat. 13. 7.

I. Cor. 11. 29.

34 Now because *Augustine* among the olde writers chiefly hath affirmed that article of doctrine, that nothing is abated from the Sacraments, nor the grace which they figure is made voide by the infidelitie or naughtinesse of men: it shall be profitable to prooue cleerely by his owne words, how vnfitly and peruerfly they doe drawe that to this present cause, which cast the body of Christ to dogs to eat. The sacramentall eating, after their opinion, is whereby the wicked receiue the body and blood of Christ without the power of the Spirit, or any effect of grace. *Augustine* contrariwise weying witley those words, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, shall not die for euer, saith: Namely the power of the sacrament, not onely the visible sacrament: and verily within, not without: he that eateth it with hart, not he that presseth it with tooth. Whereupon at length he concludeth that the sacrament of this thing, that is to say, of the vnite of the body and blood of Christ, is set before men in the supper of the Lord, to some vnto life, to some vnto destruction: but the thing it selfe whereof it is a Sacrament, to all men vnto life, to none vnto destruction, whoeuer be partakers of it. That none should here cauil, that the thing is called not the body, but the grace of the Spirit which may be seuered from the bodie, the contrarie comparison betweene these two wordes of addition Visible and Inuisible driueth away all these misse: for vnder the word of them cannot be comprehended the body of Christ. Whereupon followeth that the vnbeleeuers doe communicate onely of the visible signe. And that all doubting may be better taken away, after that he had said that this bread requireth the hunger of the inward man, he addeth: *Moses* and *Phinees*, and many other that did eate Manna, pleased God. Why so? because the spirituall meate they spirituallly vnderstood, spirituallly hungred, spirituallly tasted, that they might be spirituallly filled. For we also at this day haue receiued spirituall meate: but the Sacrament is one thing, and the power of the Sacrament is an other. A little after: and by this he that abideth not in Christ, and in whose Christ abideth not, without doubt neither eateth spirituallly his flesh, nor drinketh his blood, though carnally and visibly he presseth with teeth the signe of the body and blood. We heare againe that the visible signe is set in comparison as contrarie to spirituall eating. Whereby that enour is confuted, that the body of Christ inuisible is in deepe eaten sacramentally, though not spirituallly. We heare also that nothing is granted to prophane & vnleane men beside the visible receiuing of the signe. Hereupon cometh his famous saying, that the other disciples did eate the bread the Lorde: but *Judas* did eate the bread of the Lorde: when can be plainly excludeth the vnbeleeuers

The sacramēt not to be mistred to scandalous & gōdly wicked ones, y^e is abated frō the sac^rment by grace, w^hch th^{is} is made voide by the sⁱⁿ or naughtinesse of Hom. in Ioh. 26. Ioh. 6. 50. i

Exod. 16. 14.

Hom. in Ioh. 59.

Cap. 17. Of the outward meanes

vnbeleuers from the partaking of the body & blood. Neither tendeth it to any other end which he saith in another place: What maruellest thou, if to *Iudas* was giuen the bread of Christ, by which he might be made bond to the diuel: when thou seest on the contrarie side that to *Paul* was giuen the angell of the duell, by whom he might be made perfect in Christ? he saith verily in another place, that the bread of the Supper was the body of Christ to them to whom *Paul* said, He that eateth vnwoorthily, eateth and drinketh iudgement to himselfe: and that they haue not therefore nothing, because they haue receiued naughtily. But in what sense, he declareth more fully in another place. For taking in hand purposely to define how the wicked and euill doers, which professe the Christian faith with mouth but with deedes doe denie it, doe eate the body of Christ, (and that against the opinion of some which thought that they did not eate in sacrament onely but in very deede.) But neither (saith he) ought it to be saide that they eate the body of Christ, because they are not to be reckoned among the members of Christ. For (to speake nothing of the rest) they cannot together be the members of Christ, and the members of a harlot. Finally where himselfe saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, he sheweth that it is not sacramentally but in very deede to eate the body of Christ. For this is to abide in Christ, that Christ may abide in him. For he so said this, as though he had said, he that abideth not in me, and in whom I abide not, let him not say or thinke that he doth eate my body, or drinke my blood. Let the readers weigh the things set as contraries in the comparison to eate, sacramentally, and in very deede: and there shall remaine no doubt. He confirmeth the same, no lesse plainly in these words: Prepare not your iawes, but your hart. Hereupon is this Supper commended. Loe we beleue in Christ, when we receiue by faith: in receiuing we know what to thinke. We receiue a little and are fatted in hart. Therefore not that which is seene, but that which is beleued, doth feede. Here also that which the wicked receiue, he restraineth to the visible signe: and teacheth that Christ is none otherwise receiued than by faith. So also in another place, pronouncing expressly that the good and the euill doe communicate together in the signes, he excludeth the euill from the true eating of the flesh of Christ. For if they receiued the thing it selfe, he would not vterly haue left that vnspoken which was more fit for his matter. Also in another place, entreating of the eating and the fruite thereof, he concludeth thus: Then shall the body and 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 drunke. Therefore who so make vnbeleuers partakers of the flesh and blood of Christ, that they may agree with *Augustine*, let them shew vs the visible body of Christ: forasmuch as, by his iudgement, the whole truth is spirituall. And it is certainly gathered out of his words, that the sacramentall eating, when vnbeleefe closeth vp the entrie to truth, is as much in effect as visible or outward eating. If the body of Christ might be eaten truly and yet not spiritually, what should that meane which he saith in another place? Yee shall not eate this body which ye see, and drinke the blood which they shall shed that shall crucifie me. I haue commended a certaine sacrament vnto you, being spiritually vnderstanded it shall quicken you. Verily he would not denie but that the same body which Christ offered for sacrifice, is deliuered in the Supper: but he did set out the manner of eating: namely that being receiued into heavenly glorie, by the secreete power of the Spirite, it breatheth life into vs. I graunt in dede that there is oftentimes founde in him this manner of speaking, that the body of Christ is eaten of the vnbeleuers: but he expoundeth himselfe, adding, In Sacrament. And in another place he describeth spirituall eating, in which our bitings consume not grace. And least mine aduersaries should say, that I fight with them with a heape of places, I would know of them how they can vnwinde themselves from one saying of his, where hee saith that Sacraments doe worke in the onely elect that

which

Hom. 62.
2. Cor. 11. 7.
Lib. 5. de bap.
cont. Dona.
1. Cor. 11. : 9.

Ioh. 6. 26.
Lib. de ciuit.
Dei. 21. c. 25.

Cont Faust.
lib. 13. cap. 16.
Ser. de verb.
Apost.

In Psal. 98.

Hom. in Iohn. 27.

which they figure. Truly they dare not deny but that the bread in the supper figureth the body of Christ. Whereupon followeth that the reprobate are debaired from the partaking of it. That *Cyril* also thought none otherwise, these words do declare. As In 6. Ioan. ca. 17. if a man vpon molten waxe do powre other wax, he wholly tempereth the one wax with the other: so it is necessarie if any man receiue the flesh & blood of the Lord that he be ioyned with him that Christ may be found in him and he in Christ. By these wordes I thinke it is euident, that they are breaued of the true and reall eating, that do but sacramentally eat the body of Christ, which cannot be seuered from his power: and that therefore faileth not the faith of the promises of God, which ceaseth not to raine from heauen, although the stones and rockes conceiue not the liquor of the raine.

35 This knowledge shall also easily draw vs away from the carnall worshipping, which some haue with peruerse rashnesse erected in the sacrament: because they made account with themselues in this manner: If it be the body, then both the soule and the Godhead are together with the body, which now cannot be seuered: therefore Christ is there to be worshipped. First if their accompanying which they pretend be denied them, what will they do? For how much soeuer they cry out vpon an absurdity, if the body be seuered from the soule & the Godhead: yet what sound witted and sober man can perswade himselfe that the body of Christ is Christ: They thinke themselues in deed gaily to prooue it with their logicall arguments. But sith Christ speaketh distinctly of his body and blood, but describeth not the manner of presence: how will they of a doubtfull thing gather certainly that which they would? What then? if their consciences chauce to be exercised with any more grieuous feeling, shall not they by and by with their logicall arguments be dissolved and melt? namely when they shall see themselues destitute of the certaine worde of God, vpon which alone our soules do stand fast, when they are called to account, and without which they faint at euery s. fit moment: when they shall call to minde that the doctrine and examples of the Apostles are against them, and that themselues alone are to themselues the authors of it. To such motions shall be added other not small prickings. What? Shall it be a matter of no importance, to worshipping God in this forme, where nothing was prescribed vnto vs? When it concerned the true worshipping of God, ought they with so great lightnes to haue attempted that of which there is no where reade any one word? But if they had, with such humblenes as they ought, holden all their thoughts vnder the word of God, they would truly haue harkened to that which he said, Take, eat, drinke, and would haue obeyed this commandement, wherein he biddeth the Sacrament to be receiued, not to be worshipped. But they which, as it is commanded of god, do receiue it without worshipping, are assured that they do not sware from Gods commandement: than which assurednes there is nothing better when we take any worke in hand. They haue the example of the Apostles, whom we reade not to haue fallen downe flat and worshipped it, but euen as they were sitting to haue receiued it and eaten it. They haue the vse of the Apostolike Church, wherein *Luke* reporteth that the faithfull did communicate not in worshipping but in breaking of bread. They haue the Apostles doctrine, wherewith *Paul* instructed the Church of the Corinthians, professing that he had receiued of the Lord that which he deliuered.

36 And these things verily tend to this ende, that the godly reader should weye how perillous it is in so hie matters to wander from the simple worde of God to the dreames of our owne braine. But those things that are aboue said, ought to deliuer vs from all doubt in this behalfe. For that godly soules may therein rightly take hold of Christ, they must needs be lifted vp to heauen. If this be the office of a Sacrament, to helpe the mind of man which otherwise is weake, that it may rise vpward to reach the height of spirituall mysteries: then they which are holden downe in the outward signe do stray from the right way of seeking Christ. What then? Shall we denie that

Adoration of Christ in the sacrament vnwaranted.

AQ. 2. 4.

1. Cor. 11.

Adoration of the sacrament of Christs body superstitious, condemned in effect by the council of Nice, by the vse of the old Church and by Scripture.

Cap. 17. Of the outward meanes

it is a superstitious worshipping, when men do throw themselves down before bread, to worship Christ therein? Doubtlesse the *Nicene Synode* meant to meeete with this mischiefe, when it forbad vs to be humbly inrentiue to the signes set before vs. And for none other cause was it in olde time ordained, that before the consecration the people should with a loud voice be put in minde to haue their hearts lifted vpwarde. The Scripture it selfe also, beside that it diligently declareth vnto vs the ascension of Christ, wherby he conueyed away the presence of his body from our sight and conuerfation: to shake away from vs all carnall thinking of him, so oft as it maketh mention of him, commandeth vs to be in mindes raised vpward, and to seeke him in heauen sitting at the right hand of the father. According to this rule he was rather to be spiritually worshipped in heauenly glorie, than this so perillous a kinde of worshipping to be deuised, full of carnall and grosse opinion of God. Wherefore they that haue inuented the worshipping of the Sacrament, haue not onely dreamed it of themselves beside the Scripture, in which no mention of it can be shewed (which yet should not haue been ouerpassed if it had been acceptable to God:) But also all the Scripture crying out against it, they haue framed to themselves a God after the will of their owne lust, leauing the liuing God. For what is Idolatrie, if this be not, to worship the gifts in steed of the giuer himselfe? Wherein they haue doubly offended: For both the honor taken from God was conueyed to a creature: and he himselfe also dishonored in the defiling and prophaning of his benefit, when of his holy Sacrament is made a cursed idole. But let vs contrariwise, least we fall into the same pit, thoroughly settle our eares, eies, hearts, minds, and toonges in the holy doctrine of God. For that is the schoole of the holy Ghost, the best schoolemaster, in which such profit is attained, that nothing neede more to be gotten from any where else, but we willingly ought to be ignorant of whatfoeuer is not taught in it.

Sursum corda.

Col. 3.2.

Christ in the sacrament offered and giuen by promise vnto them not which behold and adore, but which eate and giue thanks: this sacrament being instituted for the participation of Christ by faith and the profession of our gratefull remembrance as two speciall vses.

37 But now (as superstition, when it hath once passed the right bounds, maketh no ende of sinning) they fell a great way further. For they haue deuised Ceremonies altogether straunge from the institution of the Supper, to this end only that they might giue diuine honors to the signe. We yeeld (say they) this worship to Christ. First, if this were done in the Supper, I would say that that worshipping only is lawfull, which resteth not in the signe, but is directed to Christ sitting in heauen. But now by what pretense doe they boast that they worship Christ in that bread: when they haue no promise thereof? They consecrate an host, as they call it, which they may cary about in pompe, which they may shew forth in a common gazing to be looked vpon, worshipped, and called vpon. I aske by what power they thinke it to be rightly consecrate. Verily they will bring forth those words, This is my body. But I will obiekt to the contrarie, that it was therewithall saide, Take and eate. Neither will I do that of nothing. For when a promise is knit to a commaundement, If say that the promise is so contained vnder the commaundement, that being seuered it is made no promise at all. This shall be made plainer by a like example. God gaue a commaundement, when he said. Call vpon me: He added a promise, I will heare thee. If any man calling vpon *Peter and Paul*, do glorie vpon this promise, will not all men crie out that he doth wrongfully? And what other thing I pray, do they which leauing the commaundement concerning eating, do catch hold of a maimed promise, this is my body, to abuse it to strange Ceremonies from the institution of Christ? Let vs therefore remember that this promise is giuen to them which keepe the commaundement ioyned with it: but that they be destitute of all the word, which remooueth the Sacrament to any other way. We haue heretofore entreated how the mysterie of the holy Supper serueth our Faith before God. But for as much as the Lord doth here not onely bring into our remembrance so great largenes of his bountie, as we haue before shewed, but doth as it were from hand to hand bring it forth, & stirreth vs to acknowledge it: he doth therewithal warne vs that we be not vnthankfull to so plentiful liberality.

Psal. 50.15.

liberality: but rather that we would publish it with such praises as it is meete, and aduance it with thankesgiuing. Therefore when he deliuered the institution of the sacrament it selfe to the Apostles, he taught them that they should do it in remembrance of him. Which *Paul* expoundeth, to declare the Lords death. That is, publicly and altogether with one mouth openly to confesse, that all our affiance of life and saluation is reposed in the death of the Lord: that we may glorifie him with our confession, and may by our example exhort other to giue glorie to him. Here againe it appeareth wherunto the marke of this sacrament is directed, namely to exercise vs in the remembrance of the death of Christ. For, this that we are commaunded to declare the Lords death till he coine to iudge, is nothing else but that we should publish that with confession of mouth, which our faith hath acknowledged in the sacrament, that is, that the death Christ is our life. This is the second vse of the Sacrament, which pertaineth to outward confession.

38 Thirdly the Lord also willed it to be to vs in steede of an exhortation, than which none other can more vehemently encourage and enflame vs both to purenes 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 throughly one with vs, and we with him. Now sith he hath but one body, where of he maketh vs all partakers, it is necessarie that all we also be by such partaking made one body. Which vnitie the bread which is deliuered in the sacrament, representeth: which as it is made of many graines in such sort mingled together that one cannot be discerned from an other: after the same manner we also ought to be conioyned and knit together with so great agreement of minds, that no disagreement or diuision come between vs. This I had rather to be expressed with *Pauls* wordes. The cup of blessing (saith he) which we blesse is the communicating of the blood of Christ: and the bread of blessing which we breake, is the partaking of the body of Christ. Therefore we all are one body that partake of one bread. We shall haue verie well profited in the Sacrament, if this thought so shall be imprinted and ingrauen in our mindes, that none of the brethren can be hurt, despised, refused, abused, or any wise be offended of vs, but that therewithall we do in so dooing hurt, despise, and abuse Christ with our iniurious dealings: that we cannot disagree with our brethren but that we must therewithall disagree with Christ: that Christ cannot be ioued of vs, but that hee must bee loued in our brethren: that what care wee haue of our owne body, such also wee ought to haue of our brethren which are members of our bodie: as no part of our bodie is touched with any feeling of grieffe, which is not spread abroad into all the other partes, so we must not suffer our brother to be grieued with any euill wherof we should not also be touched with compassion. Therefore *Augustine* not without cause so oft calleth this sacrament that bond of charitie. For what sharper spur could be put to vs, to stirre vp mutuall charitie among vs, than when Christ giuing himselfe to vs, doth not onely allure vs with his owne example that we should mutually dedicate and deliuer our selues one to another: but in so much as he maketh himselfe common to all, he maketh all vs also one in himselfe?

39 But hereby is that verie well confirmed which I haue saide in an other place, that the true ministration of the sacrament standeth not without the word. For whatsoever profite commeth to vs of the Supper, requireth the worde: whether we be to be confirmed in faith, or to be exercised in confession, or to be stirred vp to ductie, prayer is needfull. Therefore nothing can be more disorderly done in the supper, than if it be turned to a dumbe action: it hath bene done vnder the tyranny of the Pope. For they would haue the whole force of consecration to hang vpon the intent of the Priest, as though this nothing pertained to the people, to whom it most of all behooued that the mysterie should be declared. But thereupon hath grown this error, that they marked not that those promises wherewith the consecration is made,

*This sacrament
scuered from the
word nothing is
a dumbe show.*

Luk. 22. 19.
1. Cor. 11. 26.

1. Cor. 10. 16

are directed not to the elements themselves, but to them that receive them. But Christ speaketh not to the bread, that it may be made his body, but commandeth his disciples to eat, and promiseth to them the communicating of his body and blood. And none other order doth *Paul* teach than that together with the bread and the cup, the promises should be offered to the faithful. Thus it is truly. We ought not to imagine any magicall inchantment, that it be sufficient to have mumbled up the words, as though the elements did heare them: but let vs understand that those wordes are a liuely preaching, which may edifie the hearers, which may inwardly pearce into their mindes, which may be imprinted and settled in their hearts, which may shew forth effectualnesse in the fulfilling of that which it promiseth: by these reasons it clearly appeareth that the laying up of the sacrament, which many do earnestly require, that it may be extraordinarily distributed to the sicke, is vnprofitable: For either they shall receive it without rehearsing of the institution of Christ, or the minister shall together with the signe ioyne the true declaration of the mystery. In silence is abuse and fault. If the promises be rehearsed, and the myserie declared, that they which shall receive it may receive it with fruit, there is no cause why we should doubt that this is the true consecration. To what end then will that other consecration come, the force whereof commeth not so far as to the sicke men? But they that do so, haue the example of the olde Church. I graunt: but in so great a matter, and in which wee erre not without great daunger nothing is safer than to followe the truth it selfe.

The danger of vnworthily receiving this sacrament.

40 Now as we see that this holy bread of the Supper of the Lorde is spirituall meat, no lesse sweete and delicate than heathfull to the godly worshippers of God, by the taste whereof they feele that Christ is their life, whom it rayseth up to thanksgiving, to whom it is an exhortation to mutuall charitie among themselves: so on the other side it is turned into a most noysom poyson to all them whose Faith it doth not nourish and confirme, and whom it doth not stir up to confession of praise & to charitie. For as bodily meate, when it findeth a stomacke possessed with euill humors, being it selfe also thereby made euill and corrupted doeth rather hurt than nourish: so this spirituall meate, if it light vpon a soule defiled with malice and naughtinesse, throweth it downe headlong with greater fall: verily not by the fault of the meate it selfe, but because to defiled and vnbecluing men nothing is cleane, though otherwise it be neuer so much sanctified by the blessing of the Lord. For (as *Paul* saith) they that eat and drinke vnworthily are guiltie of the body and blood of the Lorde, and doe eat and drinke iudgement to themselves, not discerning the body of the Lord. For such kinde of men as without any sparkle of Faith, without any zeale of charitie, do thrust themselves foorth like swine to take the supper of the Lord, do not discern the body of the Lord. For in so much as they doe not beleue that that body is their life, they doe as much as in them lieth dishonour it, spoyling it of all the dignitie thereof, and finally in so receiving it they prophane and defile it. But in so much as being estranged and disagreeing from their brethren, they dare mingle the holy signe of the body of Christ with their disagreements, it is no thanks to them that the body of Christ is not rent insunder, and limme meale torne in peeces. And so not vnworthily they are guiltie of the body and blood of the Lord, which they do with vngodlinesse full of sacriledge so fowly defile. Therefore by this vnworthie eating, they take to themselves damnation. For whereas they haue no faith reposed in Christ, yet receiving the sacrament they profess that there is saluation for them no where else than in him, and do foreswear al other affiance. Wherefore they themselves are accusers to themselves, they themselves pronounce witness against themselves, and they themselves seale their owne damnation. Againe when they beeing with hatred and euill will decided and drawn in sunder from their brethren, that is from the members of Christ, haue no part in Christ: yet they do

Tit. 1. 15.
3. Cor. 11. 29.

doe testifie that this is the onely saluation to communicate with Christ, and to be made one with him. For this cause *Paul* commandeth, that a man prooue himselfe, before that he eate of this bread or drinke of this cup. Whereby (as I expound it) he meant that euery man should descende into himselfe, and weigh with himselfe, whether he doe with inward assistance of hart rest vpon the saluation which Christ hath purchased: whether he acknowledge it with confession of mouth: then whether he doe with desirous endeouour of innocencie and holinesse aspire to the following of Christ: whether after his example he be ready to giue himselfe to his brethren, and to communicate himselfe to them with whome hee hath Christ common to him: whether, as hee himselfe is accompted of Christ, he doe likewise on his behalfe take all his brethren for members of his owne body: whether he couet to cherish, defend and helpe them as his owne members. Not for that these duties both of Faith and Charitie can now be perfect in vs: but because we ought to endeouour this, and with all our desires to long toward it, that we may daily more and more encrease our Faith begun.

1. Cor. 11. 28.

41 Commonly when they goe about to prepare men to such woorthines of eating, they haue in cruell wise tormented and vexed poore consciences: and yet they brought neuer a whitte of all those things that might serue to the purpose. They said that those did eate woorthily which were in state of grace. To be in state of grace they expounded to be pure and cleansed from all sinne. By which doctrine all the men that euer haue at any time bene or now be in earth, were debarred from the vse of this Sacrament. For if we goe about this, to fetch our woorthines from our selues, we are vtterly vndone: onely despaire and damnable ruine abideth for vs. Though we endeouour with our whole strengthes, we shall nothing more preuaile, but that then at last we shall be most vnwoorthy, when we haue most of all travelled about seeking of woorthines. To salue this sore, they haue deuised a way to attaine woorthines: that, as much as in vs lieth, making examination, and requiring of our selues accompt of all our dooings, we should with contrition, confession, and satisfaction cleanse our vnwoorthines, which way of cleansing, what manner of thing it is, we haue already shewed there where was more conuenient place to speake of it. So much as serueth for our present purpose, I say that these be two hungrie and vanishing comforts, to dismaide and discouraged consciences, and such as are stricken with horror of their sinne. For if the Lord by speciall forbidding admitteth none to the partaking of the Supper but the righteous and innocent: there needeth no small heede that may make a man assured of his own righteousnes which he heareth to be required of God. But wherby is this assurednes confirmed vnto vs, that they are discharged afore God, which haue done so much as in them lay? But although it were so, yet when shall it be that a man may be bold to assure himselfe that he hath done as much as in him lay? So when there is made no certaine assurance of our woorthines, the entrie shall alway remaine shut by that horrible forbidding, whereby is pronounced that they eate and drinke iudgement to themselves, which eate and drinke vnwoorthily.

Consciences weakened by that woorthines of receiving which is taught in the Church of Rome.

42 Now it is easie to iudge what manner of doctrine this is which reigneth in the Papacie, and from what Author it hath proceeded, which with the outrageous rigor thereof, bereaueth and spoyleth, miserable sinners and such as be tormented with feare and sorrow, of the comfort of this Sacrament in which yet all the sweete delicates of the Gospell were set before the. Surely the deuil could by no readier way destroy men, than by so making them senselesse, that they could not perceiue the tast & fauour of such foode, wherewith it was the wil of the most good heavenly Father to feede them. Least therefore we runne into such headlong downefall, let vs remember that this holy banquet is medicine to the sicke, comfort to sinners, liberall gift to the poore: which bring no profite to the healthie, righteous, and rich, if any such could be found. For whereas in it Christ is giuen vs for meate: we vnderstand

The medicinall vertue of the sacrament vnto men weakened with the conscience of their owne vnwoorthines.

that without him we pine, starue, and faint, like as famine destroyeth the liuely strength of the body. Againe whereas he is giuen vs for life: we vnderstand that without him we are in our selues vterly dead. Wherefore this is the worthinesse both the onely and best that we can bring to God, if we offer to him our owne vilenes and (as I may so call it) vnworthines, that of his mercie he may make vs worthie of him: if we despair 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: moreover 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 wish to vs all altogether one soule, one hart, one tongue. If we haue these things throughly well weied and considered, such thoughts although they shake vs, yet shall neuer ouerthrow vs. As how should we being needy and naked of all good things, we defiled with filthines of sins, we halfe dead, eate the body of the Lord worthily? We will rather thinke that we being poore come to the liberall giuer, we sicke to the phisician, we sinners to the author of righteousnes, finally we dead men to him that giueth life: that that worthines which is commanded of God, consisteth chiefly of Faith, which reposeth all things in Christ and nothing in vs: and next of charitie, and the selfsame charitie which it is enough to offer vnperfect to God, that he may increase it to better, forasmuch as it cannot be giuen perfect. Som other agreeing with vs in this, that the worthines it selfe consisteth in Faith and Charitie: yet in the measure of worthines haue gone farre out of the way, requiring a perfection of Faith, whereunto nothing may be added, and a charitie egall with that which Christ hath shewed toward vs. But hereby they do none otherwise than those other before, driue all men away from comming to this holy Supper. For if their sentence should take place, no man should receue but vnworthily, forasmuch as all without exception should be holden guiltie and conuict of their vnperfectnes. And truly it were apoint of too much amazed dulnes, I will not say foolishnes, to require such perfection in the Sacrament, as may make the Sacrament void and superfluous: which was not ordained for the perfect, but for the weake and feeble to awake, to stir vp, to pricke forward and exercise the affection of Faith and Charitie, and to correct the default of either of them.

The libertie granted vnto men and their wanton willie shewed in ceremonies annexed to the administration of this Sacrament.

Luke 22. 17.

43 But so much as concerneth the outward forme of dooing, whether faithfull receiue it in their hand or no, whether they deuide it, or euery one eate that which is giuen him: whether they put againe the cup in the hand of the Deacon, or deliuer it to the next: whether the bread be leauened, or vnleauened: whether the wine be red or white: it maketh no matter. These things be indifferent and left in the libertie of the Church. Howbeit it is certaine, that the vsage of the olde Church was, that euery one should take it into his hand. And Christ said, Diuide it among you. The histories report that it was leauened and common bread before the time of *Alexander* Bishop of Rome, which first delited in vnleauened bread: But for what reason I see not, vnlesse it were with a new sight to draw the eyes of the common people to wondering at it, rather than to instruct their mindes with good religion. I adure all them that are touched with any though but light zeale of godlinesse, to tell whether they doe not euidently see, both how much more brightly the glory of GOD shineth herein, and how much more aboundant sweetenesse of spirituall comfort cometh to the faithfull, than in these colde and playe-like trifles, which bring none other vse but to deceue the sense of the amazed people. This they call the holding of the people in religion, when being made foolish & senselesst with superstition it is drawn whither they list. If any man will defende such inuentions by antiquitie, I my selfe also am no: ignorant how auncient is the vse of chresme, and blowing in Baptisme: Howe nic to the age of the Apostles the Supper of the Lorde was infected with rustinesse: but this verily is the wauardnes of mans boldnesse, which can no: with holde it selfe but that it must alway play and be wanton in the mysteries of God,

God. But let vs remember that God doth so highly esteeme the obedience of his word, that he willet vs in it to iudge both his angels and the whole world. Now, bidding farewell to so great a heape of ceremonies: it might thus haue bin most comly ministred, if it were oft and at least euery weeke set before the Church, but that first they should begin with publike praers: then a sermon should be made; then the minister hauing bread and wine set vpon the boord, should rehearse the institution of the supper: and then should declare the promises that are in it left vnto vs: and therewithall should excommunicate all them that by the Lordes forbidding are debarred from it, afterward they should pray that with what liberalitie the Lord hath giuen vs this holy foode, he would instruct and frame vs also with the same faith, and thankfulness of minde to receiue it, and that forasmuch as we are not of our selues, he would of his mercie make vs woorthie of such a banquet: that then either Psalmes should be song, or somewhat read, and the faithfull should in seemly order communicate of the holy banquet, the ministers breaking the bread and giuing it to the people: that when the supper is ended, exhortation should be made to pure faith and confession of faith, to charitie, and to maners meete for Christians: last of all that giuing of thanks should be rehearsed, and praes be song to God: which being ended the congregation should be let go in peace.

44 These things that we haue hitherto spoken of this Sacrament doe largely shew, that it was not therefore ordyned, that it should be receiued yeerely once, and that slightly for manners sake (as nowe commonly the custome is) but that it should be in often vse to all Christians that with often remembrance they should repeate the passion of Christ: by which remembrance they might susteine and strengthen their Faith, and exhort themselues to sing confession of praie to God, and to publish his goodnesse: finally by which they might nourish mutuall charitie, and testifie it among themselues, whereof they sawe the knot in the vnitie 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 giuen and receiued, interchangeably binde our selues one to another vnto all duties of loue, that none of vs do any thing whereby he may offend his brother, nor leaue any thing vndone whereby he may helpe him, when neede requireth and abilitie sufficeth. That such was the vse of the Apostolike Church, Luke rehearseth in the Acts, when he saith that the faithfull were continuing in the doctrine of the Apostles, in communicating, in breaking of bread, and in prayers. So was it altogether meete to be done, that there should be no assemble of the Church without the worde, prayers, partaking of the Supper and almes. That this order was also institute among the *Corinthians* we may sufficiently gather of *Paul*, and it is certaine that in many ages afterwarde it was in vse. For thereupon came those olde Canons, which they fater vpon *Anacletus* and *Calixtus*, that when the consecration is done, all should communicate, that will not be without the doers of the Church. And it is read in those old Canons, which they call the Canons of the Apostles: that they which continue not vnto the end, and do not receiue the holy Communion must be corrected as men that moue vnquietnesse of the Church. Also in the Councell at *Antioch*, it was decreed that they which enter into the Church, and heare the Scriptures, and do abstaine from the Communion, should be remoued from the church, till they haue amended this fault. Which although in the first Councell at *Toletum* it was either somewhat qualified or at least set forth in milder words, yet it is there also decreed, that they, which when they haue heard the sermon, are found neuer to communicate, should be warned: if after warning they abstaine, they should be debarred from it.

45 Verily by these ordinances the holy men ment to retaine and maintaine the often vse of the Communion, which often vse they had receiued from the Apostles themselues, which they sawe to be most wholsome for the faithfull, and by little

The often receiving of this sacrament.

ACT. 2. 42.

The first beginnings of slacknes to communicate.

Cap. 17. Of the outward meanes

In 6. cap. Iohan.
tract. 26.

and little by the negligence of the common people to grow out of vse, *Augustine* testifieth of his owne time: The Sacrament (saith he) of this thing, of the vnicite of the Lords body, is somewhere daily, somewhere by certaine distances of the daies, prepared vnto the Lorde table, and is there receiued at the table, to some vnto life, to other some vnto destruction. And in the first Epistle to *Iannarius*: some do daily communicate of the body and blood of the Lord: some receiue it at certaine daies: in some places there is no day let passe wherein it is not offered: in some other places onely vpon the Saturday and the Sunday, and in some other 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 rebukings, least they shoulde seeme to winke at such slothfulnesse. Such an example is in *Chrysofome* vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is not said vnto him that dishonoured the banquet: wherefore didst thou sit downe? but wherefore diddest thou come in? Who soeuer is not partaker of the mysteries, he is wicked and shamelesse for that he standeth here present. I beseech you if any be called to a banquet, washeth his hands, sitteth downe, seemeth to prepare himselfe to eat, and then doth taste of nothing: shall he not shame both the banquet, and the maker of the banquet? So thou standing among them that with prayer do prepare themselves to receiue the holy meate, hast euen in this that thou hast not gone away, confessed that thou art one of the number of them, at the last thou dost not partake: had it not been better that thou hadst not been present? Thou wilt say, I am vnworthie. Therefore neither wast thou worthie of the communion of prayer, which is a preparing to the receiuing of the holy mysterie.

In cap. 1.
Hom. 16. 12.

The custome of
yeerely once recei-
uing peruerse.

46 And truly this custome, which commaundeth to communicate yeerely once, is a most certaine inuention of the diuell, by whose ministerie soeuer it was brought in. They say that *Zepherinus* was author of that decree, which it is not likely to haue been such as we now haue it. For he by his ordinance did peradventure not after the worst manner prouide for the Church, as the times then were. For it is no doubt but that then the holy supper was set before the faithfull so oft as they came together in assembly, neither is it any doubt but that a good part of them did communicate. But when it scarcely at any time happened that all did communicate together, and whereas it was necessarie that they which were mingled with prophane men and idolaters, should by some outward signe testifie their faith: the holy man for order and policies sake, appointed that day, wherein the whole people of Christians should by partaking of the Lords Supper vtter a confession of their faith. The ordinance of *Zepherinus* being otherwise good hath been euill wrested of them that came after, when a certaine lawe was made of one communicating yeerely: whereby it is come to passe, that almost all men when they haue once communicate, as though they had gaily discharged themselves for all the rest of the yeere, sleepe soundly on both eares. It ought to haue been farre otherwise done. Euery weeke at the least, the Lords table should be set before the assembly of the Christians: the promises should be declared, which might feed vs spiritually at it: none should indeed be compelled by necessitie, but all should be exhorted and pricked forward: the sluggishnes also of the slothfull should be rebuked. All should by heapes, as hungrie men, come together to such dainties. Not without rightfull cause therefore at the beginning I complained, that by the craft of the diuell this custome was thrust in, which when it appointeth one certaine day of the yeere, maketh men slothfull for all the rest of the yeere. We see in deepe that this peruerse abuse was crept in euen in the time of *Chrysofome*: but wee may also therewithall see how much it displeased him. For he complaineth with greuous wordes in the same place which I euen now alleage, that there is so great inequalitye of this matter, that often in some times of the yeere they came not euen when they were cleane, but at Easter they came euen when they were vncleane. Then he crieth out: O custome, O presumption. Then in vaine is the daily offering
vse.

ved: in vaine we stand at the altar: there is none that partaketh together with vs. So farre is it off that he allowed it by his authoritie adioyned to it.

47 Out of the same shop proceeded also another ordinance, which hath stolen away or violently taken away the halfe of the supper from the better number of the people of God, namely the signe of the blood, which being denied to lay and profane men (for with such titles forsooth they set out Gods inheritance) became a peculiar possession to shauen and annointed men. It is the commandement of the eternall God, that all should drinke: which commandement man dare discontinue and repell with a new and contrary law, commanding that not all should drinke. And that these lawmakers should not seeme to fight without reason against their God, they pretend perils that might happen if this holy cup were commonly giuen to all: as though those dangers had not bene foreseene and marked of the eternall wisdom of God. And then suttley forsooth they reason, that the one is enough for both. For if (say they) it be the body, it is whole Christ, which cannot now be seuered from his body. Therefore by accompanying the bodie containeth the blood. Lo how our wit agreeth with God, when it hath neuer so little begun with loose reines, to be wanton and wilde. The Lord shewing bread saith that it is his body: when he sheweth the cup, he calleth it his blood. The boldnes of mans reason, crieth out contrariwise, that the bread is the blood, and the wine is the body: as though the Lord had for no cause seuered his body from his blood both in words and in signes: or as though it had euer bene heard spoken that the body or blood of Christ is called God and Man. Verily if he had meant to signifie whole himselfe, he might haue said it is I: as he is wont to speake in the Scriptures, and not, this is my body, this is my blood. But he willing to helpe our weakenes, did set the cup feuerally from the bread, to teach that he sufficeth no lesse for drinke than for meate. Now let one part be taken away, then we shall finde but the one halfe of the nourishments in him. Therefore, although it be true which they pretend, that the blood is in the bread by way of accompanying, and againe, the body in the cuppe, yet they defraude godly soules of the confirmation of Faith which Christ deliuereth vs as necessary. Therefore bidding their suttleties fare well, we must hold fast he profite which is by the ordinance of Christ in the two earnestes.

48 I know in deede that the ministers of Sathan doe here cauill, as it is an ordinarie thing with them to make mockery of the Scriptures. First they alleage that of one bare doing ought not to be gathered a rule whereby the Church should be bound to perpetuall obseruing. But they lie when they say that it was but a bare dooing: for Christ did not onely deliuer the cup, but also did institute that his Apostles should in time to come doe the same. For they are the words of a commauder, drinke ye all of this cup. And *Paul* so rehearseth that it was a deede, that he also commendeth it for a certaine rule. Another starting hole is, that the Apostles alone were receiued of Christ to the partaking of this Supper whom he had already chofen and taken in to the order of the sacrificing Priestes. But I would haue them answer me to these questions, from which they shall not be able to escape, but that they shall be easlie conuincd with their lies. First, by what oracle haue they this solution reuealed, being so strange from the word of God? The Scripture reckeneth twelue that sate with Iesus: but it doth not so obscure the dignitie of Christ that it calleth them sacrificing Priestes of which name we will speake hereafter in place fit for it. Though he gaue it then to the twelue, yet he commanded that they should doe the same, namely that they should so distribute it among them. Secondly, why in that better age, from the Apostles almost a thousand yeares, were all without exception made partakers of both the signes? was the old Church ignorant what guests Christ had receiued to the Supper? It were a point of most desperate shamelesnes, here to sticke and dally in granting it to be true. There remaine the Ecclesiasticall histories, there remaine

An ordinance to take away halfe this Sacrament from the people.

Cauillous allegations for defence of the halfe communion.

Cap. 17. Of the outward meanes

Lib. de resurrect.
carnis.
Theod. lib. 3. ca. 8.
Eucharistia.
Hier. in 2. Mal.
Chyl. in 2.
Cor. Cap. 8.
Eucharistia.

the bookes of the olde writers, which minister euident testimonies of this matter. The flesh (saith *Tertullian*) is fed with the body and blood of Christ, that the Soule may be fattened with feeding vpon God. How (saith *Ambrose* to *Theodosius*) wilt thou receiue with such hands the holy body of the Lord? With what boldnes wilt thou with thy mouth partake of the cup of the precious blood? And *Hierome* saith. The Priestes which make the Thankesgiuing, and doe distribute the blood of the Lord to the people. *Chrysofome*, Not as in the olde law the priest did eate part, and the people part: but one body is set before all, and one cup. Those things that pertaine to the Thankesgiuing are all common betwene the Priest and the people. The selfe same thing doth *Augustine* testifie in many places.

The custome of
ministring the cup
to the people not
abrogated as long
as there continued
any drop of pure-
nes in the Church.

49 But why dispute I about a thing most knowne? Let all the Greekes and Latine writers be read ouer: such testimonies shall ech where offer themselves. Neither was this custome growen out of vse, while there remained one drop of purenesse in the Church. *Gregory*, whom you may rightly say to haue bene the last Bishop of *Rome*, teacheth that it was kept in his time. What is the blood of the Lambe, ye haue now learned, not by hearing but by drinking. His blood is poured into the mouthes of the faithfull. Yea it yet endured foure hundred yeeres after his death, when all things were growen out of kinde. For neither was that taken onely for an vsage, but also for an inuiolable law. For then was in force the reuerence of Gods institution, and they doubted not that it was sacriledge, to seuer those things which the Lord had conioyned. For thus saith *Gelasius*. We haue found, that some receiuing onely the portion of the holy body, doe abstaine from the cup. Let them without doubt, because they seeme to be bound with I wot not what superstition, either receiue the Sacraments whole, or be debarred from them whole. For the diuiding of this mysteric is not committed without great sacriledge. Those reasons of *Cyprian* were heard, which truely ought to moue a Christian minde. How (saith he) doe we teach or prouoke them to shed their blood in the confessing of Christ, if we deny his blood to them that shall fight? Or how doe we make them fit for the cup of Martyrdome: if we doe not first in the Church by the right of communion admit them to drinke the cup of the Lord? Whereas the Canonites doe restraine that decree of *Gelasius* to the Priestes, that is so childish a cauill that it neede not to be confuted.

De consecr. dist. 2.
cap. compcr.

Secr. 5. de lap.

Three other rea-
sons why the peo-
ple should commu-
nicate in both
kinds.

50 Thirdly, why did he simply say of the bread, that they should eate: but of the cup, that they should all drinke? euen as if he had meant of set purpose to meete with the craft of Satan. Fourthly, if (as they would haue it) the Lord vouchsafed to admit to his Supper onely sacrificiung Priestes, what man euer durst call to the partaking of it, strangers whom the Lord had excluded? yea and to be partaking of that gift, the power wherof was not in their hands, without any commandement of him which onely could giue it. Yea vpon confidence of what warrant doe they vse at this day to distribute to the common people the signe of the body of Christ, if they haue neither commandement nor example of the Lorde? Fifthly, did *Paul* lie, when hee said to the Corinthians, that he had receiued of the Lord that which he had deliuered to them? For afterward he declareth the thing that he deliuered, that all without difference should communicate of both the signes. If *Paul* receiued of the Lord, that all should be admitted without difference: let them looke of whom they haue receiued which doe drine away almost all the people of God: because they cannot now preterre God to be the Author of it, with whom there is not yea and nay. And yet stil for cloking of such abominations they dare pretend the name of the Church, and with such pretence defend it. As though either these Antichristes were the Church, which so easily tread vnder foote, scatter abroade, and destroy the doctrine and institution of Christ: or the Apostolike Church were not the Church, in which the whole force of religion flourished.

The xvij. Chapter.

Of the Popish Masse, by which sacriledge the Supper of Christ hath not only been prophaned, but also brought to nought.

With these and like inuentions Satan hath travelled, as by ouerspreading of darkenes to obscure and defile the holy supper of Christ, that at least the purenes of it should not be kept still in the Church. But the head of horrible abomination was when hee aduanced a signe, by which it might not onely be darkened and peruerred, but being vtterly blotted and abolished should vanish and fall out of the remembrance of men: namely when he blinded almost the whole world with a most pestilent error that they should beleue that the Masse is a sacrifice and oblation to obtaine the forgiuenes of sins. How at the beginning the soulder sort of the schoolemen tooke this doctrine, I nothing regard: farewell they with their crabbed sutleties: which howsoeuer they may be defended with cauilling, yet are therefore to be refuted of all good men, because they do nothing else but spread much darkenes over the brightness of the supper. Therefore bidding them farewell, let the readers vnderstand that I here match in fight with that opinion, wherewith the Romish Antichrist and his prophets haue infected the whole world, namely that the Masse is a worke whereby the sacrificing priest which offereth vp Christ, and the other that do partake at the same oblation, do deserue the fauour of God: or that it is a cleansing sacrifice, whereby they reconcile God to themselues. Neither hath this beene receiued onely in common opinion of the people, but the verie doing it selfe is so framed, that it is a kind of pacifying wherewith satisfaction is made to God for the purging of the quicke and dead. The words also which they vse, do expresse the same: and no other thing may we gather of the daily vse of it. I know how deepe rootes this pestilence hath taken, vnder how great seeming of goodnes it lurketh, how it beareth in shew the name of Christ, how in the one name of Masse many beleue that they comprehend the whole summe of faith. But when it shall be by the word of God most cleerly proued, that this Masse, how much soeuer it be coloured and glorious, yet shamefully dishonoureth Christ, burieth & oppresseth his crosse, putteth his death in forgetfulnes, taketh away the fruit that commeth therof vnto vs, doth weaken and destroy the sacrament wherin was left the memorie of his death: shall there then be any so deepe rootes, which this most strong axe, I meane the word of God, shall not cut downe and ouerthrow? Is there any face so beautifull, that this light cannot bewray the euill which lurketh vnder it?

2 Let vs therefore shew that which hath beene set in the first place, that in it is intolerable blasphemie and dishonour done to Christ. For he was consecrate of his Father a Priest and bishop, not for a time as we read that they were ordained in the old testament, whose life being mortall their priesthood also could not be immortall: for which cause also there needed successors that should from time to time be put in the place of them that died. But in place of Christ, which is immortall, there needeth no vicar to be set after him. Therefore he was ordained of the father a priest for euer, according to the order of *Melchisedech*, that he should execute an euertlasting priesthood. This mystery had bin long before figured in *Melchisedech*, whom whē the scripture had once brought in for the priest of the liuing God, it neuer afterwarde made mention of him, as though he had had no end of his life. After this point of likeness, Christ was called a priest according to his order. Now they that do daily sacrifice, must needs appoint priestes to make the oblations whom they must appoint as it were successors and vicars in steede of Christ. By which putting in steede of him, they doe not onely spoile Christ of his honour, and plucke from him the prerogative of eternall priesthood, but also trauell to thrust him downe from the sight

The sacrifice of the masse being held to be a sacrifice propitiatorie is nothing but a meane prophaned of the supper of the Lord.

Christ dishonored by the sacrifice of the Masse.
Heb. 5. 5. & 7.
17. & 9. 11. & 24.

Psal. 110. 14.

Genes. 14. 18.

Cap. 18. Of the outwarde meanes

hand of his Father, on which he cannot sit immortall, but that he must therewithall remaine the eternal priest. Neither let them lay for themselues that their petie sacrificers are not put in place of Christ as if he were dead, but onely are helpers of his eternall priesthood, which ceaseth not therefore to continue. For they are more strongly holden fast with the words of the Apostle, than that they may so escape: namely, that there were many other priests made, because they were by death letted to continue. Therefore there is but one that is not letted by death, and he needeth no companions. Yet, such is their wickednes, they arme themselues with the example of *Melchisedech* to defend their wickednesse. For, because it is said that he offered breade and wine, they gather that he was a foreshewing of their Masse: as though the likeness betweene him and Christ were in the offering of bread and wine. Which is so emptie and trifling that it needeth no confutation. *Melchisedech* gaue bread and wine to *Abraham* and his companions, to refresh them being wearie after their journey and battle. What is this to a sacrifice? Moses praiseth the gentleness of the holy king: these fellows vnseasonably coyne a mysterie whereof no mention is made. Yet they deceitfully paint their error with another colour, because it followeth by & by after, And he was the priest of the highest God. I answere, that they wrongfully draw to the bread and wine that which the Apostle referreth to the blessing. Therefore when he was the priest of God he blessed *Abraham*. Whereupon the same Apostle (than whom we neede to seeke no better expositor) gathereth his excellencie, because the lesser is blessed of the greater. But if the oblation of *Melchisedech* were a figure of the sacrifice of the Masse, would the Apostle, I pray you, which searcheth out all euen the least things, haue forgotten so earnest and weightie a thing? Now (howsoever they wrisle) they shall in vaine goe about to ouerthrow the reason which the Apostle himselfe bringeth, that the right and honour of sacrificing priesthood ceaseth among mortall men, because Christ which is immortall, is the onely and perpetuall sacrificing priest.

Heb. 7. 13.

Heb. 7. 7.

The crosse of
Christ therety
bitten & oppressed.
Heb. 9. 12.

3 An other vertue of the Masse was, that it oppresseth and burieth the crosse and passion of Christ. This verily is most certaine, that the crosse of Christ is ouerthrowen so soone as the altar is set vp. For if he offered himselfe for a sacrifice vpon the crosse, that he might sanctifie vs for euer, and purchase to vs eternall redemption: vndoubtedly the force and effectualnes of that sacrifice continueth without any end. Otherwise we should thinke nothing more honorably of Christ, than of oxen & calues which were sacrificed vnder the law: the offerings whereof are proued vn-effectuall and weak by this that they were oft renewed. Wherefore either we must confesse, that the sacrifice of Christ, which he fulfilled vpon the crosse, wanted the force of eternall cleansing, or that Christ hath made an ende of all with one sacrifice once for euer. This is it that the Apostle saith, that this chiefe bishop Christ once appeared by offering vp of himselfe before the ending of the world, to the driving away of sinne. Againe, that we are sanctified by the will of God, by the offering of the body of Iesus Christ once. Againe, That Christ with one oblation for euer hath made perfect them that are sanctified: wherunto he adioyneth a notable sentence, that forgiveness of sinnes being once purchased, there remaineth no more any oblation. This also Christ signified by his last saying and vttered among his last gaspings, when he saide, it is ended. Wee are woot to note the last sayings of men when they are dying, for oracles. Christ dying testifieth that by his own sacrifice is perfected and fulfilled whatsoever was for our saluation. Shall it be lawfull for vs daily to patch innumerable sacrifices to such a sacrifice, (the perfection whereof he hath so shiningly set forth) as though it were vnperfect? When the holy word of God not onely affirmeth, but also crieth out, and protesteth, that this sacrifice was once fully done that the force thereof remaineth euermore: who so require an other sacrifice, do they not accuse this of imperfection and weaknesse? But as for the Masse, which hath bene deliuered in

Heb. 9. 26.
& 10. 10.

Ioh. 19. 19.

such.

uch sort that there may every day be made a hundred thousand sacrifices, to what end tendeth it, but that the passion of Christ whereby he offered him an onely sacrificed oblation to the father, should lie buried and drowned? Who, vnlesse he be blind, cannot see that it was the boldnes of Satan, which wrastled against so open & cleare truth? Neither am I ignorant with what deceites that Father of lying vseth to colour this his fraude, saying that there are not sundrie nor diuers sacrifices, but that one selfe same sacrifice is repeated. But such smokes are easily blown away. For in the whole discourse the Apostle trauelleth to prooue: not onely that there are no other sacrifices, but that that one sacrifice was once offered vp, and shal no more be repeated. The sutteller men do yet slippe out at a narrower hole, saying, that it is not a repeating but an applying. But this Sophisticall argument also is no lesse easily confuted. For neither did Christ once offer vp himselfe 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 holy supper, the fruit thereof should be communicated vnto vs. So Paul saith that Christ our passeouer was offered vp, and biddeth vs to eate of him. This (I say) is the meane whereby the Sacrifice of the crosse is rightly applied to vs, when it is communicated to vs to take the vse of it, and we with true faith receiue it.

1. Cor. 5. 7.

4 But it is worth the labour to heare, with what other foundation beside these they vphold the sacrifice of the Masse. For they draw to this purpose the prophesie of Malachie, whereby the Lord promisseth that 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 prophets, when they speake of the calling of the Gentiles to expresse by the outward ceremonie of the lawe the spirituall worshipping of God, to which they exhort them, that they might the more familiarly declare to the men of their age, that the Gétiles should be called into the true fellowship of religion. Like as also they are wont altogether to describe by figures of their law, the truth that was deliuered by the Gospell. So they set for turning to the Lord, ascending into Ierusalem: for the worshipping of God, the offering of all kinds of gifts: for larger knowledge of him which was to be giuen to the faithfull in the kingdome of Christ, dreames and visions. That therefore which they alleage, is like vnto an other prophesie of *Esay*, where the prophet foretelleth of three altars to be set vp in Assyria, Ægypt, and Iury. For first I aske, whether they do not grant that the fulfilling of this prophesie is in the kingdome of Christ. Secondly, where be these altars, or when they were euer set vp. Thirdly whether they think that to euery seuerall kingdome is appointed a scuerall Temple, such as was that at Ierusalem. These things if they weigh, I thinke they will confesse, that the prophet vnder figures agreeable with his time, prophesieth of the spirituall worship of God to be spread abroad into the whole world. Which we giue to them for a solution. But of this thing sith there doe euerie where examples commonly offer themselues, I will not busie my selfe in longer rehearsal of them. Howbeit herein also they are miserably deceiued, that they acknowledge no sacrifice but of the Masse, whereas indeed the faithfull do now sacrifice to the Lord, and do offer a cleane offering, of which shall be spoken by and by.

The weake supporters of the Masse.

Mal. 1. 8.

Iocl. 2. 28.

Esay. 19. 21.

By the sacrifice of the Masse, the memorie of the death of Christ blessed out.

5 Now I come downe to the third office of the Masse, where I must declare how it blotteth out the true and onely death of Christ, and shaketh it out of the remembrance of men. For as among men the strength of a Testament hangeth vpon the death of the testator: so also our Lorde hath with his death confirmed the testament whereby he hath giuen vs forgiuenesse of sinnes and eternal righteousnesse. They that dare varie or make newe any thing in this testament, doe denie his death, and holde it as it were of no force. But what is the Masse, but a newe and altogether diuers testament? For why? Doeth not euerie seuerall Masse promise newe forgiuenesse of sinnes, newe purchasing of righteousnesse: so that now there bee so many

testaments,

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testamentes, as there be Masse? Let Christ therefore come againe, and with an other death confirme this testament, or rather with infinite deathes confirme innumerable testamentes of Masse. Haue I not therefore said true at the beginning, that the onely and true death of Christ is blotted out by Masse? Yea what shall we say of this that the Masse directly tendeth to this end, that if it be possible, Christ should be slaine againe? For where is a testament (saith the Apostle) there of necessitie must bee the death of the testator. The Masse sheweth it selfe to be a newe testament of Christ: therefore it requireth his death. Moreover the hoste which is offered, must necessarily be slaine and sacrificed. If Christ in euery seuerall Masse be sacrificed, then he must at euery moment be in a thousand places cruelly slaine. This is not mine but the apostles argument, If he had needed to offer himselfe oft, he must oft haue died since the beginning of the world. I know that they haue an answer in readines, whereby also they charge vs with slander. For they say that that is objected against the which they neuer thought, nor yet can. And we know, that the death and life of Christ is not in their hand. We looke not whether they go about to kill him: onely our purpose is to shewe, what manner of absurditie followeth of their vngodly and wicked doctrine. Which selfe thing I prooue by the Apostles owne mouth. Though they crie out to the contrary a hundred times, that this sacrifice is vnbloudie: I will denie that it hangeth vpon the will of men, that sacrifices should change their nature, for by this meane the holy and inuiolable ordinance of God should faile. Wherevpon followeth that this is a sure principle of the Apostle, that there is required shedding of blood, that washing may not be wanting.

Heb. 9. 16.

The death of Christ made unfruitfull by the sacrifice of the Masse.

6 Now is the fourth office of the Masse to be entreated of, namely to take away from vs the suite that came to vs of the death of Christ, while it maketh vs not to acknowledge it and thinke vpon it. For who can call to minde that he is redeemed by the death of Christ when he seeth a new redemption in the Masse? Who can trust that sinnes are forgiven him, when he seeth a new forgiveness? Neither shall he escape that shall say, that we doe for no other cause obtaine forgiveness of sinnes in the Masse, but because it is already purchased by the death of Christ. For he bringeth nothing else than as if he should boast, that Christ hath redeemed vs with this condition that we should redeeme our selues. For such doctrine hath bene spread by the ministers of Satan, and such at this day they maintaine with cryings out with sworde and fire, that we when in the Masse we offer vp Christ to his Father, by this worke of offering do obtaine forgiveness 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 redeemer? Christ himselfe, when in the Supper he sealeth the confidence of pardon, doth not bid his disciples to stick in that doing, but sendeth them away to the sacrifice of his death: signifying that the Supper is a monument or memoriall (as the common speech is) whereby they may learne that the satisfactorie cleansing sacrifice, by which the Father was to be appeased, must haue bene offered but once. 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.

The Sacrament of that holy supper whereby defaced & destroyed.

7 Nowe I come to the conclusion, namely that the holy Supper, in which the Lord had left the remembrance of his passion grauen and expressed, is by the setting vp of the Masse, taken away, defaced, and destroyed. For the Supper it selfe is the gift of God, which was to be receiued with thanksgiuing. The sacrifice of the Masse is fained to pay a price to God, which he may receiue for satisfaction. How much difference there is betweene to giue and to receiue, so much doth the sacrifice differ from the Sacrament of the Supper. And this truly is the most wretched vnthankfulness of man, that where the largesse of Gods bountie ought to haue bene acknowledged, and thanks to be giuen therein he maketh God his dettor. The Sacrament promised,

that

that by the death of Christ we are not onely once restored into life, but are continually quickened, because then all the parts of our saluation were fulfilled. The sacrifice of the Masse singeth a farre other song, that Christ must be daily sacrificed, that he may somewhat profite vs. The Supper should haue bene distributed in the common assemblie of the Church, that it might informe vs of the communion whereby we all cleaue together in Christ Iesus. The sacrifice of the Masse dissolueth and plucketh in sunder this communie. For after that the errour grewe in force, that there must be sacrificers that should sacrifice for the peoples, the Supper of the Lorde, as though it were posted ouer to them, ceased to be communicated to the congregation of the 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 communie ordained of the Lord, when that petie sacrificer willing seuerally by himselfe to deuoure his sacrifice, doth seuer himselfe 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.

8 And whence the very name of Masse first sprung, I could neuer certainly iudge: *Private masses wicked abuses.* saying that it seemeth to me likely that it was taken of the offerings that were giuen. Whereupon the olde writers vse it commonly in the plurall number. But to leaue struing about the name, I say that priuate Masses are directly against the ordinance of Christ, and therefore they are a wicked prophaning of the holy Supper. For what hath the Lorde commaunded vs? not to take, and diuide it among vs? What manner of obseruing of the commaundement doth *Paul* teach? not the breaking of bread, which is the communion of the body and blood? Therefore when one taketh it without distributing, what likenesse is there? But that same one man doth it in the name of the whole Church. By what commaundement? Is not this openly to mocke God, when one man priuately taketh to himselfe that which ought not to haue bene done but among many? But because the words of Christ and *Paul* are plaine enough, we may breffly conclude, that wheresoeuer is not breaking of bread to the communion of the faithfull, there is not the supper of the Lorde, but a false and wrongfull counterfeiting of the supper. But a false counterfeiting is a conuirting. Now the conuirting of so great a mysterie is not without wickednesse. Therefore in private Masses is a wicked abuse. And (as one fault in religion from time to time breedeth another) after that that manner of offering without communion was once crept in, by litle and litle they began in euerie corner of churches to make innumerable Masses, and diuersly to drawe the people hither and thither, which should haue come together into one assemblie, that they might reknowledge the mysterie of their owne vntie. Now let them go and denie it to be idolatry, that in their Masses they shew fourth bread to be worshipped in steede of Christ. For in vaine they boast of those promises of the presence of Christ, which howsoever they be vnderstood, verily were not giue to this purpose, that wicked and prophane men so oft as they will, and to whatsoever abuse they list, may make the body of Christ: but that the faithfull, when with religious obseruation they doe in celebrating of the Supper followe the commaundement of Christ, may enioy the true partaking of him.

1. Cor. 10. 16.

9 Beside that, this peruersnes was vnknowne to the purer church. For howsoever the more shamelesse sort among our aduersaries doe here goe about to disguise the matter with false colours, yet is it most sure that all antiquite is against them, as we haue aforesaid prooued in other things, and it may more certainly be iudged by the continual reading of olde writers. But ere I make an ende of speaking of it, I aske our Malling doctours, sith they knowe that obediencie is more esteemed of God than oblations, and that he more requireth that his voice be harkened to, than that sacrifices be offered: how they beleue that this manner of sacrificing is acceptable to God, whertof

No commaundement in scripture to warrant Massing sacrificers.

1. Sam. 16. 22.

whereof they haue no certaine commandement, and which they see not to be allowed by any one syllable of the Scripture. Moreouer when they heare the Apostle say, that no man taketh to himselfe the name and honor of sacrificing priesthood, but he that is called as *Aaron* was: yea and that Christ himselfe did not thrust in himselfe, but obeyed the calling of his Father: either they must bring forth God the Author and orderer of their sacrificing priesthood, or they must confesse that the honor is not of God, into which they haue with wicked rashnes broken in vncalled. But they cannot shew one title of a letter that maintaineth their sacrificing priesthood. Why therefore shal not their sacrifices vanish away which cannot be offered without a priest?

Such sacrifice neuer allowed by old writers as the Church of Rome hath deuised in the Masse.

Lib. 20. contr. Faust. ca. 18.

10 If any man doe thrust in short sentences of the olde writers gathered here and there, and doe by their authoritie trauaile to prooue that the sacrifice which is done in the Supper is farre otherwise to be vnderstanding than we doe expound it: let him be brieflie answered thus: if the question be of allowing the forged deuise of sacrifice, such as the Papistes haue fained in the Masse, the olde writers doe neuer speake in defence of such sacrilege. They doe in deede vse the word Sacrifice: but therewithall they expound, that they meane nothing else but the remembrance of that true and onely sacrifice, which Christ our onely sacrificing Priest (as they eel where report of him) made on the Crosse. The Hebrues (saith *Augustine*) in the sacrifices of beastes which they offered to GOD, did celebrate a prophetic of the sacrifice to come, which Christ offered: the Christians doe with the holy oblation and partaking of the body of Christ celebrate a remembrance of the sacrifice already made. Heere verily he teacheth altogether the same thing, which is written in mor words in the booke of Faith to *Peter* the Deacon, whosoever be the author of it: The words be these, Beleue most stedfastly and doubt not at all, that the onely begotten himselfe, being made flesh for vs, offered himselfe for vs a sacrifice and oblation to God into a fauour of sweetnesse: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost in the time of the old Testament beastes were sacrificed: and to whom now with the Father and the Holy Ghost (with whom he hath one Godhead) the holy Church throughout the whole world ceaseth not to offer the sacrifice of bread and wine. For in those fleshly sacrifices was a figuring of the flesh of Christ which he should offer for our sinnes, and of his blood which he should shed to the forgiuensse of sinnes. But in this sacrifice is thanksgiuing and rehearsal of the flesh of Christ which he offered for vs, and of his blood which the same he hath shed for vs. Whereupon *Augustine* himselfe in many places expoundeth it to be nothing else but a sacrifice of praise. Finally you shal commonly find in him, that the Supper of the Lord is for no other reason called a sacrifice, but because it is the remembrance, image, and witness of that singular, true, and onely sacrifice wherewith Christ hath cleansed vs. Also there is a notable place in his fourth booke of the Trinitie Chapter, where after that he hath discoursed of the onely sacrifice he thus concludeth: because in a sacrifice fower things are considered, to whom it is offered, and of whom, what is offered, and for whom. The same he himselfe the one and true Mediator reconciling vs to God by the sacrifice of peace, remaineth one with him to whom he offered: maketh them one in him for whom he offered: is one himselfe which offered, and the thing which he offered. To the same effect also speaketh *Chrysostome*. But they so challenge the honor of sacrificing priesthood to Christ, that *Augustine* testifieth it to be the voice of Antichrist if any man make a Bishop intercessor betweene God and men.

Cont. aduers. legjs.

Lib. 1. cont. pam. cap. 8.

Christ after a sort offered because his offering as it were passed out by this mysterie: in celebration whereof the Fathers noe simple to be allowed, though not to be condemned of vngodlines neither.

11 Yet doe we not deny but that the offering vp of Christ is there so shewed in vs, that the spectacle of the Crosse is in a manner set before our eyes: as the Apostle saith that Christ was crucified in the eyes of the Galathians, when the preaching of the Crosse was set before them. But forasmuch as I see that those old Fathers also wrested this remembrance another way than was agreable with the institution of the Lord (because their supper contained I wote not what repeated or at least renewed forme of sacrificing)

Gal. 3. 1.

sacrificing) the safest way for godly hearts shall be to rest in the pure and simple ordinance of God: whose also the supper is therefore called, because in it his authoritie alone ought to be in force. Truly sith I find that they haue kept a godly and true sense of this whole mysterie, and I do not perceiue that they meant to abate anything were it neuer so little from the onely sacrifice of the Lord, I cannot condemne them of vngodlinesse: yet I thinke that they cannot be excused, but that they haue offended somewhat in the manner of the celebration. For they counterfaieted the Iewish manner of sacrificing more neerely than either Christ had ordeined, or the nature of the Gospel did beare. Therefore that same ouerthwart appliance to heauenly things is the onely thing wherein a man may worthily blame them, for that being not contented with the simple and naturall institution of Christ, they swarued to the shadowes of the law.

12 If a man do diligently wey, that this difference is put by the word of the Lord betwene the sacrifices of *Moses*, and our Thanksgiuing, that whereas those did represent to the Iewish people, the same effectualnesse of the death of Christ, which is at this day deliuered to vs in the supper, yet the maner of representing was diuers. For in those, the Leuiticall priests were commanded to figure that which Christ should performe it: there was brought a sacrifice which should be in the steed of Christ himselfe: there was an altar whereupon it should be offered: Finally all things were so done, that there was set before their eyes an image of the sacrifice which was to be offered to God for a satisfactorie cleansing. But since the time that the sacrifice is ended the Lord hath appointed to vs another order: namely that it should conuey to the faithfull people the fruit of the sacrifice offered to him by the sonne. Therefore he hath giuen vs a table wherat we should eate, not an altar wherupon sacrifice should be offered: he hath not consecrated priests to sacrifice, but ministers to distribute the holy banquet. How much more hie and holy the mysterie is, so much more religiously and with greater reuerence it is meete to be handled. Therefore there is no way safer, than putting away all boldnesse of mans vnderstanding, to sticke fast in that alone which the Scripture teacheth. And truly if we consider that it is the Supper of the Lord and not of men, there is no cause why we should suffer our selues to be remooued one haire breadth from it by any authoritie of men or prescription of yeeres. Therefore when the Apostle minded to cleanse it from all faults which had alreadie crept into the Church of the Corinthians, he vseth the readiest way thereunto, that is, he calleth it backe to the onely institution of it, from whence he sheweth that a perpetuall rule ought to be fetched.

The difference betwene the sacrifices of Moses and our thanksgiuing

1. Cor. 11. 26.

13 Now least any wrangler, should stirre vs vp strife by reason of the names of sacrifice and sacrificing priest, I will also declare, but yet breefely what in the whole discourse I haue meant by a sacrifice, and what by a sacrificing priest. Who so stretch the word sacrifice to all holy Ceremonies and doings of religion, I see not by what reason they do it. We do know that by the continuall vse of the Scripture a sacrifice is called that which the Greekes call sometime *Thusia*, sometime *Prophora*, sometime *Telete*. Which being generally taken comprehendeth whatsoeuer is in any wise offered to God. Wherefore we must make distinction: but yet so that this distinction may haue a supernall appliance of similitude from the sacrifices of the lawe of *Moses*: vnder the shadowes whereof the Lord willed to represent to his people the whole truth of sacrifices. Of those although there were diuers formes, yet they may al be referred to two sortes. For either there was oblation made for sinne after a certaine maner of satisfaction, whereby guiltinesse was redeemed before God: or it was a signe of the worshipping of God, and a testifying of religion: sometime in steede of supplication, to craue the fauour of God: sometime in steede of thanksgiuing, to testifie thankfulness of minde for benefites receiued: sometime onely for an exercise of godlinesse, to renewe the stablishing of the couenant, to which latter sorte pertained

The name of sacrifice, two kinds thereof in the law, in the Gospell, two other therewith answerable.

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pertained burnt offerings, drinke offerings, oblations, first fruits, and peace offerings. Wherefore let vs also diuide ours into two kindes: and for teachings sake let vs call the one the sacrifice of worship and of godly deuotion, because it consisteth in the honouring and worshipping of God, which the faithfull both owe and yeelde vnto him: or, if you will, the sacrifice of Thankesgiuing: for as much as it is giuen to God of none but of them that being laden with immeasurable benefits, doe tender to him themselues with all their doings. The other may be called propitiatory or of expiation. The sacrifice of expiation is that which tendeth to appease the wrath of God, to satisfie his iudgement, and so to wash and wipe away sinnes: whereby the sinner cleansed from the filthie spots of them, and restored into puritie of righteousnes, may returne into fauour with God himselfe. So in the lawe those were called sacrifices that were offered for the purging of sinnes: not for that they were sufficient to recover the fauor of God, or to put away iniquitie: but for that they shadowed out such a true sacrifice which at length was fully done by Christ alone: and by him alone, because it could be done by none other: and once, because the effectuallnesse and force of that one sacrifice which Christ hath fully don, is eternall, as he himself hath testified with his owne mouth, when he said that it was ended and fulfilled: that is to say, that whatsoeuer was necessarie to the reconciling of the fathers fauour, to the obtaining of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, to righteousnesse and to saluation, all the same was performed and fulfilled with that his onely oblation, and there so nothing wanted thereof, that there was after ward no place left to any other sacrifice.

Exod. 19. 39.

Iohn. 19. 30.

In the sacrifice of the masse Christe blasphemed and sold the sacrificer himselfe not as. shorished.

14 Wherefore I determine, that it is a most wicked reproch, and blasphemie not to be suffered, as well against Christ as against the sacrifice which he hath fully done by his death vpon the crosse for vs, if any man by renewing an oblation thinke to purchase the pardon of sinnes, to appease God, and to obtaine righteousnesse. But what is else done by Massing, but that by deserring of new oblation we may be made partakers of the passion of Christ. And that there might be no measure of madding, they thought it but a small thing to say that there is made indifferently a common sacrifice for the whole Church, vlesse they further saide that it is in their choise to apply it peculiarly to this man or that man to whom they would, or rather to euery one whosoever he were that would buy for himselfe such ware with readie monie. Now because they could not reach to the price that Judas had, yet that they might in some marke resemble their author, they kept the likenesse of number. Judas solde him for thirtie siluer pence: these fellowsell him, after the French account, for thirtie brazen pence: but Judas solde him once, these fellowsell him as oft they can finde a buier. In this sense also we denie that they be sacrificing priestes, that is to say, they that with such an oblation are meanes to God for the people, they that appealing God, may purchase the satisfactorie purging of sinnes. For Christ is the onely bishop and sacrificing priest of the new Testament, into whome all Priesthoodes are remoued, and in whome they be shut vp and ended. And if the Scripture had made no mention of the eternall priestthod of Christ: yet for as much as God, since that he hath taken away those olde priestthodes, hath ordained none, the Apostles argument remaineth inuincible, that no man taketh honour to himselfe, but he that is called of God. By what affiance therefore dare these robbers of God, that boast themselues for the butchers of Christ, call themselues the sacrificing Priestes of the liuing God?

The common price of a masse in France is three karolus, which make twentie deniers, about the value of a sterling grote. Heb. 5. 4.

The very practise of the church of Rome in their masse and the grosse thereof condemned euen by Plato himselfe.

15 Plato hath an excellent place in his second booke of common weale. Where when he entreateth of the old manners of expiation, and laugheth to scorne the foolish confidence of cull men & wicked doers, which thought that their wicked doings were by these as by coverings hidden that the Gods could not see them, and did, as if they had gotten warrant of the Gods by covenant, more carelesly followe their owne lusts: he seemeth throughly to touch the manner of satisfactorie purging of the

Masse,

Masse, such as is at this day in the world. To beguile and vndermine another man, all men know to be vnlawfull. To grieue widowes with wrongfull dealings, to rob the fatherlesse, to trouble the poore, by euill craftie meanes to catch other mens goods to themselues, with forswearings and deceits to enter forceably into any mans possessions, to oppresse any man with violence and tyrannous feare, all men confesse to be wicked. How therefore dare so many commonly do all these things, as though they should freely be bolde to do them? Truly, if we rightly weigh it, no other cause doth so much encourage them, but because they haue confidence, that by the sacrifice of a Masse, as by payment of full price for recompence, they shall satisfie God, or at the least that this is an easie way to cōpound with him. Then *Plato* proceedeth further to scorn their grosse blockithnes, which think that by such satisfactorie cleanings those paines are redeemed that otherwise they should suffer in hell. And whereto serue at this day the yeerely obites, and the greater part of Masses, but that they which throughout all their life haue bene most cruell tyrants, or most rauenous robbers, or giuen tooth to all mischieuous doings, should as though they were redeemed by this price, escape the fire of purgatorie?

16 Vnder the other kind of sacrifice, which we haue called the sacrifice of thankgiuing, are contained all the dutifull workes of charitie, which when we extend to our brethren, we honour the Lord himselfe in his members: then, all our prayers, praifings, giuings of thanks, and whatsoeuer we do to the worshipping of God. All which things finally do hang vpon the greater sacrifice, whereby we are in soule and body hallowed to be a holy temple to the Lord. For neither is it enough, if our outward doings be applied to the obeying of him: but first our selues, and then all that is ours ought to be consecrate and dedicate to him: that whatsoeuer is in vs, may serue his glorie, and may fauour of zelous endeuour to aduance it. This kind of sacrifice tendeth nothing at all to appease the wrath of God, nothing at all to obtaine forgiveness of sinnes, nothing at all to deserue righteousness: but is occupied onely in magnifying and extolling of God. For it cannot be pleasant and acceptable to God, but at their handes, whom by forgiveness of sinnes already receiued he hath by other meanes reconciled to himselfe, and therefore acquitted them from guiltines. But it is so necessarie for the Church, that it cannot be away from it. Therefore it shall be cuerlasting, so long as the people of God shall continue, as we haue before already shewed out of the Prophet: for in that meaning I will take this prophacie, For from the rising of the sunne to the going downe thereof, great is my name among the Gentiles, and in euerie place incense shall be offered to my name, and a cleane offering: because my name is terrible among the Gentiles, saith the Lord: so far is it off, 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 verie pithly, when he added that this is our reasonable worshipping: for he meant the spirituall manner of worshipping of God, which he did secretly set in comparison against the carnall sacrifices of the law of Moses. So liberall doing of good and communicating are called sacrifices by which God is pleased. So the liberalltie of the Philippians, whereby they had relieued the poertie of *Paul*, is called a sacrifice of sweet smelling. So all the good workes of the faithfull are called spirituall sacrifices.

17 And why do I seeke out many examples? For commonly this manner of speaking is often found in the scriptures. Yea and while the people of God was yet holden vnder the outward schooling of the law, yet the prophets did sufficiently expresse, that vnder those carnall sacrifices was the truth, which the Christian Church hath common with the nation of the Iewes. After which manner *Dauid* prayed, that his praier might as incense ascend into the sight of God. And *osee* called giuing of thanks, the calues of lippes, which in another place *Dauid* calleth the sacrifices of praise. Whom the Apostle himselfe following, calleth them also the sacrifices of praise, and

*The sacrifice of
praise and
thankgiuing.*

Rom. 12. 1.

Heb. 13. 16.
Phil. 4. 18.

*Prayer and other
goods diuies termed
Sacrifices by
the Prophets, and
Christians in re-
spect thereof
Priests.*

psal. 141. 2.
Osee. 14. 3.
Psal. 51. 21.
Hebr. 13. 15.

expoundeth

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1. Pet. 29.

expoundeth them the fruits of lips confessing to his name. This kind of sacrifice the Supper of the Lord cannot want: wherein when we declare his death and render thankgiuing, we do nothing but offer the sacrifice of praise. Of this office of sacrificing, all we Christians are called a kingly Priesthoode: because by Christ we offer to God that sacrifice of praise of which the Apostle speaketh, the fruit of lips that confesse to his name. For neither do we with our gifts appeare in the sight of God without an intercessor. Christ is he, which being the Mediator comming betweene, we offer vs and ours to the Father. He is our Bishop, which being entred into the sanctuarie of heauen, hath opened the entrie to vs. He is the altar, vpon which we lay our gifts, that in him we may be bold all that we are bold. It is he (I say) that hath made vs a kingdome and Priests to the Father.

*Masse a graund
deceiuer of the
world.
Reucl. 1. 6.*

*Queene Helene
the Grecian har-
lot, cause of the
warre of Troy.*

18 What remaineth, but that the blinde may see, the deafe may heare, children themselues may vnderstand this abhominacion of the Masse? which being offered in a golden cup, hath made drunke the kings and peoples of the earth, from the hieft to the lowest, hath so striken them with drowynesse and giddynesse, that being become more senselesse than brute beastes, they haue set the whole ship of their safetic onely in this deadly deuouring gulfe. Truly Satan neuer did bend himselfe with a stronger engine than this to assaile and vanquish the kingdome of Christ. This is the *Helene*, for whom the enemies of the truth fight at this day with so great rage, so great furiousnesse, so great crueltie: and a *Helene* indeede, with whom they so defile themselues with spirituall whoredome, which is the most cursed of all. I doe not here so much as once touch with my little finger those grosse abuses wherewith they might colour the vnholy purenesse of their holy Masse: howe filthy marketings they vse, how vnholonest gaines they make with their massings, with how great rauening they fill their couetousnesse. Onely I doe point vnto, and that with fewe and plaine wordes, what maner of thing is euen the verie holiest holinesse of the Masse, for which it hath deserued in certaine ages past to be so honorable and 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 vncleanesses that commonly shewe themselues before the eyes and faces of all men, that all men may vnderstand, that the Masse taken in her most piked purenesse, and wherewith it may be set out to the best shew, without her appendances, from the roote to the top is warmed full of all kinde of wickednes, blasphemie, idolatrie, and sacriledge.

*No sacrament in
the Church but
onely Baptisme &
the Lordes Supper.*

19 The readers now haue in a manner almost all those things gathered into an abridgement, which we haue thought behoouefull to be knowen concerning these two sacramentes: the vse of which hath bene deliuered to the Christian Church from the beginning of the new testamēt, to continue to the verie end of the world: namely, that Baptisme shoulde be as it were a certaine entrie into it, and an admission into faith: and the Supper should be as it were a continuall foode, wherewith Christ spirituallly feedeth the family of his faithfull. Wherefore as there is but one God, one faith, one Christ, one Church his bodie: so there is but one Baptisme, and is not oft ministred againe. But the supper is from time to time distributed, that they which haue bene once receiued into the Church, may vnderstand that they be continually fed with Christ. Beside these two as there is no other sacrament ordained of God, so neither ought the Church of the faithfull to acknowledge any other. For that, it is not a thing that lieth in the choise of man to raise and set vp new sacraments, he shall easily vnderstande that remembreth that which hath bene heere before plainly inough declared, that is, that sacraments are appointed of God to this end, that they should instruct vs of some promise of his, and testifie to vs his good will toward vs: and he also that calleth to minde, that none hath bene Gods counseller, that might promise vs any certaintie of his will, or assure vs, and bring vs out of care, what

Esa. 40. 13.
Rom. 11. 34.

what affection he beareth toward vs, what he will giue, or what he will deny vs. For therewith is also determined, that no man can set foorth a signe to be a testimony of any will or promise of his: it is he himselve alone, that can by a signe giuen testifie to vs of himselfe. I will speake it more briefly, and peradventure more grossly, but more plainly, A Sacrament can neuer be without promise of saluation. All men gathered on a heape together can of themselues promise nothing of our saluation. Therefore neither can they of themselues set foorth or set vp a Sacrament.

20 Therefore let the Christian Church be contented with these two, and let her not onely not admit or acknowledge any third for the present time, but also not desire or looke for any to the ende of the world. For whereas certaine diuerse Sacramentes, beside those their ordinarie ones, were giuen to the Iewes according to the diuerse course of times, as Manna, Water springing out of the rocke, the brazen Serpent and such other: they were by this change put in minde that they should not stay vpon such figures whose state was not very stedfast: but that they should looke for some better thing from God, which should continue without any decaying, & without any end. But we are in a faire other case, to whom Christ is openly shewed: in whom all the treasures of knowledge and wisdome are hidden with so great abundance and plenty, that either to hope for or looke for any new encrease to these treasures, is verily to moue God to wrath, and to prouoke him against vs. We must hunger for, seeke, looke vpon, learne, and throughly learne Christ alone, vntill that great day shall appeare, wherein the Lord shall openly shew to the full the glory of his kingdom, and himselfe such as he is, to be beholden of vs. And for this reason this our age is in the Scriptures signified by the last houre, the last daies, the last times, that no man should deceiue himselfe with vaine looking for any new doctrine of reuelation. For many times and in many sorts he spake before of his Prophets, in these last daies the heauenly Father hath spoken in his beloued Sonne, which onely can manifestly shew the Father: and in deede he hath manifestly shewed him to the full, so much as behooueth vs, while we now behold him by a glasse. As therefore this is now taken away from men, that they cannot make new Sacraments in the Church of God: so it were to be wished, that as little as were possible of mans inuention might be mingled with those Sacraments that are of God. For like as when water is powred in, the wine departeth and is delayed: and as with leauen scattered among it, the whole lump of dowe waxeth sower: so the purenesse of the mysteries of God is nothing else but defiled when man addeth any thing of his owne. And yet we see how farre the Sacraments are swarued out of kinde from their naturall purenesse, as they be handled at this day. There is echwhere too much of pompes, ceremonies, and gesturings: but of the word of God in the meane time there is neither any consideration or mention, without which euen the Sacraments themselues are not Sacraments. Yea and the very ceremonies that are ordained of God, in so great a rout cannot once lift vp their head, but lie as it were oppressed. How little is that seene in Baptisme, which only ought there to haue shined and beene looked vpon, as we haue in another place rightfully complained, euen Baptisme it selfe? As for the Supper, it is viterly buried, since that it hath beene turned into the Masse, sauing that it is seene once euery yeere but in a mangled and halfe torne fashion.

The diuerse Sacraments of the Iewes and our diuerse case from theirs.

Exod. 16. 13. and 17. 6.

1. Cor. 10. 3. Num. 21. 8.

Ioh. 3. 14. Col. 2. 3.

1. Ioh. 3. 2. 1. Ioh. 2. 18. 1. Pet. 1. 20. Heb. 1. 2.

1. Cor. 13. 12.

The xix. Chapter.

Of the five falsely named Sacraments: where is declared, that the other five which haue bene hitherto commonly taken for Sacraments, are not Sacraments: and then is shewed what manner of thing they be.

○ Vr former discourse concerning Sacraments might haue obtained this with the sober and willing to learne, that they should not ouer curiously proceede

A Sacrament defined so be a visible signe of invisible

*Ue grace, and this
applied in the
Schools of Rome
to five other be-
sides those two
before handled.*

any further, nor should without the word of God embrace any other Sacramentes beside those two which they knew to be ordeined of the Lord. But forasmuch as that opinion of the seauen Sacraments, being commonly vsed in all mens talke, hauing wandred through all schooles and preachings, hath by very ancientie gathered rootes, and is yet still fixed in the mindes of men: I thought that I should doe a thing worth the trauell, if I should seuerally and more neerely search those other siue that are commonly adnumbred among the true and naturall Sacramentes of the Lord, and wiping away all deceitfull colour, should set them foorth to be seene of the simple such as they be, and how falsely they haue bene hitherto taken for Sacraments. First, I here protest to all the godly, that I doe not take in hand this contention about the name for any desiring of struuing, but that I am by weightie causes led to fight against the abuse of it. I am not ignorant that Christians are Lordes, as of wordes, so of all things also, and therefore may at their will apply words to things, so that a godly sense be kept, although there be some vnproperncie in the speaking. All this I graunt: although it were better that the words should be made subiect to things, than things to the words. But in the name of Sacrament there is another consideration. For they which make seuen Sacraments, doe therewithall giue to them all this definition, that they be visible formes of inuisible grace: they make them altogether vessels of the holy Ghost: instruments of giuing of righteousnesse, causes of the obtaining of grace. Yea and the master of the sentences himselfe denieth that the Sacraments of the law of *Moses* are properly called by this name, because they did not deliuer in deede the thing that they figured. Is it, I beseech you, to be suffered, that those signes which the Lord hath hallowed with his owne mouth, which he hath garnished with excellent promises, should not be accounted for Sacraments: and in the meane time this honour should be conueyed away to those vsages which men either haue deuised of themselves, or at least doe obserue without expresse commandement of God? Therefore either let them change the definition, or let them abstaine from the wrongfull vsing of this word, which doth afterward engender false opinions and full of absurdity. Extreme anointing (say they) is a figure and cause of inuisible grace, because it is a Sacrament: If we ought in no wise to grant that which they gather vpon it, then truly we must resist them in the name it selfe, least thereby we admit that it may giue occasion to such an error. Againe when they would prouoe it to be a Sacrament, they adde this cause, for that it consisteth of the outward signe and the word. If we finde neither commandement nor promise of it, what can we doe else but cry out against them?

*In no mans power
but in Gods alone
to institute Sa-
craments,*

*Esaï 40. 13.
Ro. n. 11. 34.*

2 Now appeareth that we braule not about the word, but doe moue a con-
trouersie not superfluous concerning the thing it selfe. Therefore this we must strong-
ly holde fast, which we haue with inuincible reason before confirmed, that the pow-
er to institute a Sacrament is in the hand of none but of God onely. For a Sacrament
ought with a certaine promise to raise vp and comfort the consciences of the faith-
full: which could neuer receiue this certainerie from man. A Sacrament ought to
be to vs a witnessing of the good will of God toward vs, whereof none of all men or
Angels can be witness, forasmuch as none hath bene of Gods counsell. Therefore it
is he alone which doth with right authoritie testifie of himselfe to vs by his word. A
Sacrament is a seale, wherwith the testament or promise of God is sealed. But it could
not be sealed with bodily things & elements of this world, vnles they be by the pow-
er of God framed and appouined thereunto. Therefore man cannot ordaine a Sacra-
ment, because this is not in the power of man, to make that so great mysteries of God
should lie hidden vnder so base things. The word of God must goe before, which may
make a Sacrament to be a Sacrament, as *Augustine* very well teacheth. Moreover
it is profitable that there be kept some difference betweene the Sacraments and
other ceremonies, vnlesse we will fall into many absurdities. The Apostles prayed
kneeling:

Huin in Ioan. 80.

kneeling : therefore men shall not kneele without a sacrament. It is said that the disciples praied toward the East : therefore the looking into the East shal be a sacrament. *Paul* wiltech men in every place to lift vp pure hands, & it is rehearsed that holy men oftentimes praied with their hands lifted vp; then let the lifting vp of hands also be made a Sacrament. Finally let all the gestures of the holy ones turne into Sacraments. Howbeit I would not also much passe vpon these things, if so that they were not ioynd with those other greater discommodities.

A. 1. 19. 40. and 10. 3. 6.
1. Tim. 2. 8.

3 If they will presse vs with the authoritie of the olde Church, I say that they pretende a false colour. For this number of seuen is no where found among the Ecclesiasticall writers: neither is it certaine at what time it first crept in. I graunt indeede that sometime they be very free in vsing the name of a sacrament: but what meane they thereby? euen all ceremonies and ourward rites, and all exercises of godlinesse. But when they speake of those signes that ought to be witness of the grace of God toward vs, they are contented with these two, Baptisme, and the Supper. Least any man should thinke that I falsely boast of this, I will heere rehearse a few testimonies of *Augustine*. To *Ianuarius* he saith. First I would haue thee to holde fast that which is the chiefe point of this disputation, that our Lord Christ (as he himselfe saith in the Gospell) hath made vs subiect to a light yoke and a light burden. Wherefore he hath bound together the fellowship of the newe people with Sacraments very fewe in number, verie easie in obseruing, very excellent in signification. As are Baptisme hallowed in the name of the Trinitie, and the Communicating of the body and blood of the Lorde, and whatsoeuer else is set fourth in the Canonical Scriptures. Againe, in his booke of Christian doctrine. Since the Lords resurrection, the Lord himselfe and the doctrine of the Apostles hath deliuered certaine few signes in steede of many, and those most easie to be done, most reuerend in vnderstanding, most pure in obseruing: as is Baptisme and the celebrating of the body and blood of the Lord. Why doth he here make no mention of the holy number, that is, of the number of seuen? It is likely that hee would haue passed it ouer, if it had been at that time ordained in the Church, specially sith he is otherwise in obseruing of numbers more curious than neede were? Yea, when he nameth Baptisme and the Supper, and speaketh nothing of the rest: doth he not sufficiently signifie, that these two mysteries do excel in singular dignitie, and that the other ceremonies do rest beneath in a lower degree? Wherefore I say that these Sacramentarie Doctors are destitute not onely of the word of the Lord, but also of the consent of the olde Church, how much soeuer they glorie of this pretence. But now let vs come downe to the the speciall things themselues.

Although the word Sacraments be in the fathers largely applied, yea S. Augustine speaking of those principal mysteries which Christ hath left vnto his Church, doth mention only baptisme and the celebrating of the body and blood of Christ. Epist. 118.

Lib. 3. cap. 9.

Of Confirmation.

4 This was the manner in olde time, that the children of Christians, when they were growen to age of discretion should be brought before the Bishop: that they should fulfil that ductie which was required of those that becing growen in yeeres did offer themselues to Baptisme. For these sate among those that were to be catechised, till being fully instructed in the mysteries of the faith, they could make a confession of their faith before the bishop and the people. Therefore they that were baptised being infantes, because they had not then made confession of their faith before the church, were about the end of their childhoode or in the beginning of their yeeres of discretion presented againe by their parents, and were examined of the Bishoppe according to the forme of the Catechisme, which they had then certaine and common. And that this doing, which otherwise ought worthily to be graue and holy, might haue the more reuerence and dignitie, there was added also the Ceremonie of laying on of hands. So that same childe, his faith being allowed, was let goe with soleme blessing. The old writers doe oft make mention of this manner. *Leo* the Pope writeth: If any returne from Heretikes, let him not be baptised againe (but which

The cause and maner of ancient Confirmation, with the opinions of Leo and Jerome concerning it.

Epi. 39.

Cap. 19. Of the outward meanes

he wanted among the Heretikes) let the vertue of the spirite be giuen him by the Bishops laying on of his hands. Heere our aduersaries will erie out, that it is rightfully called a Sacrament, in which the holy Ghost is giuen; but *Leo* himselfe doth in another place declare what he meaneth by those wordes: Who so (saith he) is baptised among heretikes, let him not be rebaptised, but with calling vpon the holy Ghost, let him be confirmed with laying on of hands: because he receiued onely the forme of baptisme without sanctifying. *Hierome* also maketh mention of it, writing against the Luciferians. But although I do not denie that *Hierome* somewhat erreth therein, for for that he saith that it is an obseruation of the Apostles: yet hee is most farre from these mens follies, and the very same also he qualifieth, when he addeth, that this blessing is giuen to the Bishops onely, rather in honour of their priesthood than by the necessitie of law. Therefore such laying on of hands, which is done simple in steed of blessing, I praise and woulde that it were at this day restored to the pure vse thereof.

Epi. 77.

For confirmation as at this day they use it in the Church of Rome there is in the word of God no warrant.

5 But the later age hauing in a manner blotted out the thing 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 giue the holy Ghost to the encrease of Grace, which in baptisme was giuen to innocencie: to strengthen them to battaile, which in baptisme were newe begotten to life. This Confirmation is celebrate with annoynting, and with this forme of words, I signe thee with the signe of the holy crosse, & confirm thee with the chresme of saluation, in the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost. All this is gaily and trimly done. But where is the worde of God, that may promise heere the presence of the holy Ghost? They cannot bring forth one tittle. Whereby then will they certifie vs, that their chresme is the vessel of the holy Ghost? We see oyle, that it is a thicke and fat liquor and nothing else. Let the worde (saith *Augustine*) be added to the element, and there shall be made a sacrament. Let them (I say) bring forth this worde, if they will haue vs in the oyle to looke vpon any thing but the oyle. If they did acknowledge themselves ministers of the Sacraments, as they ought, we neede to strue no longer. This is the first lawe of a minister, that he do nothing without commandement. Go to, let them bring forth any commandement of this point of ministry, and I will not speake one word more. If they haue no commandement, they cannot excuse their boldnes full of sacrilege. After this manner the Lorde asked the Pharisees, whether the baptisme of *Iohn* were from heauen or from men: if they had answered, from men, then he had made them confesse that it was trifling and vaine: if from heauen then were they compelled to acknowledge the doctrine of *Iohn*. Therefore least they should too much slander *Iohn*, they durst not confesse that it was from men. If therefore Confirmation be from men, it is prooued to bee vaine and trifling: if they will perswade vs that it is from heauen, let them prooue it.

Matt. 12. 25.

Proposition of hands used by the apostles, no president for popish confirmation. Act. 8. 21.

6 They do indeed defend themselves with the example of the Apostles, whom they thinke to haue done nothing rashly. This is well in deed: neither woulde we blame them, if they shewed themselves followers of the Apostles. But what did the Apostles? *Luke* reporteth in the Acts, that the apostles which were at *Hierusalem*, when they heard that *Samaritania* had receiued the word of god, sent thither *Peter* & *Iohn*: they prayed for the Samaritans, that they might receiue the holy Ghost, which was not yet come into any of them, but they were baptised onely in the name of Iesus: when they had prayed, they laide their hands vpon them: by which laying on, the Samaritans receiued the holy Ghost. And of this laying on of hands he diuers times maketh mention. I heare what the Apostles did: that is, they faithfully executed their ministrie. The Lorde willed that those visible and woonderfull graces of the holy Ghost, which he then poured out vpon his people, should be ministred and distributed of his Apostles by the laying on of hands. But vnder this laying on

of hands: I thinke there was not contained any higher mysterie: but I expound it, that they adioyned such a ceremony, that by the very outward dooing they might signifie, that they commended and as it were offered to God him vpon whom they laid their hands. If this ministerie which the Apostles then executed, were yet still remainyng in the Church, the laying on of handes also ought to be kept. But since that same grace hath ceased to be giuen, whereto serueth the laying on of hands? Truly the holy Ghost is yet present with the people of God, without whom being guider and director, the Church of God cannot stand. For we haue the eternall promise and which shall euer stand in force, by which Christ calleth to himselfe them that thirst, that they may drinke liuing waters. But those miracles of powers, and manifest workings, which were distributed by the laying on of hands, haue ceased, neither behooued it that they should be but for a time. For it behooued that the preaching of the Gospell while it was new, should be gloriously set forth and magnified, with vnheard of and vnwonted miracles. From which when the Lord ceased, he did not by and by forsake his Church, but taught that the royaltie of his kingdome and the dignitie of his word was excellently enough disclosed. In what point therfore will these stageplayers say that they follow the Apostles? They should haue done it with laying on of hands, that the euident power of the holy Ghost might by and by shew forth it selfe. Thus they bring not to passe: why therefore doe they boast that the laying on of hands maketh for them, which we read in deede that the Apostles vsed, but altogether to an other ende?

Iohn 7.37.

7 This hath like reason as if a man should teach that the breathing wherewith the Lord breathed vpon his Disciples, is a Sacrament whereby the holy Ghost is giuen. But whereas the Lord did this once, he did not also will that we should doe the same. After the same manner also the Apostles laide on their hands, during the time that it pleased the Lord that the visible graces of the holy Ghost should be distributed at their prayers: not that they which come after, should onely playlike and without the thing in deede counterfaite an emptie and cold signe, as these Apes doe. But if they prouoe that in laying on of hands they follow the Apostles, (wherethin they haue no like thing with the Apostles, sauing I wote not what ouerthwart wrongfull counterfaying) yet whence cometh their oyle which they call the oyle of saluation? Who taught them to seeke saluation in oyle? Who taught them to giue to it the power of strengthening? Did Paul, which draweth vs farre away from elements of the world, which condemneth nothing more than the sticking to such pety obseruations? But thus I boldly pronounce not of my selfe, but from the Lord. Who so call oyle the oyle of saluation, they forswear the saluation which is in Christ, they deny Christ, they haue no part in the kingdome of God. For oyle is for the belly, and the belly for oyle, the Lord shall destroy both. For all these weake elements, which decay with very vse, belong nothing to the kingdome of God, which is spirituall and shall neuer decay. What then? will some men say: doe you measure with the same measure, the water wherewith we be baptised, and the bread and wine vnder which the Supper of the Lord is giuen? I answere that in Sacraments giuen of God, two things are to be looked vnto: the substance of the bodily thing which is set before vs, and the forme that is by the word of God printed in it, wherein lieth the whole strength. In respect therefore that the bread, wine, and water that are in the Sacraments offered to our sight, doe keepe their owne substance, this saying of Paul alway hath place, Meate for the belly, and the belly for meates: God shall destroy them both. For they passe and vanish away with the fashion of this world. But in respect that they be sanctified by the word of God, that they may be Sacraments, they doe not hold vs in the flesh, but doe truly and spirituallly teach vs.

Iohn 10.22.

Gal.4.9.
Col.2.20.

1.Cer.6.13.

*With derogation
from baptisme
force giuen vnto
confirmation
which doth not
belong vnto it.*

8 But let vs yet more neerely looke into it, how many monsters this fat liquor fostereth and feedeth. These annointers say, that the holy Ghost is giuen in baptisme,

to innocencie : in confirmation, to encrease of grace : that in Baptisme, we are newe begotten into life : in confirmation, we are prepared to battle. And they are so past shame, that they deny that Baptisme can well be done without confirmation. O wickednesse ! Are we not therefore in Baptisme buried together with Christ, being made partakers of his death, that we may be also partners of his resurrection ? But this fellowshipp with the death and life of Christ *Paul* expoundeth to bee the mortifying of our flesh, and quickning of our Spirit : for that our olde man is crucified, that we may walke in newnes of life. What is to be armed to battell if this be not ? If they counted it a matter of nothing, to tread vnder feete the word of God : why did they not yet at least reuerence the Chnrch, to whom they will in euery point seeme so obedient ? But what can be brought foorth more strong against their doctrine, than that decree of the Mileuitane councill ? Who so saith that Baptisme is giuen only for forgiveness of sinnes, and not for a helpe of grace to come, accursed be he. But whereas *Luke*, in the place which we haue alleaged, saith that they were baptised in the name of Iesus Christ, which had not receiued the holy Ghost : he doth not simply deny that they were endued with any gift of the holy Ghost, which beleued in Christ with hart, and confessed him with mouth : but meaneth of that receiuing of the holie Ghost, whereby the open powers and visible graces were receiued. So is it said that the Apostles receiued the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, whereas it had beene long before said vnto them of Christ, it is not you that speake, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you. Behold all ye that are of God, the malicious and poysonous deceite of Sathan. That thing which was truly giuen in baptisme, he lyngly saith to be giuen in his confirmation, that he may by stealth leade you vnto from baptisme. Who now can doubt that this is the doctrine of Satan, which cutting away from baptisme the promises properly belonging to baptisme, doth conuey away and remooue them, to an other thing ? It is found (I say) vpon what manner of foundation this godly anointing standeth. The word of God is, that all they which are baptised in Christ, haue put on Christ with his giftes. The word of the annointers is, that they receiued in baptisme no promise, by which they may be armed in battails. That is the voice of truth, therefore this must be the voice of lying. Therefore I can more truly define this confirmation than they haue hitherto defined it : namely, that it is a notable slander of baptisme, which darkeneth, yea abolisheth the vse thereof : that it is a false promise of the Deuill, which draweth vs away from the word of God. Or if you will, it is oyle defiled with the lying of the Deuill, which as it were by ouerspreading of darkenes deceiueth the eyes of the simple.

9 They adde furthermore, that all the faithfull ought after baptisme to receiue the holy Ghost by laying on of hands, that they may be found full Christians : because he shall neuer be a Christian, that is not chrefined with the Bishops Confirmation. These be their owne sayings word for word. But I had thought that whatsoever things pertained to Christianitie, were all set foorth in writing and comprehended in Scriptures. Now, as I perceiue, the true forme of religion is to be sought and learned from else where than out of the Scriptures. Therefore the whole wisdom of God, the heavenly truth, the whole doctrine of Christ, doth but beginne Christians, and oyle maketh them perfect. By this sentence are damned all the Apostles, and so many Martyrs, whom it is most certaine to haue neuer beene chrefined : forasmuch as the oyle was not yet made, which being poured vpon them, they might fulfill all the parts of Christianitie, or rather might be made Christians which yet were none. But, though I hold my peace, they doe largely confute themselves. For how many of the number of their owne people doe they anoint after baptisme ? why therefore doe they suffer such halfe Christians in their hocke, whose imperfection, might easily be holpen ? Why doe they with so carelesse negligencie suffer them to omit that which was not lawfull to be omitted without greuous offence ? Why doe they no

more

Rom. 6. 4.

Act. 8. 26.

Acts 2. 4.

Gal. 3. 27.
De conf. dist. 5.
cap. Sp.

Confirmation
 is a promise of the
 Deuill.

Christianity imagined imperfect
 without Confirmation
 and but halfe Christianity.
 Verba cap. 1. de
 conf. dist. 5.
 con. auel. cap.
 vt Ieiuni.

more seuerely call vpon the keeping of a thing so necessarie, and without which saluation cannot be obtained, vnlesse peradventure some be preuented by death? Verily when they so freely suffer to be despised, they secretly confesse that it is not of so great value as they boast it.

10 Last of all they determine that this holy anointing is to be had in greater reuerence than baptisme: because this anointing is peculiarly ministred by the hands of the chiefe Bishops, but baptisme is commonly distributed by euery priest. What may a man here say, but that they are vterly mad, which so flatter their owne inuentiones, that in comparison of them they carelesly despise the holy ordinances of God? O mouth that robbest God, darest thou set a fatte liquor only defiled with the stinke of thine owne breath, and enchanted with murmuring sound of wordes, against the Sacrament of Christ, and to compare it with water hallowed with the word of God? But thy wickednes accounted this but a small matter, vnlesse thou didst also prefer it aboute the same. These be the answers of the holy sea, these be the Oracles of the Apostolike trestle. But some of them, euen in their owne opinion, begunne somewhat to qualifie this vnbridled madnesse. It is (say they) to be worshipped with greater reuerence: peradventure not for the greater vertue and profit that it giueth: but because it is giuen of the worthier men, and is made in the worthier part of the body, that is, in the forehead: or because it bringeth a greater encrease of vertues, although baptisme auails more to forgiuenesse. But in the first reason do they not bewray themselues to be Donatists, which measure the force of the Sacrament by the worthines of the minister. But I will admit, that Confirmation bee called the worthier by reason of the worthines of the Bishops hand. But if a man aske of them, from whence so great prerogatiue hath bene giuen to bishops, what reason will they bring beside their owne lust? The Apostles alone vsed that power, which alone distributed the holy ghost. Are the bishops alone apostles? Yea are they apostles at all? But let vs also grant them that: why do they not by the same argument affirme, that bishops alone ought to touch the Sacrament of the blood in the Supper of the Lord: which they therefore denie to lay men, because the Lord gaue to the Apostles alone? If to the Apostles alone, why do they not conclude: therefore to the bishops alone? But in that place they make the apostles, simple priests: but now the giddines of their head carrieth them another way, suddenly to create them bishops. Finally *Ananias* was no Apostle, to whom yet *Paul* was sent that he should receiue his sight, be baptised, and be filled with the holy ghost. I will adde this also to the heape. If by the law of God this was the proper office of bishops, why haue they been so bold to giue it away to common priests? as we read in a certaine epistle of *Gregorie*.

Confirmation preferred before baptisme in worthines, because that administrated by a Bishop. Cap. de his vicio. Dist. eadem.

Lib. 4. Senten. Dist. 7. cap. 2.

Act. 19. 17.

Dist. 19. cap. Peruenit.

11 As for their other reason, how trifling, fond, and foolish is it, to call their confirmation woorthier than the baptisme of God, because in it the forehead is annointed with oyle, and in baptisme the hinder 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 those lofels do not endeouour themselues to this onely ende, to corrupt the purenesse of the sacraments, with their leauen. I haue already spoken: this in another place, that in the Sacraments, that which is of God, scarcely glimmereth through at holes, among the route of the inuentiones of men, If any man did not belecue me therein, let him now at least belecue his owne maisters. Loe passing ouer the water, and making no accompt of it, they highly esteeme the onely oyle in baptisme. Wee therefore on the contrarie side do say, that in baptisme the forehead also is dipped in water. In comparison of this, we esteeme not your oyle woorth one peece of dung, whether it be in baptisme or in confirmation. If any alleage that it is sould for more: by this adding of price, the goodnes (if any were in it) is corrupted: so much lesse may they commend a most filthie deceite by theft. In the third reason they bewray their owne vngodlinesse, while they prate that in confirmation is giuen a greater

Confirmation the worthier because in it the former, in baptisme the hinder part of the head annointed.

increase of vertues than in baptisme. By the laying on of hands the Apostles distributed the visible graces of the spirit. In what thing do these mens fat liquor shew it selfe fruitfull? But away with these qualifiers, that couer one sacriedge with many sacrileges. It is like the Gordian: which it is better to breake in sunder, than to labour so much in vndoing it.

*Confirmation not
establisbed by consent
of antiquitie
and if it were yet
not prooued therby
a sacrament.*

12 But now when they see themselues destitute of the word of God and probable reason, they pretende as they are wont, that it is a most auncient obseruation and stablished by consent of many ages. Although that were true, yet they winne nothing thereby. A Sacrament is not from the earth, but from heauen: not from men, but from God alone. They must prooue God to be the author of their confirmation if they will haue it taken for a sacrament. But why do they obiect antiquitie, whereas the old writers, when they mind to speake properly, do not where reckon moe sacraments than two? If a fortress of our faith were to be sought from men, we haue an invincible tower, that the old fathers neuer acknowledged those for sacraments which these men do lyingly saie to the sacraments. The old writers speake of the laying on of handes: but do they call it a sacrament? *Augustine* plainly affirmeth that it is no other thing than praier. Neither let them here bark against me with their stinking distinctions, that *Augustine* meant that not of the laying on of hands vsed to confirmation, but which was vsed to healing or reconciliauon. The booke remaineth and is abroad in the hands of men. If I wrest it to any other sense than *Augustine* himselfe wrote it, I giue them leaue after their ordinarie maner to oppresse me not onely with railing but also with spitting at me. For he speaketh of them that returned from schisme to the vnitie of the church. He denieth that they needed to be newly baptised: for he saith, that the laying on of hands sufficeth, that by the bonde of peace the Lord may giue them the holy Ghost. But for as much as it might seeme an absurditie, that the laying on of hands should be done of new rather than baptisme: he sheweth a difference. For (saith he) what other thing is the laying on of hands, than praier vpon a man? And that this is his meaning appeareth by another place, where he saith: Hande is laide vpon Heretikes amended, for the coupling of Charitie, which is the greatest gifte of the holy Ghost, without which whatsoeuer holy things are in man they auail not to saluation.

*Lib. 2. de. bap.
contra Donat,
ca. 16.*

Lib. 5. ca. 13.

*The auncient
right, and profit-
able vse of true
confirmations.*

13 But I would to God we did keepe still the manner which I haue saide to haue bene in the old time, before that this vntimely deliuered image of a sacrament was borne: not that it should be such a confirmation as they saie, which cannot once be named without injury to baptisme: but a catechising, whereby children or they that were neere to the age of discretion did declare an accompt of their faith before the Church. But it should be the best manner of Catechising, if a forme were written to that vse, containing and familiarly setting out a summe in a maner of all the articles of our religion, in which the whole Church of the faithfull ought without contouersie to agree: that a child being ten yeres old 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 ignorant of any thing, or did not vnderstand it, he might be taught. So should he, before the Church witnessing and beholding it, profess the onely, true, and pure faith, wherewith the people of the faithfull doth with one minde worship the one God. If this discipline were at this day in force, truly the slothfulness of some parents would be whetted, who do carelesly neglect the instruction of their children as a thing nothing belonging to them, which then without open shame they could not omit: there should be among Christian people a greater consent of faith, and not so great ignorance and rudenes of many: some should not be so rashly carried away with new and strange doctrines: finally all should haue as it were a certaine orderly instruction of Christian learning.

Of Penance.

14 In the next place they set Penance, of which they intreate so confusedly and disorderedly, that consciences can beare away no sure or sound thing of their doctrine. We haue alreadie in another place declared at large what we haue learned out of the Scriptures concerning repentance, and then what they also teach of it. Nowe we haue this onely to touch, what reason they had that raised vp the opinion, which hath heeretofore raigned in Churches and schooles, that it is a sacrament. But first I wil briefly say somewhat of the vsage of the old church, the pretence whereof they haue abused to stablish their fained inuention. This order they kept in publike penance, that they which had fully done the satisfactions enioined them, were reconciled with solemn laying on of hands. That was the signe of absolution, whereby both the sinner himselfe was raised vp before God with trust of pardon, & the church was admonished gently to receiue him into fauour, putting away the remembrance of his offence. This *Cyprian* oftentimes calleth, to giue peace. That this doing might be of great dignitie, and haue more commendation among the people, it was ordeined that the bishops authoritie should alway be vsed for the meane herein. From hence came that decree of the second councill at *Carthage*: Be it not lawfull to a priest at the Masse publike to reconcile a penitent. And another decree of the councill at *Araussum*, let those which in time of their penance depart out of this life, be admitted to the Communion without the laying on of hands vsed in the reconciling: if they recover of their sicknes let them stand in the degree of penitents, & when the time is fully expired, let them receiue of the bishop the laying on of hands vsed in reconciling. Againe the decree of the third councill at *Carthage*: Let not the priest without the authoritie of the bishop, reconcile a penitent. All these tended to this end, that the seueritie which they would haue to be vsed in that behalfe, should not with too much lenitie grow to decay. Therefore they willed the bishop to be iudge of it, which was likely that he would be more circumspect in the examination thereof. Howbeit *Cyprian* in a certaine place sheweth, that not onely the bishop, but also the whole clergie laid their hands on him. For thus he saith, At the full time they do penance, then they come to the Communion, & by the laying on of hands of the bishop and the clergie they receiue power to partake of the Communion. Afterward by processe of time it came to this point, that beside publike penance they vsed this ceremonie also in priuate absolutions. Heereupon came that distinction in *Gratian* betweenc publike and priuate reconciliation. I iudge that same old vsage of which *Cyprian* maketh mention, to haue bin holy and healthfull for the church, and I would that it were at this day restored. As for this latter, although I dare not disallow it, or speake more sharply against it, yet I thinke it to be lesse necessarie. Howsoever it be, yet wee see that the laying on of hands in penance is a ceremonie ordeined of men, not of God, which is to be set among meane things & outward exercises: and those verily which are not to be despised, but which ought to be in a lower degree than those that are commended vnto vs by the word of the Lord.

15 But the Romanistes and schoolemen, (which haue an ordinarie custome to corrupt all things with wrong expounding them) do heere very carefully trauell in finding out a Sacrament. Neither ought it to seeme any maruell, for they seeke a knot in a rush. But where they haue it best, they leaue a thing entangled in suspense, vncertaine, and confounded and troubled with diuersitie of opinions. They saie therefore that the outward penance is a Sacrament, and if it be so, that it ought to be taken for a signe of the inward penance, that is, of the contrition of hart, which shall be the thing of the Sacrament: or that they both together are a Sacrament, not two Sacraments, but one full one. But, that the outward penance is onely the sacrament: the inward is both the thing and the sacrament: and that the forgiue-

The ancient laying on of hands by the bishop and clergie after penance holy and healthfull for the church.

Epi. li. l. ca. 2.

Cap. 33.

Decret. 6.
quaest. 6.

Deuises & stiftes to make penance a sacrament.

Lib. 4. Sentent. dist. 1. 2. ca. 2.

ness of sins is the thing and not the Sacrament. Let them which keepe in remembrance the definition of a Sacrament which we haue aboue set, examine therby that which these men call a sacrament, and they shall finde that it is not an outward ceremonie ordained of the Lord for the confirming of our faith. If they caull that my definition is not a law which they need to obey: let them heare *Augustine*, whom they faine that they esteeme as most holy. Visible Sacraments (saith he) were ordained for carnall mens sake, that by degrees of Sacraments they may be conueyed from those thinges that are seene with eies to those things that are vnderstanded. What like thing do either they themselues see, or can they shew to other in that which they call the sacrament of Penance? The same *Augustine* saith in another place: It is therefore called a Sacrament, because in it one thing is seene, and an other thing is vnderstanded. That which is seene hath a bodily forme, that which is vnderstanded, hath a spirituall fruite. Neither doe these things in any wise agree with the Sacrament of penance such as they faine it, where there is no bodily forme that may represent a spirituall fruite.

16 And, to kill these beastes vpon their owne fighting place, if there be any sacrament here to be fought, may it not be much more colourably said that the absolution of the priest is a sacrament, than penance either inward or outward? for it might readily be said, that it is a ceremonie to assure our faith of the forgiuenes of sins, and hath a promise of the keyes as they call it, Whatsoeuer yee shall binde or loose vpon earth, shall be bound or loosed in heauen. But some man would haue objected, that the most part of them that are absolved of the Priests obtaine no such thing by such absolution, whereas by their doctrine the sacraments of the new law ought to worke indeed that which they figure. This were but to be laughed at. For, as in the Supper, they make a double eating, a Sacramentall eating which is egally common to good and to euill, and a spirituall eating which is onely proper to the good: why might they not also faine that absolution is receiued two waies? Yet could I not hitherto vnderstand what they meant with this their doctrine, which we haue alreadie taught how far it disagreeeth frō the truth of God, when we purposely intreated of that argument. Here my minde is onely to shew, that this doubt withstandeth not, but that they may call the absolution of the Priest a Sacrament. For they might answere by the mouth of *Augustine* that sanctification is without the visible sacrament, and the visible sacrament without inward sanctification. Again, that the sacraments do worke in the onely clef that which they figure. Againe, that some do put on Christ so farre as to the partaking of the Sacrament, other some to sanctification: the one, the good and euill egally do: this other the good onely. Truely they haue more than childishly erred and be blinded in the cleere sunne, which traouelling with great hardnesse, yet espied not a thing so plaine and open to euery man.

17 Yet least they should waxe too proud, in what part soeuer they set the Sacrament, I denie that it ought rightfully to be taken for a Sacrament. First, because there is no speciall promise to it, which is the onely substance of a Sacrament. Againe, because whatsoeuer ceremonie is heere shewed forth, it is the mere inuention of men: whereas we haue already proued that the ceremonies of Sacraments cannot be ordeined but of God. Therefore it was a lie and deceite which they haue inuented of the Sacrament of penance. This fained sacrament they haue garnished with a meete commendation, calling it a second boord after shipwracke, because if a man haue by sinning marred the garment of innocency which he receiued in baptisme, he may by penance repaire it. But it is the saying of *Hierom*. Whose soeuer it be, it cannot be excused but that it is vterly wicked if it be expounded after their meaning. As though baptisme be blotted out by sin, & is not rather to be called to remembrance of euerie sinner, so oft as hee thinketh of the forgiuenesse of sinne, that hee may thereby gather vp himselfe, and recouer courage, and strengthen his faith? that he shall

Lib. 3. quæ. vet. testam.

Sermone de bap. infant.

Absolution after penance though not a sacrament yet rather a sacrament than penance is selfe.

Lib. 3. quæ. vet. Testament. De bap. par. Liber 5. de bap. contr. Donat.

Reasons why penance can be no sacrament.

Lib. 4. Sent. dist. 14. cap. 1. De peni. dist. 1. cap. 2.

shall obtaine the forgiveness of finnes which is promised him in baptisme. But that which *Hierome* hath spoken hardly and vnproperly, that by penance baptisme is repaired (from which they fall away that deserue to be excommunicate from the Church) these good expositors drawe to their wickednesse. Therefore you shall most silyly speake, if you call baptisme the sacrament of penance, sith it is giuen for a confirmation of grace, and seale of confidence, to them that purpose repentance. And least you should thinke this to be our deuisse, beside this that it agreeth with the words of the Scripture, it appeareth that it was in the olde Church commonly spoken like a most certaine principle. For in the booke of Faith to *Peter*, which is said to be *Augustines*, it is called the Sacrament of Faith and of penance. And why see we to vncertaine sayings? As though we could require any thing more plaine, than that which the Euangelist reciteth: that *John* preached the baptisme of repentance vnto forgiveness of finnes?

Deeret. 15. quæst
1. cap. firmissime.
Marke. 1.4.
Luke. 3.3.

Of extreme vnction as they call it.

18 The third fained Sacrament is extreme vnction, which is not done but of the priest, and that in extremes (so they terme it) and with oile consecrate of the bishop, and with this forme: By this holy anointing, and by his most kinde mercie, God pardon thee whatsoeuer thou hast offended by seeing, by hearing, by smelling, feeling, tasting. They saie that there be two vertues of it, the forgiveness of finnes, and ease of bodily sickness if it be so expedient: if not, the saluation of the soule. They say that the institution of it is set of *Limes*, whose words are these: Is any sicke among you? Let him bring in the Elders of the Church, and let them pray ouer him, anointing him with oile in the name of the Lord: and the praier of faith shall saue the sicke man, and the Lord shall raise him vp: and if he be in finnes, they shall be forgiven him. Of the same sort is this anointing, of which we haue about shewed that the other laying on of hands is, namely a playerlike hypocrisie, whereby without reason and without fruit they would resemble the Apostles. *Marke* rehearseth that the Apostles at their first sending, according to the commaundement which they haue receiued of the Lord, raised vp dead men, cast out duels, cleansed leprous men, healed the sicke, and that in healing of the sicke they vsed oile. They anointed (saith he) many sicke men with oile, and they were healed. Hereunto *James* had respect, when he commaunded the Elders to be called together to anoint the sicke man. That vnder such Ceremonies is contained no higher mysterie, they shall easily iudge which marke how great libertie the Lorde and his Apostles vsed in these outwarde things. The Lorde going about to restore sight to the blinde man, made clay of dust and spittle, some he healed with touching, other some with his word. After the same manner the Apostles healed some diseases with the word onely, some with touching, other some with anointing. But it is likely that this anointing was not (as all other things also were not) causelesly put in vrc, I graunt: yet not that it should be a meane of healing, but onely a signe, that the dulnesse of the vnskillfull might be put in minde from whence so great power proceeded, to this ende that they should not giue the praise thereof to the Apostles. And that the holy Ghost and his gifts are signified by oile it is a common and vsual thing. But that same grace of healings is vanished away, like as also the other miracles, which the Lord willed to be shewed for a time, whereby he might make the new preaching of the Gospell maruellous for cuer. Therefore though we graunt neuer so much, that anointing was a sacrament of those powers which were then ministred by the hands of the apostles, it now nothing pertained: to vs to whom the ministration of such powers is not committed.

19 And by what greater reason doe they make a sacrament of this anointing, than of all other signes that are rehearsed to vs in the Scripture? Why doe they not appoint some *Syloah* to swim in, whereinto at certaine ordinarie recourses of time sicke

The anointing of the sicke which was vsed in the time of the Apostles, no such manner as popish extreme vnction. James 5.14.

May not this anointing taken vnder doctinally signify any physicall remedies proper to the sicke? as if the Apostles said: though Mar. 6.13. pray for the sicke, they neglect not these applications that in thought fit for recovery. Though all questions were, we praye for the sicke, did not receive then discrete John 9.6. this case mo Math. 9.29. other com Luke. 18.42. diuines. Act. 3.6. & 5.16. time h & 19.12. effect, and Psal. 45.8. we praye incline to thinke the people's words had not so any miraculeous hea to the use of natur together wth prayer.

Extreme anointing a forcelesse and unwarranted ceremonie. John 9.7. A& 20.10.

sicke men may plunge themselves? That (say they) should be done in vaine. Truly no more in vaine than anointing. Why doe they not lie along vpon dead men, because Paul raised vp a dead childe with lying vpon him? Why is not clay made of spittle and dust, a Sacrament? But the other were but singular examples: but this is giuen of *Iames* for a commandement. Verily *Iames* spake for the same time, when the Church yet still enjoyed such blessing of God. They affirme in deede that there is yet still the same force in their anointing: but we finde it otherwise by experience. Let no man now maruell, how they haue with such boldnesse mocked soules, which they knowe to be senselesse and blinde when they are spoiled of the worde of God, that is, of their life and light: sith they are nothing ashamed to goe about to mocke the liuing and feeling senses of the bodie. Therefore they make themselves woorthie to be scorned, while they boast that they are endued with the grace of healings. The Lord verily is present with his in all ages, and so oft as neede is he helpeth their sicknesses no lesse than in olde time: but he doth not so vtter those manifest powers, nor distibueth miracles by the hands of the Apostles: because this gift both was but for a time, and also is partly fallen away by the vnthankfulnesse of men.

Extreme anointing hath neither ordinance of God so be grounded on nor promise of grace annexed.
Math. 3. 16.
Iohn. 1. 32.

20 Therefore as not without cause the Apostles haue by the signe of oile openly testified that the grace of healings committed to them was not their owne power, but the power of the holy Ghost: so on the other side they are wrongdoers to the holy Ghost, which make a stinking oile and of no force, to be his power. This is altogether like as if one would say that all oile is the power of the holy Ghost, because it is called by that name in Scripture: that euery doue is the holy Ghost, because he appeared in that forme. But these things, let them looke too. So much as for this present is enough for vs, we doe most certainly perceiue that their anointing is no Sacrament: which is neither a Ceremonie ordained of God, nor hath any promise. For when we require these two things in a Sacrament, that it be a ceremonie ordained of God, and that it haue a promise of God: we doe therewithall require that the same ceremonie be giuen to vs, and that the promise belong vnto vs. For no man doth affirme that Circumcision is now a Sacrament of the Christian Church, although it both was an ordinance of God, and had a promise knit vnto it: because it was neither commanded to vs, nor the promise which was adioyned to it was giuen to vs with the same condition. That the promise which they proudly boast of in their anointing, is not giuen to vs, we haue evidently shewed, and they themselves declare by experience. The Ceremonie ought not to haue bene vsed, but of them that were endued with the grace of healings, not of these butchers that can more skill of slaying and murdering than of healing.

If S. James did command anointing as a thing to continue in the Church, yet not anointing at such vnreasonable time, by such persons, with such oile, in such person, as the Church of Rome vsed.
Iam. 5. 14.

21 Howbeit although they obtaine this, that that which *James* commandeth concerning anointing, agreeth with this age (which they are most farre from) yet euen so they shall not haue much prevailed in proouing of their vnction wherewith they haue hitherto annointed vs. *James* willeth that all sicke men be annointed: these men infect with their fat liquor, not sicke men, but corpses halfe dead, when the life lieth alreadye labouring at the top of their lips, or (as they themselves terme it) in extremes. If they haue in their Sacrament a present medicine, whereby they may either ease the sharpenesse of diseases, or at least may bring some comfort to the soule, they are too cruell that doe neuer heale in time. *James* willeth that the sicke man be annointed of the elders of the Church: these men allowe no annointer but the petie sacrificing Priest. Whereas they expound in *James presbyteros* the Elders to be Priests, and fondly say that the plural number is there set for comeliness sake (that is but trifling: as though the churches at that time abounded with swarms of sacrificing Priests, that they might goe in a long pompous shew to carrie a pageant of holy oile. When *James* simply biddeth that sicke men be annointed, I vnderstand by it none other annointing but of common oile: and none other is founde in

Markes rehearfall. These men vouchsafe to haue none other oilē; but that which is hallowed of the Bishop, that is to say, warmed with much breathing on it, enchanted with much mumbling, and with the knee bowed nine times saluted in this manner: thrise haile holy oile: thrise haile holy chrisme: thrise haile holy balmē. Out of whom haue they sucked such coniurations? *James* saith: that when the sicke man is annoined with oile, and praier hath bene pronounced ouer him, if he be in sinnes they shall be forgiuen him: namely, that the guiltinesse being taken away, they may obtaine release of the paine: not meaning that sinnes are put away with fat liquor, but that the praiers of the faithfull whereby the afflicted brother is commended to God, shall not be vaine. These men doe wickedly lie, that by their holy, that is to say, abominable anointing, sinnes are forgiuen. Loe howe gaily they shall preuaile, when they haue bene at large suffered to abuse the testimonie of *James* at their pleasure. And least we should neede to trauell long in prooffe hereof, their owne chronicles doe discharge vs of this hardnesse. For they report that Pope *Innocentius* which in *Augustines* time gouerned the Church of Rome, ordained that not onely priestes, but also all Christians should vse oile to annoint for their necessitie and others. Autor hereof is *Sigebert* in his *Chronicles*.

Of Ecclesiasticall Orders.

22 The fourth place in their register hath the Sacrament of Order, but the same so fruitfull, that it breedeth out of it selfe seuen little Sacraments. But this is verie woorthie to be laughed at, that whereas they affirme that there be seuen Sacraments, when they goe about to rehearse them, they reckon vp thirtene. Neither can they alleage for themselves, that they are but one Sacrament, because they tend all to one priesthood, and are as it were certaine degrees vnto it. For sith it is euident that in euery one of them are seuerall Ceremonies, and they themselves say that there bee diuers graces: no man can doubt but that they ought to be called seuen Sacraments if their opinions be received. And why strine we about it as though it were a thing doubtfull, for as much as they themselves doe plainly and seuerally declare seuen? But first we will briefly knit vp by the way, how many and how vnsauourie absurdities they thrust in vnto vs, when they goe about to commende to vs their Orders in steede of Sacraments: and then we will see whether the Ceremonie which Churches vse in ordering of Ministers, ought to be called a Sacrament at all. They make therefore seuen Ecclesiasticall orders or degrees, which they garnish with the name of a Sacrament. Those be doorekeepers, Readers, Exorcistes, Acolythes or followers, Subdeacons, Deacons, Priestes. And seuen they say that they be, for the seuenfolde grace of the Holy Ghost, wherewith they ought to be endued that are promoted vnto them. But it is increased and more largely heaped to them in their promotion. Now the number it selfe is hallowed with a wrongfull expounding of Scripture, when they thinke that they haue read in *Esay* seuen vertues of the holy Ghost, whereas both in deede *Esay* there rehearseth but sixe, and also the Prophet meant not to comprehend them all in that place: for he is else where as well called the Spirit of life, of sanctification, of adoption of the children, as he is in that place called the Spirit of wisdom, of vnderstanding, of counsell, of strength, of knowledge, and of the feare of the Lord. Howbeit some suttler men make not seuen orders, but nine, after the likeness (as they say) of the Church triumphing. But among them also there is strife: because some would haue the shauing of the Clergie to bee the first order of all, and Bishopricke the last: other some excluding shauing altogether, reckon Archbishopricke among the orders. *Isidore* otherwise diuiderth them. For hee maketh psalmists and Readers to be diuers: he appointeth the psalmists for songs, and the Readers to the reading of the Scriptures, wherewith the people may bee instructed. And this distinction is kept by the Canons. In fo great diuersitie what will they haue vs to

In their sacrament of orders seuen petite sacraments contained or as some of them doe thinke moe.

Lib. 4. Sent. dist. 34. cap. 9.

Esa. 11. 2.
Ezech. 1. 10.
Rom. 1. 4. & 8. 15.

The first is the opinion of Iacq, the other of William of Paris.
Isidor. lib. 7. Dist. 21. & dist. 33. cap. Lect. Sec. cap. Othmanus

follow

follow or flee? Shall we say that there be seauen orders? So teacheth the master of the schoole: but the most illuminate doctors do otherwise determine. Againe they also disagree among themselues. Moreouer the most sacred Canons call vs another way. Thus forsooth do men agree, when they dispute of godly matters without the word of God.

*Christ led through
the seuen orders.*

Iohn. 2. 15.
Ioh. 10. 7.
Luk. 4. 17.
Mark. 16. 33.
Iohn. 8. 13.
Ioh. 3. 4.
Mat. 26. 26.
Matt. 27. 50.
Eph. 5. 2.

23 But this exceedeth all follie, that in every one of these they make Christ fellow with them. First (say they) he executed the office of dore-keeper, when he did with a whip made of cordes, drue the buiers and sellers out of the temple. He signifieth himselfe to be a dorekeeper, when he saith, I am the dore. He tooke vpon him the office of Reader, when he read *Esay* in the Synagoge. He did the office of an Exorcist, when touching the toong and eares of the deafe and dumme man, he restored to him his hearing. He testified himselfe to be an Acoluth or follower in these words. He that followeth me walketh not in darkenesse. He executed the office of Subdeacon, when being girded with a linnen cloth he washed the disciples feete. Hee did beare the person of a Deacon, when he distributed his body and bloud in the Supper. He fulfilled the office of Priest, when he offered himselfe vpon the crosse a sacrifice to his Father. These things cannot so be heard without laughing, that I maruell that they were written without laughing, if yet they were men that wrote them. But most notable is their subtiltie wherewith they plaie the Philosophers about the name of *Acoluth*, calling him a Ceroferar, a taper bearer with a worde (as I thinke) of forcerie, truly such a one as was neuer heard of in all nations and languages, whereas Acoluthos in Greeke simply signifieth a follower. Howbeit if I should earnestly tarry in confuting these men, I should my selfe also woorthily be laughed at, they are so trifling and verie mockeries.

*Men consecrated
in the Church of
Rome to execute
certaine meane
duties, as if they
could not lawfully
be done but by hal-
lowed men, and
yet men unhallo-
wed and unconse-
crated suffered to
do them.*

24 But that they may not be able yet still with false colours to deceiue euen verily silly women, their vanitie is by the way to be vttered. They create with great pompe and solemnitie their Readers, Psalmists, Dorekeepers, Acoluthes, to execute those offices, whereunto they appoint very children, or those whom they call lay men. For who for the most part lighteth the candles, who poureth wine and water into the cruets, but a childe or some base fellowe of the laitie, that maketh his gaine thereof? Doe not the same men sing, Doe they not shut and open the church dores? For who euer saw in their temples an Acoluth, or a Dorekeeper executing his office? But rather he that when he was a boy did the office of an Acoluth, when he is once admitted into the order of Acoluthes, ceaseth to be that which he beginneth to be called, that they may seeme to will of purpose to cast off the office when they take vpon them the title. Behold why they haue need to be consecrate by Sacraments, & to receiue the holy Ghost, namely, that they may do nothing. If they alleage for excuse, that this is the frowardnes of times, that they forsake and negle& their ministries: let them therewithall confesse that there is at this day in the church no vse nor fruite of their holy orders, which they maruellously aduance, and that their whole Church is full of curse: because it suffereth tapers and cruets to be handled of children and prophane men, which none are worthie to touch but they that are consecrate Acoluthes: and because it committeth the songs to children, which ought not to be heard but of a hallowed mouth. As for their Exorcists, to what end do they consecrate them? I heare that the Iewes had their Exorcists: but I see that they were so called of the exorcismes or coniurations which they vsed. Of these counterfaite exorcistes who euer heard it spoken, that they shewed any example of their profession? It is fained that they haue power giuen them to lay their hands vpon mad men, them that are to be catechised, and men possessed with diuels: but they cannot perswade the diuels that they haue such power, because the diuels doe not onely not yeelde to their commandements, but also vse commanding authoritie ouer them. For a man can scarceelie finde every tenth of them, that is not ledde with an euill

A& 19. 13.

Spinte.

Spirite. Therefore whatsoever things they babble concerning their petie Orders, they are patched together of foolish and vsauorie lies. Of the old Acolythes, and Doore-keepers, and Readers, we haue spoken in another place, when we declared the order of the Church. Our purpose here is onely to fight against that new found inuention of the seuenfold sacrament in Ecclesiasticall orders. Of which there is no where any thing read, but among these foolish praters the Sorbonists and Canonists.

25 Now let vs consider of the ceremonies which they vse about it. First whomsoever they receiue into their order of soldiers, they doe with one common signe enter them into Clergie. For they shauethem in the crowne, that the crowne may betoken kingly dignitie, because Clerks ought to be kings, that they may rule themselves and other. For *Peter* speaketh thus of them, Yee are a chosen kinde; a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a people of purchase. But it was sacrilege to take to themselves alone that which is giuen to the whole Church, and proudly to glorie of the title which they had taken from the faithfull. *Peter* speaketh to the whole Church: these fellows wrest it to a few shauen men: as though it were said to them alone: be ye holy: as though they alone were purchased by the blood of Christ: as though they alone were by Christ made a kingdome and priesthood to God. Then they assigne also other reasons: the top of their head is made bare, that their minde may be declared to be free vnto the Lorde, which with open face may behold the glorie of God. Or that they may be taught that the faultes of their mouth and their eyes must be cut off. Or the shauing of their head is the putting away of temporall things, and the haire compassed about the crowne are the remnants of goods that are retained for their sustenance. All in signes: because forsooth the veile of the temple is not yet cut in sunder. Therefore being perswaded that they haue gaily discharged their duties, because they haue figured such things by their crowne, of the very things indeede they performe nothing at all. How long will they mocke vs with such false colours and deceites? The Cleargie by shearing off a few haire doe signifie that they haue cast away the abundance of temporall goods, that they behold the glorie of God, that they haue mortified the lust of the eares and eyes: but there is no kinde of men more rauening, more senslesly dull, more lustfull. Why doe they not rather truly performe holinesse, than with false and lying signes counterfait a shew of it?

26 Moreover when they say that the crowne of the Cleargie hath the beginning and reason from the Nazarites: what other thing doe they alleage than that their mysteries are sprung out of the Iewish ceremonies, or rather that they are meere Iewishnesse? But whereas they further say, that *Priscilla*, *Acila*, and *Paul* himselfe, taking a vow vpon them did sheare their heads, that they might be purified: they bewray their grosse ignorance. For it is no where read of *Priscilla*: and of *Acila* also it is doubtful: for that same shearing may as well be referred to *Paul* as to *Acila*. But, that wee may not leaue to them that which they require, that they haue an example of *Paul*: the simpler must note, that *Paul* did neuer heare his head for any sanctification, but onely to serue the weakenesse of his brethren. I am woont to call such vowes the vowes of charitie not of godlinesse: that is to say, not taken in hand for any seruice of God, but to heare with the rudenesse of the weake: as he himselfe saith, that he was made a Iew to the Iewes, &c. Therefore he did this, and the same but once, and for a short time, that he might for a time fashion himselfe to the Iewes. These men when they will without any vse counterfait the purifying of the Nazarites, what doe they else but raise vp another Iewishnesse, when they wrongfully couet to follow the olde Iewishnesse? With the same religionnesse was that decretall Epistle made, which according to the Apostle, forbiddeth clearkes that they should not suffer their haire to growe, but heare it round like a bowle. As though the Apostle, when he teacheth what is comely for all men, were carefull for the round shearing of the Clergie. Hereby let the readers consider, of what force and woorthinesse are those other mysteries that

Rasure of the crowne ministered in token of spirituall kingly dignitie, and scepter to that purpose abused.
Cap. Dupl. 12. quast.
1. Pet. 2. 9.

Lib. 4. Sent. Dist. 24. cap. Duo sunt.

Lib. 4. Sent. Dist. 24. cap. 1.

In scripture no president of the Popish rasure ministered vnto clerks as the first receiue of their cleargie.
Act. 18. 18.

1. Cor. 9. 10.

Num. 6. 18.

Cap. prohibemus. Dist. 25.

1. Cor. 11. 4.

No doubt but that Ezek. 44. 20. times. The Jerusalem: tion will not either long and naz or shaven as in Rom

Cap. 19. Of the outward meanes

that follow, into which there is such an entrie.

*The first occasion
of shearing in the
Clergie, the delu-
rie of heies vnto
doorekeepers, the
Bible vnto readers,
the formes of ex-
orcisme vnto exor-
cists, of taper and
crues vnto Aco-
luthes.
Aug de ope. mo-
nac. in fine. Item
in Retract.*

27 Whence the shearing of Clerkes tooke beginning, appeareth sufficiently euen by *Augustine* alone. Whereas at that time none suffered their haire to grow, but nice men, and such as coueted a smoothnesse and trimnesse not meete enough for men: it seemed to be a point of no good example, if that were permitted to the clergie. Therefore Clerkes were commaunded either to sheare their head or to shauie it, that they should not beare any shew of womanlike trimming. But this was so common, that certaine Monkes, that they might the more set out their holinesse with notable and seuerall attire from other men, did let their haire grow long. But afterward when the fashion turned to wearing of haire, and certaine nations were added to Christian-dome which alway vsed to weare long haire, as Fraunce, Germanie, and England: it is likely that clerkes did euerie where sheare their heads, least they should seeme to couet the gainesse of haire. At the last in a corrupter age, when all old ordinances were either peruerted or gon out of kind into superstition, because they saw no cause in the shearing of the clergie (for they had retained nothing but a foolish counterfeiting) they fled to a mysteric, which now they superstitiously thrust in vnto vs for the approving of their Sacrament. The doorekeepers at their consecration receiue the keyes of the Church, whereby they may vnderstand that the keeping of it is committed to them. The readers receiue the holy Bible. The exorcists receiue the formes of exorcismes, which they should vse ouer mad and them that are to be catechised. The Acoluthes receiue their rapers and cruet. Lo, these are the ceremonies wherin (if God will) there is so much secret power, that they may be not onely signes and tokens, but also causes of inuisible grace. For this they require by their definition, when they will haue them taken among the sacraments. But to make an end in few words, I say it is an absurditie that in their schooles and canons they make these lesser orders Sacraments: whereas euen by their owne confession that teach this, they were vnknewen to the primitive Church, and deuised many yeres after. For sacraments, sith they containe the promise of God, cannot bee ordained of Angels, nor of men, but of God alone, whose office alone it is to giue promise.

*Lib. 4. Sent.
Dist. 24. c. 8.*

*The order of
Priesthoode iniuri-
ous to Christ.*

28 There remaine three orders, which they call the greater. Of the which, Sub-deaconie (as they call it) was remooued into that number, since that the route of the smaller ones beganne to grow. But because they seeme to haue a testimonie for these out of the word of God, they do peculiarly for honors sake, call them holy orders. But now it is to be scene, how crookedly they abuse the ordinances of God to their pretence. We will beginne at the order of the priesthood or the sacrificers office. For by these two names they signifie one thing, and so they call them to whom they say that it pertaineth to offer vpon the altar the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, to pronounce praies, and to blesse the giftes of God. Therefore at their consecration they receiue the patine with the hostes, for tokens of power giuen to them, to offer acceptable sacrifices to God. And their hands are annointed: by which signe they are taught, that they haue power giuen them to consecrate. But of the Ceremonies we shall speake hereafter. Of the thing it selfe I say: it so hath no title of the word of God which they pretend, that they could not more wickedly corrupt the order set by God. First verily this ought to stande for a thing confessed (which we haue affirmed in entreating of the Popish Masse) that they are all wrong doers to Christ, which call themselves sacrificing priestes, or offer a sacrifice of appeasement. He was appointed and consecrate of the Father a priest with an oath, according to the order of Melchisedech, without any end, without any successour. He once offered a sacrifice of eternall satisfactorie cleansing, and reconciliation: and nowe also being entred into the sanctuarie of heauen, he maketh intercession for vs. In him we are all sacrificing priestes, but to praies and giuings of thanks, finally to offer vs and ours to God. It was his singular office alone, with his offering to appease God, and

*Psal. 110. 4.
Heb. 5. 6. & 7. 3.*

and to purge finnes. When these men take that vpon them, what remaineth but that their sacrificing Priesthood is vngodly and full of sacriledge? Truly they are too wicked, when they dare garnish it with the name of a Sacrament. As touching the true office of Priesthood, which is commended to vs by the mouth of Christ, I willingly account it in that degree. For therein is a ceremony, first taken out of the Scriptures, then such a one as *Paul* testifieth not to be vaine nor superfluous, but a faithfull
 1. Tim. 4. 14.

signe of spirituall grace. But whereas I haue not set it for a thurd in the number of Sacraments, I did it because it is not ordinarie and common among all the faithfull, but a speciall rite for one certaine office. But sith this honor is giuen to the Christian ministerie, there is no cause therefore why the Popish sacrificers should be proude. For Christ commanded distributers of his Gospell and mysteries to be ordered, not sacrificers to be consecrated. He gaue them commandement to preach the Gospell and to feede the flocke, not to offer sacrifices. He promised them the grace of the Holy Ghost, not to make satisfactorie purging of finnes, but rightly to execute and to maintaine the gouernement of the Church:

29 The ceremonies agree verie well with the thing it selfe. Our Lord when he sent forth the Apostles to preach the Gospell, did blow vpon them. By which signe he represented the power of the holy Ghost which he gaue vnto them. This blowing these good men haue retained, and as though they did put forth the holy Ghost out at their throate, they whisper ouer their silly Priestes that they make, Receiue the holy Ghost. So leaue they nothing which they doe not ouertwhartly counterfaite: I will not say like players (which vse their gesturings neither without art nor without signification) but like Apes, which counterfait euery thing wantonly and without any choise. We keepe (say they) the example of the Lord. But the Lord did many things which he willed not to be examples to vs. The Lord said to the Disciples, Receiue the holy Ghost. He said also to *Lazarus*, *Lazarus* come forth, He saide to the Man sicke of the Palsie, Rise, and walke. Why doe not they say the same to all dead men and sicke of the Palsie? He shewed a prooffe of his diuine power, when in blowing vpon the Apostles he filled them with the grace of the holy Ghost. If they goe about to doe the same thing, they eniuiously counterfaite God, and doe in a manner challenge him to strue with them: but they are farre from the effect, and doe nothing with this foolish gesturing but mocke Christ. Verlie they be so shamelesse, that they dare affirme that they giue the holy Ghost. But how true that is, experience teacheth, which crieth out that so many as be consecrated Priestes are of Horses made Asses, of fooles made mad men. Neither yet doe I strue with them for that: onely I condemne the ceremony it selfe, which ought not to haue bene drawne to be an example, forasmuch as it was vsed of Christ for a singular signe of one myracle: so farre is it off, that the excuse of following his example ought to defend them.

30 But of whom receiued they the anointing? They answer that they receiued it of the Sonnes of *Aaron*, from whom their order also tooke beginning. Therefore they had rather alway to defend themselues with wrongfull examples, than to confesse that themselues haue deuised that which they vse without cause. But in the meane time they consider not, that while they professe themselues the successours of the Sonnes of *Aaron*, they are wrong doers of the Priesthood of Christ, which alone was shadowed and figured by all the old sacrificing Priesthoodes. In him therefore they were all contained and fulfilled, in him they ceased, as we haue sometimes already repeated, and the Epistle to the Hebrues without helpe of any glosses testifieth. But if they be so much delired with the ceremonies of *Moses*, why doe they not hastilie take Oxen, Calues, and Lambes to make sacrifices? They haue in dede a good part of the olde tabernacle and of the whole Iewish manner of worshipping: but yet this wanteth in their religion, that they doe not sacrifice calues & oxen. Who cannot see, that this obseruation of anointing is much more hurtfull than Circum-

1. Tim. 4. 14.

Matt. 28. 19.
Mar. 16. 15.
Iohn 21. 15.*Blowing and giuing the holy Ghost in ordaining of Priestes.*
Iohn 20. 22.Iohn 20. 22.
Iohn 11. 42.
Matt. 9. 5.
Iohn 5. 8.*Vnction of Priestes to the imitation of the Sonnes of Aaron.*
Lib. 4. Sent. dist. 24. cap. 8. & in can dist. 21. ca. 1.

Cap. 19. Of the outward meanes

cision, specially when there is adioyned superstition and Phariscaill opinion of the worthines of the woike? For the Iewes did set in Circumcision, trust of righteousness: these men doe set in anointing, spirituall graces. Therefore while they couer to be counterfaiters of the Leuites, they are made Apostataes from Christ, and doe put themselves from the office of Pastors.

No reason why the Church of Rome should in the making of her Priests, use the ceremony of anointing more than the rest, which were used in the making of Leuiticall priests: the laying on of hands idle in that action which no commandment of God doth warrant.

Exod. 30. 31.

31 This is (if God will) the holy oyle that printeth the marke that cannot be raced out. As though oyle could not be wiped away with dust and salt, or if it sticke faster, with sope. But this marke is spirituall. What hath oyle to doe with the Soule? Haue they forgotten that which they oft chaunt to vs out of *Augustine*, that if the word be taken from the water, it shall be nothing but water, and that it hath this from the word that it is a Sacrament? What word will they shew in their fat liquor? Will they shew the commandment that was giuen to *Moses*, concerning the anointing of the sonnes of *Aaron*? But there is also commandment giuen, of the coate, the ephod, the hat, the crowne of holnes, 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 commandment giuen, to kill a Calfe, and burne the fat of him for incense, to cut rammes and burne them, to sanctifie their eares and garments with the blood of another ram, and innumerable other obseruations, which being passed ouer; I maruell why the onely anointing of oyle pleaseth them. But if they loue to be sprinkled, why are they rather sprinkled with oyle than with blood? Forsooth they goe about a wittie thing, to make one religion of Christianitie, Iewishnesse, and paganism, as it were of patches sowed together. Therefore their anointing stinkerh which is without the salt, that is, the word of God. There remaineth laying on of hands, which as I graunt in true and lawfull Orderings to be a Sacrament, so I deny that it hath any part in this plaie, where they neither obey the commandment of Christ, nor haue respect to the ende wherunto the promise ought to lead vs. If they will not haue the signe denied them, they must applic it to the thing it selfe, whereunto it is appointed.

The order of Deaconrie.

32 About the order also of Deaconrie I would not strue with them, if that same ministerie which was in the Apostles time and in the purer Church, were restored to the vncorrupted state thereof. But what like thing haue they whom those men saie to be Deacons? I speake not of the men (least they should cōplaine that the doctrine is wrongfully weighed by the faultes of the men) but I affirme that for those whom they deliuer vs by their doctrine, they vtworthly fetch testimonie from the example of them whom the Apostolike Church ordained Deacons. They say that it pertaineth to their Deacons to stand by the Priestes, to minister in all things that are done in the Sacraments, namely in Baptisme, in the Chresme, in the Patine, in the Chalice: to bring in the offerings and lay them vpon the Altar, to make ready the Lords table, and to couer it: to carry the Crosse, to pronounce and sing the Gospell and Epistle to the people. Is here any one word of the true ministerie of Deacons? Now let vs heare the instituting of them. Vpon the Deacon that is ordered, the Bishop alone laith his hand. He laith a praiser booke and a Stoale vpon his left shoulder, that he may vnderstand that he hath receiued the light yoke of the Lord, where-by he may subdue to the feare of God those things that pertaine to the left side. He giueth him the text of the Gospell, that he may perceiue himselfe to be a publisher of it. And what belong these things to Deacons? They doe euen like as if a man would say that he ordered them Apostles whome hee appointed onely to burne frankincense, to trimme the images, to sweepe the Churches, to cathe misse, to driue away dogges. Who could suffer such kinde of men to be called Apostles, and to be compared with the very Apostles of Christ? Therefore let them not hereafter lyingly say that those be Deacons, whom they institute onely for their enterlude like plaies. Yea and by the very name it selfe they sufficientlie declare, what

maner

maner of office they haue. For they call them Leuites, and wil haue their order and beginning referred to the children of *Leui*. Which I giue them leaue to do, so that they do not afterwarde garnish them with the fetters of other.

33 Of Subdeacons to what purpose is it to speake? For whereas indeed they were in old time appointed for care of the poore, they assigne to them I wot not what trifling businesse, as to bring the chalice and the patine, the little cruets with water, and the towel to the altar, to powre water to wash hands, &c. Now whereas they speake of receiuing and bringing in of offerings, they meane those which they deuoure as abandoned to their holy vse. With this office very well agreeth the forme of their consecrating. That he receiue of the bishop, the patine and the chalice: of the Archdeacon, the cruets with water, the manuales, and such other baggage. Within these trifles they require to haue vs confesse that the holy ghost is enclosed. What godly man can abide to graunt this? But, to make once an ende, we may determine the same of them that we do of the rest. Neither need we to repeate further these things that are aboue declared. This may be enough to teach the sober and willing to learne (whom I haue taken in hand to instruct) that there is no Sacrament of God but where is shewed a Ceremonie ioined with a promise: or rather verily but where is a promise seen in a Ceremonie. Here is not found one syllable of any certaine promise: therefore it were in vaine to seeke a Ceremonie to confirme the promise. Againe of those Ceremonies that they vse, it is not read that any one is institute of God. Therefore heere can be no Sacrament.

The order of Subdeaconie and the trifling vse thereof.

Of Matrimonie.

34 The last is Matrimonie, which as all men confesse to be ordained of God, so no man vntill the time of *Gregorie* euer sawe that it was giuen for a Sacrament. And what sober man would euer haue thought it? It is a good and a holy ordinance of God, so tillage, carpentrie, shoemakers craft, barbers craft, are lawfull ordinances of God, and yet they are no Sacraments. For there is not only this required in a Sacrament, that it be the worke of God, but that it be an outward Ceremonie appointed of God to confirme a promise. That there is no such thing in Matrimonie, very children also can iudge. But (say they) it is a signe of the holy thing, that is, of the spirituall conioyning of Christ with the Church. If by this word Signe, they vnderstand a Token set before vs of God to this end to raise vp the assurednes of our faith, they are far beside the truth. If they simply take a signe for that which is brought to expresse a similitude, I will shew how wittily they reason. *Paul* saith, As one star differeth from an other starre in brightnes, so shall be the resurrection of the dead. Loe here is one Sacrament. *Christ* saith, The kingdome of heauen is like a graine of mustard seede. Loe here is another. Againe, The kingdome of heauen is like vnto leauen. Loe here is the third. *Esay* saith, Behold, the Lord shall feed his flocke as a shepherd. Lo here the fourth. In an other place, The Lord shall goe soorth as a Giant. Lo here is the fifth. Finally what end or measure shall there be? There is nothing but by this meane it shall be a Sacrament. How many parables and similitudes are in the Scripture, so many Sacraments there shall be. Yea and thest shall be a Sacrament because it is written, the day of the Lord is like a thief. Who can abide these sophisters prating so foolishly? I graunt in deede that so oft as we see a vine, it is very good to call to remembrance that which *Christ* saith, I am a vine, yee be branches, my Father is the vinedresser. So oft as a shepherd with his flock commeth toward vs, it is good also that this come to our minde, I am a good shepherd, my sheepe heare my voice. But if any man adde such similitudes to the number of Sacraments, hee is meete to be sent to Antycira.

Matrimonie not thereby proued a sacrament because it resembleth our conioyning with Christ.

1. Cor. 15. 42.
Math. 13. 31.
and 33.
Esa. 40. 11.
Esa. 42. 13.
1. 1. thef. 5. 2.

Ioh. 15. 1.
Ioh. 10. 11.
Antycira where groweth Hellobor, a good purgation for phretike heads.
S. Pauls words wrestled to prouoe matrimonie a sacrament.
Eph. 5. 29.

35 But they still lay soorth the wordes of *Paul*, in which he giueth to matrimonie the name of a Sacrament: he that loueth his wife, loueth himselfe. No man euer

hated his owne flesh, but nourisheth it and cherisheth it, euen as Christ doth the Church: because we are members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones. For this a man shall leaue his Father and mother, and shall cleaue to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh. This is a great sacrament: but I say in Christ and in the Church. But so to handle the Scriptures, is to mingle heauen and earth together. *Paul*, to shew to married men what singular loue they ought to beare to their wiuces, setteth foorth Christ to them for an example. For as he poured forth the bowels of his kindnes vpon the Church which he had espoused to himselfe: so ought euery man to be affectioned toward his owne wife. It followeth after, he that loueth his wife loueth himselfe: as Christ loued the Church. Now to teach how Christ loued the church as himselfe, yea how he made himselfe one with his spouse the church, he applieth to him those things which *Moses* reporteth that *Adam* spake of himselfe. For when *Eue* was brought into his sight, whom he knew to haue been shapen out of his side: This woman (saith he) is a bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. *Paul* testifieth that all this was spiritually fulfilled in Christ and vs, when he saith that we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, yea and one flesh with him. At length he addeth a concludng sentence, This is a great mysterie. And least any man should be deceiued with the double signifying of the words, he expresseth that he speaketh not of the fleshly conioyning of man and woman, but of the spirituall marriage of Christ and the Church. And truely it is indeede a great mysterie, that Christ suffered a ribbe to be taken from himselfe, whereof we might be shapen: that is to say, when he was strong, he willed to be weake, that we might be strengthened with his strength: that now we may not our selues lue, but he may lue in vs.

Gen. 3. 23.

Gal. 2. 20.

*The church ofrome
absurd and reprob-
nant to his selfe in
making matrimo-
nie a sacrament.*

36 The name of Sacrament deceiued them. But was it rightfull that the whole Church should suffer the punishment of their ignorance? *Paul* said Mysterie: which word when the translator might haue left being not vsued with Latin cares, or might haue translated it a Secret: he chose rather to put in the word Sacrament, yet in no other sense than *Paul* had in Greeke called it mysterie. Now let them goe and with crying out raile against the skill of tooongs, by ignorance whereof they haue so long most sowlly been blinde in an easie matter, and such as offereth it selfe to be perceiued of euery man. But why do they in this one place so earnestly sticke vpon this litle word Sacrament, and some other times do passe it ouer vnregarded? For also in the first Epistle to Timothie the Translator hath vsed it, and in the selfe same Epistle to the Ephesians: in euerie place for mysterie. But let this slipping be pardoned them: at least the lyers ought to haue had a good remembrance. For, when they haue once set out Matrimonie with title of a Sacrament, afterwarde to call it vnclannesse, defiling, and fleshly filthinesse, how giddy lightnesse is this? how great an absurditie is it to debarre priestes from a Sacrament? If they denie that they debarre them from the Sacrament, but from the lust of copulation: they escape not so away from me. For they teach that the copulation it selfe is a part of the Sacrament, and that by it alone is figured the vnitng that we haue with Christ in conformitie of nature: because man and woman are not made one but by carnal copulation. Howbeit some of them haue heere found two Sacraments: the one of God and the soule, in the betrothed man and woman: the other of Christ and the Church, in the husband and the wife. Howsoeuer it be, yet copulation is a Sacrament, from which it is vnlawful that any Christian should be debarred: Vnesse peraduenture the Sacraments of Christians do so ill agree, that they cannot stand together. There is also another absurditie in their doctrines. They affirme that in the sacrament is giuen the grace of the holy Ghost: they teach that copulation is a sacrament: and they deny that at copulation the holy ghost is at any time present.

1. Tim. 3. 9.
Ephel. 1. 9.
Lib. 4. Sent.
Dist. 17. c. 4.
& in Dec. 27.
quest. 2. cap.
Cum Socra.
glos. ca. lex diu.
Ibid.
Decret. li. 4. Sent.
dist. 33. cap. 2 & in
dec. 32. quest. 2.
4. Quicquid.

*The sumrie bad
ordinances, prac-
tises and dealings*

37 And, because they would not simply mocke the Church, how long a rowe of errours, lies, deceites, and wickednesse haue they knitte to one errour? so that a

man may say, that they did nothing but seeke a Denne of abominations, when they made of Matrimony a Sacrament. For when they once obtained this, they drew to themselves the hearing of causes of Matrimony: for it was a spirituall matter, which prophane Iudges might not meddle with. Then they made lawes, whereby they stablished their tyranny, but those partly manifestly wicked against God, and partly most vniust toward men. As are these: That mariages made betweene yoong persons without consent of their parents, should remaine of force and stablished, that the mariages be not lawfull betweene the kinsfolkes to the seuenth degree: and if any such be made, that they be diuorced. And the very degrees they saine against the lawes of all nations, and against the ciuill gouernement of *Moses*. That it be not lawfull for a man that hath put away an aduresser, to marie an other. That spirituall kinsfolkes may not be coupled in mariage. That there be no mariages celebrate, from Septuagesime to the vtas of Easter, in three weekes before Midsonner, nor from Aduent, to Twelfetide. And innumerable other like, which it were long to rehearse. At length we must creepe out of their mire, wherein our talke hath now tarried longer than I would. Yet I thinke I haue somewhat profited that I haue partly plucked the Lyons skines from these Asses.

Deut. 18. 6.

The xx. Chapter.

Of Ciuill gouernement.

NOW whereas we haue aboue set two kinds 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 eternall life: this place requireth that we speake somewhat also of the other, which pertaineth onely to the ciuill & outward righteousness of manners. For the course of this matter seemeth to be seuered from the spirituall doctrine of Faith, which I tooke in hand to entreat of: yet the proceeding shall shew that I doe rightfully ioyne them together, yea that I am of necessitie compelled to doe it: specially sith on the one side, madde and barbarous men doe furiously goe about to ouerthrow 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 himselfe. Vnlesse both these mischiefs be met withall, the purenesse of Faith shall be lost. Beside that it is not small for our behoofe, to know how louing God hath in this behalfe prouided for mankind, that there may flourish in vs a greater desire of godlinesse to witnes our thankfulness. First, ere we enter into the thing it selfe, we must holde 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, which acknowledgeth among men no King and no Magistrate, but hath regard to Christ alone: they thinke that they can take no suite of their libertie, so long as they see any power to haue preminence ouer them. Therefore they thinke that nothing shall be safe, vnlesse the whole world be reformed into a newe fashion: where may neither be Iudgements, nor Lawes, nor Magistrates, nor any such thing which they thinke to withstande their libertie. But whosoever can put difference betweene the body and the Soule, betweene this present and transitorie life, and that life to come and eternall: he shall not hardly vnderstand that the spirituall kingdome of Christ, and the ciuill gouernement are things stre a sunder. Sith therefore that is a Iewish vanitie, to seeke & inclose the kingdome of Christ vnder the elements of the world: let vs rather thinking, as the Scripture plainly teacheth, that it is a spirituall fruite, which is gathered of the benefite of Christ, remember to keepe within the bonds thereof this whole libertie which is promised

Magistracie not taken away by the libertie which is promised in the Gospell.

Gal. 5. 1.
1. Cor. 7. 21.

Gal. 3. 28.
Col. 3. 11.

*The vse of Ciuill
gouernement a-
mongst Christian
men.*

and offered vs in him. For what is the cause why the same Apostle which biddeth vs to stand, and not to be made subiect to the yoke of bondage, in an other place forbiddeth bond seruants to be carefull of their state: but because spirituall libertie may verily well agree with ciuill bondage? In which sense also these his sayings are to be taken: In the kingdome of God there is no Iewe, nor Grecian, no male, nor female, no bondman, nor freeman. Againe, There is no Iew nor Grecian, Circumcision, Vncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, Bondman, Freeman: but Christ is all in all. Whereby he signifieth, that it maketh no matter in what estate thou be among men, nor vnder the lawes of what nation thou luest: forasmuch as in these things consisteth not the kingdome of Christ.

2 Yet doth not this distinction tende hereunto, that we should thinke that the whole order of policie is an vnclane thing, nor pertaining at all to Christian men. So indeede doe the phrentike men, that are delighted with vnbridled licentiousnes, cry out and boast. For sith we be dead by Christ to the elements of the world, and being remooued into the kingdome of God doe sit among the heavenly ones: they thinke that it is vnwoorthy for vs, and farre beneath our excellencie, to be occupied with these prophane and vnclane cares that are busied about affaires not pertaining to a Christian man. To what purpose (say they) are lawes without iudgements and iudgement seates? But what hath a Christian man to doe with iudgements themselves? yea if it be not lawfull to kill, whereto serue lawes and iudgements among vs? But as we haue euen now giuen warning, that this kinde of gouernement is seuerall from that spirituall and inward kingdome of Christ: so it is also to be knowen that they nothing disagree together. For the Ciuill gouernement doth now beginne in vs vpon earth certaine beginnings of the heavenly kingdome, and in this mortall and vanishing life, doth as it were enter vpon an immortall and incorruptible blessednesse: but the intent of his spirituall gouernement is, so long as we shall liue among men, to cherish and maintaine the outward worshipping of God, to defend the sound doctrine of Godlinesse and the state of the Church, to frame our life to the fellowship of men, to fashion our manners to ciuill righteousnesse, to procure vs into friendship one with another, to nourish common peace and quietnes: all which I graunt to be superfluous, if the kingdome of God, such as it is now among vs doe destroy this present life. But if the will of God be so, that we while we long toward the heavenly countrey, should be wayfaring from home vpon the earth: and sith the vse of such wayfaring needeth such helpes: they which take them from man, doe take from him his very nature of man. For whereas they alleadge that there is so great perfection in the Church of God, that hir own moderate gouernement sufficeth it for a law: they themselves doe foolishly imagine that perfection which can neuer be found in the common fellowship of men. For sith of naughtie men the pride is so great, and the wickednesse so oblitmate, as cannot be restrained with great sharpnesse of lawes: what thinke we that they will doe, if they see vnpunished libertie lie open to their lewdnesse, which cannot euen with force be sufficiently compelled not to doe euill.

*Religion by ciuill
policie maintain-
ed.*

3 But of the order of policie, there shall be an other fitter place to entreate. Now our meaning is to haue this onely vnderstanded, that to thinke to driue it away, is ourragious barbarousnesse, the vse whereof is no lesse among men, than of bread, water, the sunne, and aire, but the dignitie much more excellant. For it tendeth not onely hereunto (which is the onely commoditie of all those things) that men may breath, eate, drinke and be cherished (although in deede it comprehendeth all these things, while it maketh that they liue together) yet I say, it tendeth not hereunto onely: but also that idolatrie, sacrileges against the name of God, blasphemies against his truth, and other offences of religion may not rise vp and be scattered among the people, that common quiet be not troubled, that euery man may keepe
his

his owne safe and vnappaired, that men may vse their affaires together without hurt, that honestie and modestie be kept among them: finally that among Christians may be a common shew of religion, and among men may be manlike ciuilltie. Neither let any man be moued, for that I do now referre the care of stablishing of religion to the policie of men, which I seeme before to haue set without the iudgement of men. For I do no more here, than I did before, giue men leaue after their owne will to make lawes concerning religion and the worshipping of God, when I allowe the ordinance of policie, which endeuoureth hereunto, that the true religion which is contained in the lawe of G O D, be not openly and with publique sacrileges freely broken and defiled. But the readers being holden by the verie plainnesse of order, shal better vnderstand what is to be thought of the whole kinde of ciuill government, if we feuerally entreate of the partes thereof. There be three partes of it: the magistrate which is the gouernour and keeper of the lawes, the lawes according to which he gouerneth: the people, which are gouerned by the lawes, and obey the Magistrate. Therefore let vs first consider of the office of the Magistrate, whether it be a lawfull vocation and allowed of God, what maner of office he hath, and howe great is his power, then with what lawes a Christian ciuill state is to be ordered: then last of all, what profit of the lawes commeth to the people, what reuerence is due to the Magistrate.

4 The Lord hath not onely testified that the office of Magistrates is allowed and acceptable to him, but also setting out the dignitie thereof with most honourable titles, he hath maruellously commended it vnto vs. That I may rehearse a fewe of them. Whereas whoeuer be in place of magistrates are named Gods, let no man thinke that in that naming is small importance. For thereby is signified that they haue commandement from God, that they are furnished with the authority of God do altogether beare the person of God, whose steed they do after a certaine manner supplie. This is not my cauillation; but the exposition of Christ. If the scripture (saith he) called them Gods to whom the word of God was giuen: What is this else, but that God hath committed his businesse to them; that they should serue in his office, and (as *Moses & Josaphat* said to their iudges whom they appointed in cuerie feueral citie of *Iuda*) that they should sit in iudgment, not for man but for God? To the same purpose maketh this that the wisdome of God affirmeth by the mouth of *Salomon*, that it is his worke, that Kings reigne, and counsellers decree: righteous things, that princes beare principalitie, and all the iudges of the earth execute iudgement. For this is all one in effect as if it had bene saide, that it commeth not to passe by the petuerfenes of men, that the government of all things in earth is in the hande of kings and other rulers, but by the prouidence and holy ordinance of God, to whom it so seemed good to order the matters of men: for as much as he is both present and resident among them in making of lawes & in executing vprightnes of iudgements. Which *Paul* also plainly teacheth, when he reckoneth governments among the gifts of God, which being diuersly distributed according to the diuersitie of grace, ought to be employed of the seruants of Christ to the edification of the church. For although he there properly speaketh of a councill of graue men, which in the primitiue Church were appointed that they should haue the rule of ordering the publike discipline (which office in the Epistle to the Corinthians he calleth gouernement) yet for as much as wee see that the ende of ciuill power commeth to the same pointe, it is no doubt but that hee commendeth vnto vs all kinde of iust gouernement. But he speaketh more plainly, where hee purposely maketh a full discourse of that matter. For he both sheweth that power is the ordinance of God, and that there are no powers, but they are ordained of God: and that the Princes themselues are the ministers of God, to the well doers vnto praise: to the euill, reuengers vnto wrath. Hereunto may be added also the examples of holy men: of which som haue possessed

*The magistrates
office allowed
of God.
Exod. 22. 8.
Plal. 82. 1. & 6.*

Iohn. 10. 35.

*Deut. 1. 16.
1. Chr. 19. 6.
Prou. 8. 15.*

Rom. 12. 8.

1. Cor. 12. 28.

Rom. 13. 1.

kingdomes, as *Dauid, Iofias, Exechias*: other some, lordships, as *Ioseph and Daniel*: other some, Ciuil governments in a free people, as *Moses, Iofue*, and the iudges: whose offices the Lord hath declared that he alloweth. Wherefore none ought now to doubt that the ciuill power is a vocation not onely holy and lawfull before God, but also the most holy, and the most honest of all other in the whole life of men.

The office of the ciuill magistrate no lesse allowable in the sights of God and needfull for men vnder Christ than it was before. *Psal. 3. 12.*

Esay. 49. 23.

1. Tim. 2. 2.

The benefit which magistrates themselves may take by considering that they are appointed ministers of the righteousnes of God.

Ier. 42. 11.

Deut. 1. 16.
2. Chron. 19. 6.

Psal. 82. 1.
Esa. 3. 14.

15 They which couet to bring in a state without Rulers, take exception and say that although in old time there were kings and iudges ouer the rude people, yet at this day that seruile kind of gouerning agreeth not with the perfection which Christ hath brought with his Gospell. Wherein they bewray not onely their ignorance, but also their diuclish pride, while they take vpon themselves perfection, of which not so much as the hundredth parte is seene in them. But what manner of men soeuer they be, it is easie to confute it: because where *Dauid* exhorteth all kings and Rulers to kisse the sonne of God, he doth not bidde them, giuing ouer their authoritie, to take themselves to a priuate life, but to submit the power that they beare to Christ, that he alone may haue preeminence aboue all. Likewise *Esay*, when hee promisseth that kings shall be fosterfathers of the Church, and Queenes shall be nourses, he doth not depose them from their honour: but rather doth by an honourable title make them defenders of the godly worshippers of God. For, that propheticie pertaineth to the coming of Christ. I do wittingly passe ouer many testimonies which doe each where offer themselves, and specially in the *Psalmes* wherein all gouernours haue their right maintained. But most cleare of all is the place of *Paul*, where admonishing *Timothie* that in the common assembly praiers must be made for kings, he by and by addeth a reason, That we may vnder them lead a quiet life with all godlinesse and honestie: in which words he committeth the state of the Church to their defence and saueguarding.

16 Which consideration ought continually to busie the magistrates themselves, for as much as it may put a great spurre to them whereby they may be pricked forward to their dutie, and bring them a singular comfort whereby they may mitigate the hardnes of their office, which truly are both many & great. For with how great an endeour of vprightnes, wisdom, mildnes, continēcy, & innocency, ought they to charge themselves, which knowe themselves to be appointed ministers of the righteousnes of God? By what affiance shall they admit vniustice to their iudgement seate, which they heare to bee the throne of the liuing God? By what boldnes shall they pronounce a wrongfull sentence with that mouth, which they vnderstand to be appointed an instrument for the truth of God? With what conscience shall they subscribe to wicked decrees with the hande which they knowe to be ordained to write the actes of God? In a summe, if they remember that they be the vicegerents of God, they must watch with all care, earnestnes, and diligence, that they may represent in themselves vnto men a certaine image of the providence, preservation, goodness, good will, and righteousnesse of God. And they must continually set this before their eyes, that if all they be accursed; that do execute in deceite the worke of the vengeance of God, they are much more grieuously accursed, that vse themselves deceitfully in a rightfull vocation. Therefore when *Moses* and *Iosaphat* minded to exhort their iudges to their dutie, they had nothing more effectfull to moue their minds withall, than that which we haue before rehearsed, Looke what ye do. For yee sit in iudgement: not for man but for God: namely he which is neere to you in the cause of iudgement. Now therefore let the feare of the Lord be vpon you. Looke and be diligent: because there is no peruerfnes with the Lord our God. And in another place it is said, the God stood in the assembly of the Gods and sitteth iudge in the midst of the gods, that they may be encouraged to their ductie when they heare that they be the deputies of God, to whom they must one day yeelde account of the gouernement of their charge. And worthily this admonition ought to be of great force with them.

them. For if they make any default, they are not onely wrong dooers to men whom they wickedly vex, but also slanderers to God himselfe, whose holy iudgements they desile. Againe they haue also whereupon they may singularly comfort themselues, when they consider with themselues that 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.

7 As for them that are not moued with so many testimonies of Scripture from being bold to raile at this holy ministerie, as a thing disagreeing with Christian religion and godlinesse: what doe they else but raile at God himselfe, the dishonour of whom cannot but be ioyned with the reproch of his minister? And verily they doe not refuse the magistrates, but do cast away god, that he should not reigne ouer them. For if the Lorde said this truly of the people of Israell: because they had refused the government of *Samuel*: why shall it be lesse truly saide at this day of them that giue themselues leaue to rage against all governmentes ordained of God? But sith the Lorde saide to the Disciples, that the kings of nations beare 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 forbidden to all Christians that they should not take kingdomes or government vpon them. O handsome expositors! There rose a strife among the Disciples, which of them excelled other: the Lord, to suppress this vain ambition, taught them that their ministerie is not like vnto kingdomes, in which one man hath preeminence aboue the rest. I beseech you, what doth this comparison make to the dishonour of kingly dignitie? yea what doth it prooue at all, but that 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 difference in this behalfe but that we ought to take them all for the ordinances of God. For *Paul* also doth comprehend them altogether, when hee saith that there is no power but of God: and that which best liked him of all, is commended with notable testimonie aboue the other, namely the power of one: which because it bringeth with it a common bondage of all (except that one man to whose will it maketh all things subiect) in old time could lesse be allowed of noble and the excellent sort of natures. But the Scripture to meeete with their vniust iudgements, expressly by name affirmeth, that it is the prouidence of Gods wisdom that kings do reigne, and peculiarly commandeth the king to be honored.

8 And truly it were very vaine that it should be disputed of priuate men which shoulde bee the best state of policie in the place where they liue: for whom it is not lawfull to consult of the framing of any common 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 thou compare also the states themselues together without circumstances, it shall not be easie to discern, which of them ouerweiech the other in profitableness, they match so equally together. There is an easie way to fall from kingdome into tyrannie: but not much harder is it to fall from the rule of the chiefest men to the faction of a fewe; but most easie of all from the peoples government, to sedition. Truly if those three formes of government which the Philosophers set out, to be considered in themselues I will not deny that either the government of the chiefest men, or a state tempered of it and common government farre excelleth al other, not of it selfe, but because it most seldom changeth that kings so temper themselues that their will neuer swaruech from that which is iust and right: againe, that they be furnished with so great sharpnesse of iudgement and wisdom that euery one of them seeth so much as is sufficient. Therefore the fault or default of men maketh, that it is safer and more tolerable that many shoulde haue the government, that they may mutually one helpe another, one teach and admonish another, and if any aduance himselfe higher than is meeete, there may

Reulers of magistrates, are rulers at God: the rule of Kings not taken away because the Apostles were by Christ forbidden to rule as kings.
1. Sam. 8. 7.

Luk. 22. 25.

Rom. 13. 1.

Prou. 8. 15.

1. Pet. 2. 17.

Diuers kindes of ciuill governments and the lawfulness of each kind.

be ouerseers and masters to restraine his wilfulness. This both hath alway been approved by experience, and the Lord also hath confirmed it with his authoritie, when he ordeined among the Israelites a government of the best men verie neere vnto common government, at such time as he minded to haue them in best estate, till hee brought forth an image of Christ in *Dauid*. And as I willingly grant that no kinde of government is more blessed than this, where libertie is framed to such moderation as it ought to be, and is orderly stablished to continuance: so I count them also most blessed, that may enjoy this estate: and if they stoutly and constantly trauell in preserving and retaining it, I grant that they do nothing against their dutie. Yea and the magistrates ought with most great diligence to bend themselves hereunto, that they suffer not the libertie of the people, of which they are appointed gouernours, to be in any part minished, much lesse to be dissolued: if they be negligent and little carefull therein, they are false Faithbreakers in their office, and betrayers of their country. But if they would bring this kinde to themselves, to whom the Lord hath appointed another forme of government, so that thereby they be moued to desire a change, the very thinking thereof shall not onely be foolish and superfluous, but also hurtfull. But if thou bende not thine eyes onely to one citie, but looke about or beholde the whole world together, or at least spread abroad thy sight into farther distances of countries, without doubt thou shalt finde that this is not vnprofitable appointed by the prouidence of God, that diuerse countries shoulde be ruled by diuerse kindes of government. For as the elements hang together but by an vniuersall temperature, the countries also are with their certain inequalitye verie wel kept in order. Howbeit all these things also are spoken in vaine to them whom the will of the Lord shall satisfie. For if it bee his pleasure to set kinges ouer kingdomes, Senates, or officers ouer free cities, whomsoever hee maketh rulers in the places where we are conuersant, it is our dutie to shewe our selues yeelding and obedient vnto them.

9 Nowe 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, and in what things it consisteth. If the Scripture did not teach, that it extendeth to both the tables of the law, we might learn it out of the prophane writers. For none hath intreated of the dutie of Magistrates, of making of lawes and of publike weale, that 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 first care be of godlines: and that those lawes be preposterous which neglecting the right of God, do prouide onely for men. Sith therefore with all the Philosophers religion hath the first place, and sith the same hath alway bin obserued by the vniuersall consent of all nations, let Christian princes and magistrates be ashamed of their slothfulness, if they endeouour not themselves to this care. And wee haue already shewed, that this dutie is specially enioyned them of God: as it is meete, that they should employ their trauell to defend and maintaine his honour, whose vicegerents they be, and by whose benefite they gouerne. For this cause also cheefly are the holy kings praised in scripture, for that they restored the worship of God being corrupted or ouerthrowen, or tooke care of religion, that it might flourish pure and safe vnder them. But contrariwise the holy historie reckoneth states without gouernours, among faultes, saying that there was no king in Isael, and that therefore euerie man did what pleased himselfe. Whereby their follie is confuted, which woulde haue them, neglecting the care of God, onely to applie themselves to be iudges of law among men. As though God appointed gouernours in his name to decide controuersies, and omitted that which was of much weightier importance, that he himselfe shoulde be worshipped according to the prescribed rule of his lawe. But a desire to inuouate all things without punishment mooueth troublesome men to this point, that they wish all reuengers of the breach of peace to be taken away. As for so

much

*The office of the
magistrate reach-
ing vnto both
the tables of the
lawe.*

much as pertaineth to the second table, *Jeremie* warneth kings, to doe iudgement and righteoufnesse, to deliuer the forceably oppressed from the hand of the false accuser, Ier. 23. 7. not to greewe the stranger and widow, not to doe wrong, and not to shed innocent bloud. To the same purpose maketh the exhortation which is read in the 82. Psalme, that they should render right to the poore and needie, acquite the poore and needie, deliuer the poore and needie from the hande of the oppressor. And *Moses* giueth charge to the Princes whome he had sent in his steede: let them heare the cause of their brethren, and iudge betweene a man and his brother and a stranger, & not know faces in iudgement, let them heare as well the little as the great, and be not afraide of any man: because it is the iudgement of God. But I speake not of these things: that kings should not get to themselues multitudes of horses, not cast their mindes to couctoufnesse, not to be lifted vp about their brethren: that they may be continually busied in studying vpon the lawe of the Lorde all the daies of their life: that Iudges swarue not to the one side, nor receiue giftes: because in declaring here the office of magistrates, my purpose is not so much to instruct the Magistrates themselues, as to teach other what Magistrates bee, and to what ende they are set of God. Wee see therefore that they be ordained, defenders and reuengers of innocencie, honestie, and quietnesse, whose onely endeuour should be to prouide for the common safetie and peace of all men. Of which vertues *Dauid* professeth that he will be an examplar, Psal. 103. when he shall be aduanced to the royall seate: that is, that he wil not consent to any euill doings, but abhorre wicked men, slanderers, and proude men, and get to himselfe from each where honest and faithfull men. But sith they cannot performe this, vnlesse they defende good men from the wrongs of the euill, let them helpe the good with succour and defence, let them also be armed with power whereby they may seuerally suppress open euil doers and wicked men by whose lewdnesse the eommon quiet is troubled or vexed. For wee throughly finde this by experience which *Solon* said, that common weales consist of reward and punishment, and that when those be taken away, the whole discipline of cities faileth and is dissolved. For the care of equitie, and iustice waxeth cold in the mindes of many vnlesse there be due honour readie for vertue: neither can the wilfulnesse of wicked men be restrained but by seueritie and chastisement of paines. And these two partes the Prophet comprehendeth, when hee biddeth kings and other gouernours to doe iudgement and righteoufnesse. Righteoufnesse is, to take into charge of iudition, to imbrace, to defende, to reuenge, to deliuer the innocent. Iudgement is, to withstand the boldnesse of wicked men, to repress their violence, to punish their offences.

10 But here, as it seemeth, doth arise a high and hard question. If by the lawe of God all Christians are forbidden to kill, and the Prophet prophecieth of the holy mount of God, that is, the Church, that in it they shall not afflict nor hurt: how many magistrates be to gether both godly and bloud shedders? But if we vnderstand, that the Magistrate in executing of punishments, doth nothing of himselfe, but executeth the very selfe iudgements of God, we shall be nothing combred with this doubt. The lawe of the Lord forbiddeh to kill: least manslaughter should be vnpunished, the law-maker himselfe giueth to the ministers the sword in their hand, which they shoulde drawe foorth against all manslaughterers. To afflict and to hurt, is not the doing of the godly: but this is not to hurt, not to afflict, by the Lords commandement to reuenge the afflictions of the godly. I would to God that this were alway present before our mindes, that nothing is here done by the rashnesse of man, but all things by the authoritie of God tht commaundeth, which going before vs, we neuer swarue out of the right way. Vnlesse perhaps there be a bridle put vpon the righteoufnesse of God, that it may not punish wicked doings. But if it be not lawfull to appoint any lawe to it, why shall we caull against the ministers of it? They beare not the sword in vaine, saith *Paul*: for they be the ministers of God to wrath, reuengers to euill doers, Rom. 13. 4.

Therefore

Deut. 1. 16.
Deut. 17. 16.

Ier. 21. 12. 2nd
22. 3.

The vses of the magistrates sword lawfull.
Exod. 20. 13.
Deut. 5. 17.
Matt. 5. 21.
Esa. 11. 9. and
45. 25.

Therefore if Princes and other rulers knowe that nothing shall be more acceptable to God than their obedience, let them applie this ministerie, if they desire to shewe their godlinesse, righteoulesse, and vncorruptnesse allowable to God. With this affectiō was *Moses* led, when knowing himselfe appointed by the power of the Lorde to be the deliuerer of his people, he laide his handes vpon the Ægyptian. Againe, when by slaying of three thousand men in one day, he tooke vengeance of the sacrilege of the people. *Dauid* also when nīe to the ende of his life he gaue commaundement to *Salomon* his sonne to slay *Joab* and *Semei*. Whereupon he also rehearteth this among the vertues of a king, to slay the wicked of the lande, that all workers of wickednesse may be driuen out of the citie of God. To which purpose also pertaineth the praise that is giuen to *Salomon*. Thou hast loued righteoulesse and hast hated wickednesse. How doth that milde and gentle nature of *Moses* burst out into so great crueltie, that being sprinkled and embred with the blood of his brethren, he runneth through out the camp to new slaughters? How doth *Dauid*, a man of so great gēlenes in all his life, among his last breathings make that bloudie testament, that his sonne should not bring the hoare haire 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 hands which they had defiled with sparing. It is an abomination with kings, saith *Salomon*, to doe iniquitie, because his throne is stablished in righteoulesse. Againe, The king which sitteth in the throne of iudgement spredeth his eies vpon euerie euill man. Againe, A wise king scattereth the wicked, and turneth them vpon the wheele. Againe, Take away the drosse from the siluer, and there shall come forth a vessell to the melter; take away the wicked man from the sight of the king, and his throne shall be fast set in righteoulesse. Againe, he that iustifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the righteous, both are abomination to the Lord. Againe, A rebellious man purchaseth euill to himselfe, and a cruell messenger is sent vnto him. Againe, Who so saith to the wicked man, thou art righteous, him peoples and nations doe curse. Now if their true righteoulesse bee, with drawn sworde to pursue guiltie and wicked men: let them put vp their sworde and holde their hands pure from blood, while in the meane time desperate men doe range with murders and slaughters: then they shall make themselues guiltie of most great wickednesse, so much lesse shall they get thereby the praise of goodnesse and righteoulesse. Onely let there bee no precise and cruell rigoroulesse, and that iudgement seate which may woorthily be called the rocke of accused men. For I am not he that either fauour extreme crueltie, or doe thinke that righteous iudgement can bee pronounced, but while clemencie the best and surest counsellor of kings, as *Salomon* affirmeth, the preferer of the kings throne is assistant, which a certaine man in olde time truly saide to be the principall gift of Princes. Yet a magistratē must take heede to both, that he doe neither with rigoroulesse of minde, wound rather than heale, or by superstitious affectation of clemencie fall into a most cruell gentlenesse, if with soft and loose tendernes he be dissolute to the destruction of many men. For this was in olde time not without cause commonly spoken vnder the empire of *Nerua*, that it is in deede euill to liue vnder a princē vnder whom nothing is lawful, but much worse vnder whom all things are lawfull.

Exod. 3. 12.
Act. 7. 28.
Exod. 32. 27.
1. King. 2. 5.

Prou. 16. 12.

Prou. 20. 8.
Prou. 20. 26.

Prou. 25. 4.
Prou. 17. 15.

Prou. 17. 11.
Prou. 14. 24.

The lawfulnessse
of warres iustly
taken in hand.

II But sith sometime kings and peoples must of necessitie take sworde in hande to execute such publike vengeance, by this reason we may also iudge that the warres are lawfull which are so taken in hand. For if there be power deliuered them, whereby they may maintaine quiet to their dominion, whereby they may keepe downe the seditious stirres of vnquiet men, whereby they may help the forceably oppressed, whereby they may punish euill doings: can they at fitter seasons vtter it, than to suppress his rage which troubleth both priuately the rest of euerie man, and the common quiet of all men, which seditiously maketh vprores, which committeth violent

violent oppressions and haynous euill doings? If they ought to be preseruers and defenders of the lawes, they must also ouerthrow the enterprises of all them by whose wicked doing the discipline of lawes is corrupted. Yea if they woorthily punish those theeuers whose iniuries haue extended onely to a few: shall they suffer a whole countrey to be without punishment vexed and wasted with robberies? For it maketh no difference whether he be a king or one of the basest of the commonaltie, that inuadeth anothers countrey into which he hath no right, and spoileth it like an enemy: all are alike to be taken and punished for robbers. This therefore both naturall equitie, & the rule of dutie teacheth that Princes are armed not onely to restraine priuate duties with iudicall punishments, but also to defende with war the dominions committed to their charge, if at any time they be enemilike assailed. And such wars the holy Ghost by many testimonies of scripture declareth to be lawfull.

12^o If it be obiected against me, that in the new Testament is neither witnes nor example which teacheth that warre is a thing lawfull for Christians: first I answer, that the same rule of making warre which was in old time remaineth also at this day, and that on the contrarie side there is no cause that may debar magistrates from defending of their subiectes. Secondly that an expresse declaration of these matters is not to be sought in the writings of the apostles, where their purpose is not to frame a ciuill state, but to stablish the spirituall kingdome of Christ. Last of all I say that in them also is shewed by the way, that Christ hath by his comming changed nothing in this behalfe. For if Christian doctrine (that I may speake in *Augustines* own words) condemned all warres, this shoulde rather haue bene saide to souldiers when they asked counsell of saluation, that they shoulde cast away their weapons, and vterly withdraw themselues from the warre. But it was saide to them: strike no man, do no man wrong, let your wages suffice you. Whom he taught that their wages ought to suffice them, he did verily not forbid them to be warriors. But all magistrates ought heere to take great heed, that they nothing at all follow their owne desires: but rather, if they must punish, let them not be borne away with a headlong angrinesse, let them not be violently carried with hatred, let them not broile with vnappeasable rigor, yea let them (as *Augustine* saith) pittie common nature in him in whom they punish his priuate fault. Or if they must put on armor against the enemy, that is, the armed robber, let them not lightly seeke occasion thereof, nor take it being offered vntlesse they be driuen to it by extreme necessitie. For if we ought to perforce much more than that heathen man required, which woulde haue warre to seeme a seeking of peace: truly we ought first to attempt all things ere we ought to trie the matter by warre. Finally in both kinds let them not suffer themselues to be caried with any priuate affection, but be led onely with common feeling. Otherwise they do very ill abuse their power, which is giuen them, not for their owne commoditie, but for others benefite and ministerie. Moreouer of the same rightfull rule of making warre hangeth the order both of garrisons, and leagues, and other ciuill fortifications. Garrisons I call those that are placed in townes to defende the borders of the countrey: Leagues, which are made with Princes adioyning for this couenant that if any trouble happen in their lands they may mutually helpe them, and ioyne their forces in common together to suppress the common enemies of mankind: Ciuill fortification, whose vse is in the arte of warre.

13 This also I will last of all adde, that tributes and taxes are the lawfull reuenues of Princes, which they may chiefly employ to sustaine the common charges of their office: which yet they may likewise vse to their priuate royaltie which is after a certaine maner conioyned with honor of the princely state that they beare. As we see that *Dauid*, *Ezechias*, *Josias*, *Josaphat*, and other holy kings, and *Ioseph* also and *Daniel*, according to the state of the person that they did beare, were without offence of godlinesse luptuous of the common charge, and we read in *Ezechiel* that there

Warre not forbidden Christians in the Gospell.

August. epi. 5. ad Marcell.

Luk 3. 14.

Cicero of duties.

The lawfulnessse of tributes and taxes with the dutie of Princes in this respect.

Cap. 20. Of the outward meanes

Ezech. 48. 21.

was a very large portion of land assigned to the kings. Where although he paint out the spirituall kingdom of Christ, yet he fetcheth the exemplar of his similitude from the lawfull kingdom of men. But yet so that Princes againe on their behalves should remember, that their treasure chambers are not so much their owne priuate cofers, as the treasuries of the whole people (for so Paul testifieth) which they may not without manifest wrong prodigally waste or spoile: or rather that it is the very bloude of the people, which not to spare, is most cruell vnnaturalnesse: and let them thinke, that their impositions, and subsidies and other kindes of tributes, are nothing but the supportes of publike necessitie, wherewith to wearie the poore communalitie without cause, is tyrannicall extortion. These things doe not encourage Princes to wastfull expence and riot, (as verily there is no neede to adde a firebrande to their lustes that are of themselves too much alreadie kindled) but sith it much behooueth that they should with pure conscience before God be bold to doe all that they are bould to do, lest with wicked bouldnesse they come into the despising of God, they must be taught how much is lawfull for them. Neither is this doctrine superfluous for priuate men, that they should not rashly and stubborneley giue themselves leaue to grudge at any expences of princes, although they exceede common and ciuill measure.

Rom. 13. 6.

A false and foolish opinion that a state cannot bee well ordred by the common lawes of nations excepte the ciuill lawes of Moses be obserued.

14 Next to the magistrate in ciuill states are lawes, the most strong sinewes of common wealthes, or (as Cicero calleth them according to Plato) the soules, without which the Magistrate can not stande, as they againe without the Magistrate haue no liuely force. Therefore nothing could be more tuely saide, than that the lawe is a dumbe Magistrate, and that the Magistrate is a liuing law. But whereas I promised to speake, with what lawes a Christian ciuill state ought to be ordered, there is no cause why any man shoulde looke for a long discourse of the best kinde of lawes, which both shoulde be infinite, & pertained not to this present purpose and place: yet in a fewe words, and as it were by the way, I will touch what lawes it may vse godhly before God, and be rightly gouerned by them among men. Which selfe thing I had rather to haue vterly passed ouer with silence, if I did not vnderstand that many doe herein perillously erre. For there be some that deny that a comon weale is wel ordered, which neglecting the ciuill lawes of Moses is gouerned by the common lawes of nations. How dangerous and 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 severally considered, that we may know what of them pertaineth to vs, and what not. Neither in the mean time let any man be combred with this doubt, that iudiciall and ceremonialls also pertaine to the morall lawes. For although the old writers which haue taught this diuision, were not ignorant that these two later partes had their vse about manners, yet because they might be changed and abrogate, the moralls remaining safe they did not call them moralls. They called that first part peculiarly by that name, without which cannot stande the true holines of manners, and the vnchangeable rule of liuing rightlie.

Men of all ages bound to the morall law of Moses, the ceremoniall giuen for a time, iudiciall instituted of God for them not for all men to be gouerned by.
Gal. 4. 4.

15 Therefore the morall lawe (that I may first begin thereat) sith it is contained in two chiefe points, of which the one commandeth simple to worship God with pure faith and godlinesse, and the other to embrace men with vnfaigned loue, is the true and eternall rule of righteousnesse prescribed to the men of all ages and times that will be willing to frame their life to the will of God. For this is his eternall and vnchangeable will, that he himselfe should be worshipped of vs all, & that we should mutually loue one another. The ceremoniall law was the schooling of the Iewes, wherewith it pleased the Lord to exercise the certaine childhood of that people, till that time of fulnes came, wherein he would to the full manifestly shew his wisdom to the

the earth, and deliuer the truth of those things which then were shadowed with figures. The iudiciall lawe giuen to them for an order of ciuill state, gaue certaine rules of equitie and righteousnesse, by which they might behaue themselues harmlesly and quietly together. And as that exercise of ceremonies properly pertained in deede to the doctrine of godlinesse (namely which kept the Church of the Iewes in the worship and religion of God) yet it might be distinguished from godlinesse it selfe: so this forme of iudiciall orders (although it tended to no other ende, but how the selfesame charitie might best be kept which is commaunded by the eernall lawe of God) yet had a certaine thing differing from the very commaundement of louing. As therefore the Ceremonies might be abogate, godlinesse remaining safe and vndstroied: so these iudiciall ordinances also being taken away, the perpetuall duties and commaundements of charitie may continue. If this be true, verily there is libertie left to euerie nation to make such lawes as they shall foresee to be profitable for them: which yet must be framed after the perpetuall rule of charitie, that they may in deede varie in forme, but haue the same reason. For I thinke that those barbarous and sauage lawes, as were those that gaue honour to theeues, that allowed common copulations, and other both much more filthie and more against reason, are not to be taken for lawes: for as much as they are not onely against all righteousnesse, but also against naturall gentleness and kindnesse of men.

16 This which I haue said shall be plaine, if in all lawes we beholde these two things as we ought, the making and the equitie of the lawe, vpon the reason whereof the making it selfe is founded and staieith. Equitie, because it is naturall, can be but one of all lawes: and therefore one lawe, according to the kinde of matter, ought to be the propounded end to all lawes. As for making of lawes, because they haue certaine circumstances vpon which they partly hang, if so that they tend all together to one marke of equitie, though they be diuers it maketh no matter. Now sith it is certaine that the lawe of God which we call morall is nothing else but a testimonie of the naturall lawe, and of that conscience which is engrauen of God in the mindes of men, the whole rule of this equitie whereof we now speake is set forth therein. Therefore it alone also must be both the marke and rule and end of all lawes. Whatsoeuer lawes shall be framed after that rule, directed to that marke, and limited in that end, there is no cause why we should disallow them, howsoeuer they otherwise differ from the Iewish lawe or one from another. The lawe of God forbiddeth to steale. What paine was appointed for theis in the ciuill state of the Iewes, is to be seene in Exodus. The most ancient lawes of other nations punished theft with recompence of double: the lawes that followed afterward, made difference betwene manifest theft and not manifest. Some proceeded to banishment, some to whipping, some at last to the punishment of death. False witness was among the Iewes punished with recompence of egall paine, in some places onely with great shame, in some places with hanging, in other some with the Crosse. Manslaughter all lawes vniuersally doe reuenge with blood, yet with diuers kindes of death. Against adulterers in some places were ordained seuerer paines, in some places lighter. Yet we see how with such diuersitie all tende to the same ende. For with one mouth they altogether pronounce punishment against all the offences which haue beene condemned by the eternall lawe of God, as manslaughter, thefts, adulterie, false witnessings: but in the manner of punishment they agree not. Neither is the same needefull, nor yet expedient. There is some countrie, which vnlesse it shew rigour with horrible examples against manslayers, shoulde immediately be destituted with murders and robberies. There is some time that requireth the sharpnesse of paines to be increased. If there arise any trouble in a common weale, the evils that are wont to growe thereof must be amended with new ordinances. In time of waire all humanitie would in the noise of armour fall away, vnlesse there were cast into men an vrayoonted

The diuersitie of lawes, & the necessitie that they should be diuers, as times and places and occasions differ.

Exod. 22. 7.

Deut. 19. 18.

Cap. 2 o. Of the outward meanes

fear of punishments. In barrenesse, in pestilence, vnlesse greater seueritie be vsed, all things will come to ruine. Some nation is more bent to some certaine vice, vnlesse it be more sharply suppressed. How malicious and enuious shall he be against the publike profite, that shall bee offended with such diuersitie which is most fit to holde fast the obseruing of the lawe of God? For, that which some say, that the lawe of God giuen by *Moses* is dishonoured, when it being abrogate, newe are preferred about it, is most vaine. For neither are other preferred about it, when they are more allowed, nor in simple comparison, but in respect of the estate of the times, place, and nation: neither is that abrogate which was neuer made for vs. For the Lorde gaue not the lawe by the hand of *Moses*, which should be published into all nations, and flourish euerie where: but when he had received the nation of the Iewes into his faith, defence, and protection, hee willed to bee a lawemaker peculiarly to them, and like a wise lawemaker, he had in making of his lawes a certaine singular consideration of them.

What profite Christians receive by lawes, iudiciall orders and magistrates.

Rom. 13. 4.

17 Now remaineth that wee consider that which we haue set in the last place, what profite of lawes, iudiciall orders, and magistrates, commeth to the common fellowship of Christians. Wherwith also is coupled another question, how much private men ought to yeelde to magistrates, and how far their obedience ought to proceede. Many thought the office of Magistrate to be superfluous among Christians, because godhly they cannot godhly craue their aide, namely sith they are forbidden to reuenge, to sue in the lawe, and to haue any controuersie. But whereas *Paul* contrariwise plainly testifieth, that he is the minister of God to vs for good: we therby vnderstand, that he is so ordained of God, that we being defended by his hande and sue cours against the maliciousnesse and injuries of mischieuous men, may liue a quiet and assured life. If he be in vaine giuen vs of the Lord for defence, vnlesse it be lawfull for vs to vse such benefite: it sufficiently appeereth that he may also without vngodlinesse be called vpon & sued vnto. But here I must haue to doe with two kinds of men. For there be many men that boile with so great rage of quarelling at the lawe, that they neuer haue quiet with themselues vnlesse they haue strife with other. And their controuersies they exercise with deadly sharpnesse of hatred, and with mad greedinesse to reuenge and hurt, and doe pursue them with vnappeasable stiffnesse euen to the very destruction of their aduersarie. In the meane time, that they may not be thought to doe any thing but rightfully, they defende such pueruesse with colour of lawe. But though it be graunted thee to go to law with thy brother, yet thou maist not by and by hate him, nor be caried against him with furious desire to hurt him, nor stubbornly to pursue him.

A rule according whereunto both pleineses and defendans may use the helpe of the magistrate in a question of their right: well and lawfully.

18 Let this therefore be saide to such men, that the vse of lawes is lawfull, if a man doe rightly vse it. And that the right vse both for the pleintife to sue, and for the defendant to defend, as if the defendant being summoned doe appeere at an appointed day, and doth with such exception as he can, defend his cause without bitterness, but onely with this affection to defende that which is his owne by lawe: and if the pleintife being vnwoorthly oppressed either in his person or his goods, doe resort to the defence of the magistrate, make his complaint, and require that which is equitie and conscience, but farre from all greedy will to hurt or reuenge, farre from sharpnesse and hatred, farre from burning heate of contention, but rather readie to yeeld of his owne and to suffer any thing, than to be caried with an enimie like minde against his aduersarie. Contrariwise when being filled with malice of minde, corrupted with enuie, kindled with wrath, breathing out reuenge, or finally so enflamed with the heate of the contention, they giue ouer any part of charitie, the whole proceeding euen of a most iust cause cannot but be wicked. For this ought to bee a determined principle to all Christians, 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,

aduersarie, as if the matter which is in the controuersie were already concluded and ended by composition. Some man will here peradventure say, that such moderation is so neuer vsed in going to law, that it should be like a miracle, if any such were found I graunt in deede, as the manners of these times bee, that there is seldome seene an example of a good contender in law, yet the thing it selfe being defiled with addition of no euill, ceaseth not to be good and pure. But when we heare that the helpe of the Magistrate is a holy gift of God: we must so much the more diligently take heede, that it be not defiled by our fault.

10 As for them that precisely condemne all contendings at law, let them withstand that they doe therewithall despise the holy ordinance of God, and a gut of that kinde of giftes which may be cleane to the cleane: vnlesse peradventure they will accuse *Paul* of wicked dooing, which did both put away from himselfe the slanders of his accusers with declaring also their deceite and maliciousnes, and in iudgement claimed for himselfe the prerogatiue of the Citie of *Rome*, and when neede was he appealed from an vnrighthouse gouernour to the Emperours iudgement seate. Neither withstandeth it, that all Christians are forbidden to desire reuenge, which we also doe driue farre away from Christian iudgement 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, thinking nothing lesse than to render mutuall recompence of euill, which is the affection of reuenge: or if any matter of life and death, or any great criminall action be commenced, we require that the accuser be such a one, as commeth in to the Court being taken with no boiling heate of reuenge, and touched with no displeasure of priuate iniurie, but onely hauing in minde to withstand the enterprises of a mischeuous man, that they may not hurt the common weale. But if thou take away a reuenging minde, there is no offence done against that commandement whereby reuenge is forbidden to Christians. But they are not onely forbidden to desire reuenge, but they are also commanded to waite for the hand of the Lord, which promiseth that he will be a present reuenger for the oppressed and afflicted: but they doe prevent all reuenge of the heavenly defender, which require helpe at the Magistrates hand either for themselves or other. Not so. For we must thinke that the Magistrates reuenge is not the reuenge of man but of God, which (as *Paul* saith) he extendeth and exerciseth by the ministerie of man for our good.

20 And no more doe we disagree with the words of Christ, by which he forbiddeth to resist euill, and commandeth to turne the right cheeke to him that hath giuen a blowe on the left, and to suffer him to take away thy cloke that taketh away thy coate. He willeth in deede there that the mindes of his should so much abhorre from desire of recompensing like for like, that they should sooner suffer double iniurie to be done to themselves, than desire to reacquire it: from which patience neither doe we also leade them away. For Christians truly ought to be a kinde of men made to beare reproches and iniuries, open to the malice, deceites, and mockeages, of naughty men: and not that onely but also they must be bearers of all these euils, that is to say so framed with all their harts, that hauing receiued one displeasure they make themselves ready for another, promising to themselves, nothing in their whole life but the bearing of a continuall crosse. In the meane time also they must doe good to them that doe them wrong, and wish well to those that curse them, and (which is their onely victorie) striue to ouercome euill with good. Beeing so minded they will not seeke eye for eye, tooth for tooth, as the Pharisees taught their Disciples to desire reuenge, but (as we are taught of Christ) they will so suffer their bodie to be mangled, and their goods to be maliciously taken from them, that they will forgieue, and of their owne accord pardon those euils so soone as they are done to them. Yet this euennesse and moderation of mindes shall not withstand,

All contending at law not precise to be condemned.

Act. 22. 1. & 24. 12. & 25. 10.

Numb. 19. 18.

Math. 5. 19.

Deut. 32. 35.

Rom. 12. 19.

Rom. 13. 4.

The patience which Christians are moyued to vse is no let but that they may also vse the Magistrate against the iniuries of vniust men.
Math. 5. 39.

These things are not to be taken as a rule for the Magistrate to follow.

Epist. 5. ad
Marcel.

but that the friendship toward their enemies remaining safe, they may use the helpe of the Magistrate to the preserving of their goods, or for zeale of publike commoditie may use a guiltie and pestilent man to be punished, whom they know that he can not be amended but by death. For *Augustine* truly expoundeth that all these commandements tend to this ende, that a righteous and godly man should be ready to beare patientlie the malice of them whom he seeketh to haue made good men, that rather the number of the good may encrease, not that he should with like malice adde himselfe also to the number of the euill: then, that they more pertaine to the preparation of the hart, which is inwardly, than to the worke which is done openlie: that in secret may be kept patience of minde with good will, but openly that may be done which we see may be profitable to them to whom we ought to beare good will.

All contentings
at law not con-
demed by the
Apostle.
2. Cor. 6. 6.

21 But this which is wont to be objected, that contentings in law are altogether condemned of *Paul*, is also false: It may easily be perceived by his words, that there was an innumerable rage of strutting at law in the Church of the Corinthians: so far forth that they did make the Gospell of Christ and the whole religion which they professed, open to the cauations and euill speaking of the wicked. This is the first thing that *Paul* blameth in them, that by their intemperance of contentious, they brought the Gospell in slander among the vnbeleeuers. And then this point also, that in such sort they strided among themselues brethren with brethren. For they were so farre from bearing of wrongs, that they greedily gap'd one for anothers goods, prouoked one another, and being unprouoked did hurt. Therefore he inuigheth against that rage of contending, and not simply against all controuersies. But he pronounceth that it is a fault or a weakenesse, that they did not rather suffer losse of their goods than to trauell euen to contentions for the preserving of them: namely when they were so easilie moued with euery damage, and for most small causes did runne to the Court of Lawe and to controuersies, he saith that this is a prooffe that they were of a minde too ready to anger and not well framed to patience. Christians verily ought to doe this, that they had alway rather to yeeld of their owne right than to goe to law, from whence they can scarcely get out againe but with a minde too much 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 sore hinderance vnto him: if he doe so he offendeth nothing against this saying of *Paul*. Finally (as we haue taught in the beginning) charitie shall giue euery man best counsell, without which whatsoever controuersies are taken in hand, and beyond which whatsoever doe proceede, we hold it out of controuersie that they be vniust and wicked.

The reuerend esti-
mation which
subiectes ought to
haue of their ma-
gistrates.

22 The first ductie of subiectes toward their Magistrates is, to thinke most honorable of their office, namely which they acknowledge to be a iurisdiction committed of God, and therefore to esteeme them and reuerence them as the ministers and deputies of God. For a man may finde some, which yeelde themselves very obedient to their magistrates, and would not that there were not some whom they should obey, because they so know it to be expedient for the common benefite: but the magistrates themselves they thinke no otherwise than of certaine necessarie euils. But *Peter* requireth somewhat more of vs, when he commaundeth that the King be honored, and *Salomon*, when he commaundeth God and the King to be feared: For *Peter* vnder the word of honoring commaundeth a sincere and well deeming estimation: and *Salomon* ioyning the King with God, sheweth that he is full of a certaine holy reuerence and dignitie. This is also a notable commendation in *Paul*, that we obey not onely for wrath but for conscience. Whereby he meaneth that subiectes ought to be led not onely with feare of Princes and Rulers to be holden in their subiection (as they are wont to yeelde to their armed enemy, which see that vengeance shall

1. Pet. 2. 17.
Prou. 24. 21.

Rom. 13. 5.

readily.

readily be taken vpon them if they resist) but because the obediences that are shewed to them are shewed to God himselfe, for as much as their power is of God. I speake not of the men, as if the vniuersal dignitie did couer foolishnesse, or sluggishnes, or cruelties, or wicked maners and full of mischicuous doing: but I say that the decree it selfe is worthie of honour and reuerence: that whosoever be rulers may be esteemed with vs, and haue reuerence, in respect of their being rulers.

23 Of this then also followeth another thing: that with minds bent to the honouring of them, they declare their obedience in prooffe to them: whether it be to obey their proclamations, or to pay tribute, or to take in hande publike offices and charges that serue for common defence, or to do any other of their commandements. Let every soule (saith *Paul*) be subiect to the higher powers. For he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. The same *Paul* writeth to *Titus*: Warne them that they be subiect to rulers and powers, that they obey the Magistrates, that they be ready to euerie good woike. And *Peter* saith, Be ye subiect to euerie humane creature (or rather as I translate it, Ordinance) for the Lords sake, either to the king as most excellent, or to the rulers that are sent by him, to the punishment in deede of euill doers, but to the praise of well doers. Moreover that they should refuse that they do not faine subiection, but are sincerely and heartily subiect, *Paul* addeth that they should commend to God the safetie and prosperitie of them vnder whom they liue. I exhort (saith he) that there be made prayers, beseechings, intercessions, thanksgiuings for all men, for kings and for all that be set in superioritie, that wee may liue a peaceable and quiet life with all godlinesse and honestie. Neither let any man here deceiue himselfe. For sith the Magistrate cannot be resisted, but that God himselfe must also be resisted: although it may bee thought that an vnarmed Magistrate may freely be despised, yet God is armed which will strongly take vengeance on the despising of himselfe. Moreover vnder this obedience I containe moderation, which priuate men ought to binde themselves to keepe in cases touching the publike state, that they do not of their owne head entermedle in publike businesse, or rashly breake into the office of the Magistrate, and enterprise nothing publicly. If any thing shall in a publike ordinance be behoouefull to be amended, let not themselves raise vprores, nor put their hands to the doing of it, which they all ought to haue fast bound in this behalfe: but let them commit it to the iudgement of the Magistrate, whose hande alone is herein at libertie. I meane, that they presume to doe nothing vncommanded. For when the commandement 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 eies: so not vnfitly a man may call them the hands of the Prince, whom by his commandement he setteth in authoritie for the doing of things.

24 Now for as much as we haue hitherto described a magistrate such as is in deed the same that he is called, namely the father of the countrey, and (as the Poet calleth him) the pastor of the people, the keeper of peace, the protector of righteousnesse, the reuenger of innocence: he is worthily to be iudged a mad man, that alloweth not such a government. But whereas this is in a manner the experience of all ages, that of princes some being carelesse of all things to the foreseeing whereof they ought to haue bene heedfully bent, do without all care stollily wallow in delites: other some addicted to their gaine, do set out to sale all lawes, priuileges, iudgements, and grauntes: other some spoile the poore communalitie of inuic which they may after waste vpon madde prodigall expending: other some exercise meere robberies, in pillaging of houses, defiling of virgins and matrones, murdering of innocents: many cannot be perswaded that such should be acknowledged for princes, whose authority they ought to obey so far as they may. For in so great hauious vnworthines among doings so much contrary to the duty not only for a magistrate, but also of a mā,

The obedience which we owe vnto magistrates in our outward actions.

Rom. 13. 1.
Tit. 3. 1.

2. Peter. 3. 13.

1. Tim. 2. 1.

The euill dealings of magistrates the cause why men thinke they may withdraw both reuerence and obedience from them

they behold no forme of the image of God which ought to shine in a magistrate: when they see no token of that minister of God, which was giuen for praise to the good and for vengeance to the euill: so neither do they also acknowledge such a gouernor, whose dignitie & authoritie the scripture commendeth vnto vs. And truly this feeling of affection hath alway been naturally planted in the mindes of men, no lesse to hate and abhor tyrants, than to loue and honor lawfull kings.

*Subiētion due
from vs euen to
those magistrates
who towards vs
neglect their duty
and abuse their
authority.*

25 But if we looke to the word of God, it will lead vs further, that we be subiect not onely to the government of those princes which execute their office towards vs well and with such faithfulness as they ought, but also of all them, which by what meane soeuer it be, haue the dominion in possession although they performe nothing lesse than that which pertaineth to the dutie of princes. For though the Lord testifieth that the magistrate is a special great gift of his liberalitie for preiuring of the safety of men, and appointeth to magistrates themselues their bounds: yet he doth therewithall declare, that of what sort soeuer they be, they haue not their authority but from him: that those in deede, which rule for benefit of the common weale, are true examplars and paterns of his bountifullnes: that they that rule vnjustly and wilfully, are raised vp by him to punish the wickednes of the people: that all egally haue that maiestic wherewith he hath furnished a lawfull power. I will proceede no further, till I haue added some certaine testimonies of that point. Yet wee neede not much to labour to prouue that a wicked king is the wrath of God vpon the earth, for as much as I thinke that no man will say the contrary, and otherwise there should be no more said of a king than of a common robber that violently taketh away thy goods, and of an adulterer that defileth thy bed, of a murderer that seeketh to kill thee, whereas the scripture reckoneth all such calamities among the curses of God. But let vs rather tarie vpon prouing that which doth not so easily settle in the mindes of men: that in a most mightie man, and most vnworthie of all honour if so that he haue the publike power in possession, remaineth that noble and diuine power which the Lord hath by his word giuen to the ministers of his righteousness and iudgement, and therefore that he ought of his subiects to be had in as great reuerence and estimation, so much as pertaineth to publike obedience, as they would haue the best King if he were giuen them.

*Iob. 34. 30.
Olee. 13. 11.
Esa. 3. 4. & 10. 5.
Deut. 28. 29.*

*The providence of
God in disposing
kingdomes and
raising the seruice
of wicked kings.
Dan. 2. 21.*

26 First I would haue the readers to perceiue and diligently marke that prouidence and singular doings of God, which is in the Scripture not without cause so oft rehearsed vnto vs, in distributing of kingdomes and making kings whom it pleaseth him. In *Daniel*, it is saide: The Lord chaungeth times and courtes of times, hee casteth away and maketh kings. Again: That the liuing may know that the Highest is mightie in the kingdom of men, and he shall giue it to whom he will. With which manner of sentences whereas the whole scripture aboundeth, yet that same prophetic of *Daniel* specially swarmeth ful. Now what maner of king was *Nabuchadonozar*, he that conquered Hierusalem, it is sufficiently knowen, namely a strong inuader & destroyer of other. Yet in *Ezechiel* the Lord affirmeth that he gaue him the land of *Aegypt* for the seruice that he had done to him in wasting it. And *Daniel* said to him. Thou king art king of kings, to whom the king of heauens hath giuen a mightie, and strong, and glorious kingdom: to thee, I say, he hath giuen it, and all the lands where dwell the children of men, the beasts of the wood and foules of the aire: he hath deliuered them into thy hand, and hath made thee to beare rule ouer them. Again he said to his sonne *Belsasar*: the highest God hath giuen to *Nabuchadonozar* thy Father kingdom and royaltie, honour and gloria: and by reason of the royaltie that hee gaue him, all peoples, tribes, and languages were trembling and feareful at his sight. When we heare that a king is ordained of God, let vs thereof call to remembrance those heavenly warnings concerning the honour and feare of a king: then we shall not doubt to accompt, a most wicked tyraunt in the same place wherewith

Ezec. 19.

Dan. 2. 37.

Dan. 5. 18.

the Lord hath vouchsafed to set him: *Samuel* when he gaue warning to the people of *Israell*, what manner of things they should suffer at the hands of their kings, said: This shall be the right of the King that shall reigne ouer you: he shall take your sons and put them to his chariot, to make them his horsemen, and to plow his land, and reape his crop, and to make instruments of warre. He shall take your daughters, that they may be his dressers of oynments, his Cookes and Bakers. Your Lands, your Vineyardes, and your best Oliue plantes, he shall take away and giue to his bond seruantes. He shall take tithes of your Seedes and Vineyardes, and shall giue them to his eunuches and bond seruants. He shall take away your bonde men, your bonde women and your Asses, and set them to his woike. Yea and he shall take tithes of your flockes, and ye shall be his bond seruantes. Verily Kinges should not haue done this of right, whom the law did very well instruct to all communique: but it was called a right ouer the people which it behoued them of necessitie to obey, and they might not resist it: as if *Samuel* had said. The wilfulnesse of Kinges shall runne to such licentiousnes, which it shall not be your part to resist, to whom this onely thing shall be left, to obey their commandements and hearken to their word.

27 But chiefly there is in *Ieremie* a notable place and worthe to be remembered, which although it be somewhat long, yet I will be content to rehearse, because it most plainly determineth this whole question. I haue made the earth and men, saith the Lord, and the liuing creatures that are on the ouerface of the earth in my great strength and stretched out arme, and I will deliuer it to him whom it pleaseth in mine eyes. And now therefore I haue giuen all these landes into the hands of *Nabuchadnezar* my seruant, and all nations and great Kinges shall serue him, till the time shall come of that land. And it shall be as a nation and a kingdome that hath not serued the King of *Eabel*. I will visite that nation in sworde, famine, and pestilence. Wherefore serue ye the King of *Eabel* and liue. We see with how great obedience the Lord willed that cruell and proud tyrant to be honored, for no other reason but because he possided the kingdome. And the same was by the heavenly decree, that he was set in the throne of the kingdome, and taken vp into kingly maiestie, which it was vnlawfull to violate. If we haue this continually before our mindes and eyes, that euen the worst Kinges are ordered by the same decree by which the authoritic of Kinges is stablihed, these seditious thoughtes shall neuer come into our minde, that a King is to be handled according to his destruyings, and that it is not meete that we should stiew our selues subiects to him that doth not on his behalfe shew himselfe a King to vs.

28 In vaine shall any man object that this was a peculiar commandement to the *Israelites*. For it is to be noted with what reason the Lord consumeth it. I haue giuen (saith he) the kingdome to *Nabuchadnezar*: Wherefore serue ye him and liue. To whomsoever therefore it shall be certain that the kingdome is giuen, let vs not doubt that he is to be obeyed. And so soon as the Lord aduanceth any man to the royall estate, he therein declareth his will to vs that he will haue him reigne. For thereof are generall testimonies of the Scripture. *Salomon* in the xxviij. Chapter, Many Princes are because of the wickednesse of the people. Againe *Iob* in the xij. Chapter. He taketh away subiection from Kinges, and girdeth them againe with the girdle. But this being confessed, there remaineth nothing but that we must serue and liue. There is also in *Ieremie* the Prophet an other commandement of the Lord wherein he commanded his people to seeke the peace of *Babylon*, whither they had bene led away captiue, and to pray to him for it, because in the peace of it should be their peace. Behold the *Israelites* being spoyled of all their goods, plucked out of their houses, led away into exile, and cast into miserable bondage, are commanded to pray for the safetie of the Conqueror: not as in other places we are commanded to pray for our persecutors: but that the kingdome may be preserved to himselfe and

The Terres commanded of God to yeelde honour vnto a proud and cruell King.
Ier. 27. 5.

The reasons why the people of Israel were commanded to honor euill Kinges doe as effectually bind vs to the like dutie.
Prou. 28. 2.

Iob. 12. 18.

Ier. 29. 7.

quiet, that they themselves may also liue prosperously vnder him. So *Dauid* being alreadie appointed King by the ordinance of God, and annointed with his holy oyle, when he was without any his deseruing vnworthily persecuted of *Saul*, yet the head of him that layed waite for his life, he esteemed holy which the Lord hath hallowed with the honor of kingdome. Faire be it from me (said he) that I should before the Lord doe this thing to my Lord the annointed of the Lord, that I should lay my hand vpon him: because he is the annointed of the Lord. Againe, My Soule hath spared thee, and I haue said, I will not lay my hand vpon my Lord, because he is the annointed of the Lord. Againe, Who shall lay his hand vpon the annointed of the Lord and shall be innocent? So sure as the Lord liueth, vlesse the Lord strike him, or his day be come: that he die, or hee goe downe into battell: faire bee it from me that I should lay my hand vpon the annointed of the Lord.

1. Sam. 24. 7.

1. Sam. 26. 9.

*If Princes breake
their duties, we
may not therefore
transgresse ours.*

29 Finally we owe this affection of reuerence yea and deuotion to all our Rulers, of what sort soeuer they be, which I doe therefore the oftener reapeate, that we may learne not to search what the men themselves bee, but take this for sufficient, that by the will of the Lord they beare that personage in which the Lord himselfe hath imprinted and ingraued an inuolable maiestie. But (thou wilt say) Rulers owe mutuall duties to their subiectes. That I haue alreadie confessed. But if thou thereupon conclude, that obediences are to be rendred to none but to iust Governours, thou art a foolish reasoner. For, husbands also are bound to their wiues and parents to their children with mutuall duties. Let Parentes and Husbands depart from their dutie: let parents shew themselves so hard and vpleasable to their children, whom they are forbidden to prouoke to anger, that with their penitihness they doe vnmeasurably wearie them: let the husbands most despitefully vse their wiues, whom they are commaunded to loue, and to spare them as weake vessels: shall yet therefore either children be lesse obedient to their parentes, or wiues to their husbands? but they are subiect both to euill parents and husbands and such as doe not their dutie. Yea, where as all ought rather to endeuor themselves not to looke behinde them to the bagge hanging at their backe, that is, not to enquire one of anothers duties, but euery inan set before him that which is his owne duerie: this ought chiefly to haue place among those that are vnder the power of other. Wherefore if we be vnmercifully tormented of a cruell Prince, if we be rauenuously spoyled of a couetous or riotous Prince, if we be neglected of a slothfull Prince, finally if we be vexed for godlinesse sake of a wicked and vngodly Prince: let vs first call to mind the remembrance of our sinnes, which vndoubtedly are chastised with such scourges of the Lord. Therby humilitie shall bridle our impatience. Let vs then also call to minde this thought, that it pertaineth not to vs to remedie such euils: but this onely is left for vs, that we craue the helpe of the Lord in whose hands are the hartes of Kings, and the bowings of kingdomes. He is the God that shall stand in the assemblie of Gods, and shall in the midst iudge the Gods, from whose face all Kings shall fall, and be broken, and all the Iudges of the earth that shall haue not killed his annointed, that haue written vniust lawes to oppresse the poore in iudgement, and doe violence to the cause of the humble, to make widowes a pray, and rob the fatherlesse.

Ephē. 6. 1.

Ephē. 5. 26.

1. Pet. 3. 7.

Dan. 9. 7.

Pro. 21. 1.

Psal. 82. 1.

Psal. 2. 10.

Esa. 10. 1.

*The presidents
care of God to
deliuer his people
from their Rulers
tyrannie.*

Exod. 3. 7.

Iud. 3. 9 &c.

30 And here both his maueulous goodnes, and power, and prouidence sheweth it selfe: for sometime of his seruants he raiseth vp open reuengers, and furnisheth them with his commandment, to take vengeance of their vniust gouernement, and to deliuer his people many waies oppressed out of miserable distresse: sometime he directeth to the same end the rage of men that intend and goe about an other thing. So he deliuered the people of Israell out of the tyranny of *Pharao* by *Moses*: and out of the violence of *Chusam* King of *Syria*, by *Othoniel*: and out of other thraldomes, by other Kings or Iudges. So he tamed the pride of *Tyrus*, by the Egyptians: the insolence of the Egyptians, by the Assyrians: the fiercenes of the Assyrians by the Chaldees:

Chaldees: the boldnes of Babylon, by the Medians, and by the Persians when *Cyrus* had subdued the Medians. And the vnthankfulness of the kings of Iuda and Israell, and their wicked obstinacie toward his so many benefites, he did beat down and bring to distresse somtime by the Assyrians, somtime by the Babylonians, albeit not all after one maner. For the first sort of men when they were by the lawfull calling of God sent to do such actes: in taking armour against kings, they did not violate that maiestie which is planted in kings by the ordinance of God: but being armed from heauen they subdued the lesser power with the greater: like as it is lawfull for kings to punish their Lords vnder them. But these latter sort, although they were directed by the hand of God whether it pleased him, and they vnwittingly did worke, yet purposed in their minde nothing but mischiefe.

31 But howsoeuer the verie doings of men be iudged, yet the Lord did as well execute his worke by them, when he did breake the bloodie scepters of proud kings, and ouerthrew their intolerable gouernments. Let Princes heare and be afraide. But we in the meane time must take great head, that we do not despise or offende that authoritie of Magistrates full of reuerend maiestie, which God hath stablished with most weightie decrees, although it remaine with most vnworthy men, and which do with their wickednesse, so much as in them is, defile it. For though the correcting of vnbridled gouernment be the reuengement of the Lord, let vs not by and by thinke that it is committed to vs, to whom there is giuen no other commandement but to obey and suffer. I speake alway of priuate men. For if there be at this time any Magistrates for the behalfe of the people, (such as in olde time were the Ephori, that were set against the kings of Lacedemonia, or the Tribunes of the people, against the Roman Consuls: or the Demarchi, against the Senate of Athens: and the same power also which peradventure, as things are now, the three estates haue in euerie Realme, when they hold their principall assemblies) I do so not forbid them according to their office to withstand the outraging licentiousnesse of kings: that I affirme that if they winke at kings wilfully raging ouer and treading downe the poore communalitie, their dissembling is not without wicked breach of faith, because they deceitfully betray the libertie of the people, whereof they know themselues to be appointed protectors by the ordinance of God.

32. But in that obedience which we haue determined to be due to the authorities of Governours, that is alway to be excepted, yea chiefly to be obserued, that it do not leade vs away from obeying of him, to whose will the desires of all kings ought to be subiect, to whose decrees all their commandements ought to yeelde, to whose maiestie their naces ought to be submitted. And truly how vnorderly were it, for the satisfying of men to runne into his displeasure for whom men themselues are obeyed? The Lord therefore is the king of kings, who when he hath opened his holy mouth, is to be heard alone for altogether and about all: next to him we bee subiect to those men that are set ouer vs: but no othewise than in him. If they commaund any thing against him, let it haue no place and let no accompt be made of it: neither let vs herein any thing stay vpon all that dignitie wherewith the Magistrates excell, to which there is no wrong done, when it is brought into order of subiection in comparison of that singular and truly soueraigne power of God. After this reason *Daniel* denieth that he had any thing offended against the king, when he obeyed not his wicked proclamation: because the king had passed his bounds, and had not onely bene a wrong doer to men, but in lifting vp his hornes against God he had taken away power from himselfe. On the other side the Israelites are condemned because they were too much obedient to the wicked commandement of the king. For when *Ierobeam* had made golden calues, they forsaking the Temple of God, did for his pleasure turne to newe superstitions. With like lightnesse their posteritie inclined themselues to the ordinaunces of their kings. With this the Prophet sharply

The reuenge of vnbridled gouernments belongeth not to priuate men

Parliaments.

The dutie which we owe vnto kings must not lead vs from our obedience to the king of kings.

Dan 6. 22.

Osec. 5. 13.
1. King. 12. 30.

Cap. 20. Of the outward meanes &c.

reproch them, that they embraced the commandements of the king: so farre is it off, that the pretence of humilitie may deserue praise wherwith the flatterers of the court do couer themselues and deceiue the simple; while they say that it is not lawfull for them to refuse any thing that is commaunded them of their princes: as though God resigned his right to mortall men, giuing them the rule of mankind: or as though the earthly power were minished, when it is made subiect to the author of it, before whom euen the heauenly powers do humbly tremble for feare. I know how great and how present perill hangeth ouer this constancie, because kings do most displeasantly suffer themselues to be despised, whose displeasure (saith *Salomon*) is the messenger of death. But sith this decree is proclaimed by the heauenly harald *Peter*: That we ought to obey God rather than men, let vs comfort our selues with this thought, that we then performe that obedience which the Lord requireth, when we suffer any thing rather whatsoeuer it be, than swaue from godlines. And that our courages should not faint, *Paul* putteth also another spurre to vs: That we were therefore re- deemed of Christ with so great a price as our redemption cost him, that we should not yeeld our selues in thraldom to obey the peruerse desires of men, but much lesse should be bound to vngodlinesse.

AQ. 23.

1. Cor. 7. 13.

Praise be to God. T.N.





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of common places, wherein is briefly reher-

sed the summe of the doctrine concerning euery point taught in the booke before at large, collected by the Author.

The first number signifieth the Booke, the second the Chapter, the third the Section.

A

Coluthes.

A Coluthes in the old Church. Booke. 4. Chapter. 4. Section. 1. 9. and Chap. 19. Sect. 22, 23.

Adams fall.

The fall of *Adam* proceeded not of intemperance of gluttonie, but of infidelitie: for he despising the word and truth of God, turned out of the way to the lies of Satan: which infidelity opened the gate to ambition and pride, wherunto was adioyned vnthankfulnesse: and ambition was the mother of disobedience. 2. 1. 4.

By the fall of *Adam* with other creatures haue bene after a sort deformed, it is no maruell, that all mankind was corrupted, that is to say. swarued out of kind fro his first originall, and made subiect to curse. This the old doctors called Original sin, but yet did not so plainly set forth this point of doctrine as was conuenient. In the meane time it is prooued by reasons and testimonies of scripture, that *Pelagius* sowlly erred whē he said that by imitatio only, not by propagation, sin passed from the first man into all his posterity. 2. 1. 5, 6.

And though the pestilence of sinne do principally abide in the soule, yet it doth not therefore pertaine to the discussing of this Doctrīne, to dispute whether the soule of the childe cometh of the engendring substance of the father: for as much as the cause of the infection is not in the substance of the flesh or of the soule, but because it was ordeined of God, that those gifts which he at the first had giuen

to man, man should haue and loofe them for him and his. Finally it maketh not against this doctrine, that the children of the faithfull are sanctified. 2. 1. 7.

That by the fall of *Adam* the naturall gifts in man were corrupted and the supernaturall were taken away, is a saying that many haue vsed, but few haue vnderstood. 2. 2. 4, 16. which saying is expounded. 2. 2. 12. that is to say, that the supernaturall gifts, faith, the loue of God, charity toward our neighbours, desirous endeouour of holines and righteousnes were taken away, but are restored by Christ: & that the naturall gifts, namely the vnderstanding mind, & the hart are corrupted, because the foundnesse of vnderstanding and the vprightness of hart were both taken away: Also that reason in man was not vterly blotted out, but partly weakened and partly corrupted: and so wil, because it cannot be scuered from the nature of man, was not vterly destroyed, but made thrall to corrupt desires. 2. 2. 12.

It is proued by the testimonies of *Augustine* and of the scripture, that God not onely foresawe or suffered, but also by his will disposed the fall of the first man, & in him the vaine of his posteritie. 3. 23, 7, 8.

Angels.

Angels are creatures of God although *Moses* doe not expresse them in the historie of the creation. 1. 14, 3.

Of the time or order wherin they were created, it is not expedient to inquire, for asmuch as the scripture (which we ought to follow for our rule) declareth nothing thereof.

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thereof. 1. 14. 4.

Why the heavenly spirites are called Angels, Armies, Vertues, Principalities, powers, dominions, thrones, gods. 1. 14. 5

Concerning Angels the scripture teacheth so much as is available for our comfort and for the confirming of our faith, namely that they are distributors & ministers of Gods bountifullnes toward vs, and the same by diuers waies. 1. 14. 6, 9.

Not only one Angel hath severall care of euery one of vs, but they all with one consent doe watch for our safetie: and therefore it is superfluous to inquire whether euery man haue his severall Angell assigned to be his keeper. 1. 14. 7.

Of the number & degrees of Angels, it is curiosnes to inquire, and rashnes to determine: And why, whereas they be spirits, the Scripture painteth them with wings vnder Cherubin and Seraphin. 1. 14. 8.

Against the Sadduces and such other fantastical men, it is proued by sundry testimonies of the scripture, that angels are not qualities or inspirations without substance, but very spirits in deede. 1. 14. 9.

That superstition is herein to be auoyded, and that wee giue not to Angels those things that belong onely to God and Christ. 1. 14. 10.

For auoiding of this peril, we must consider that whereas God vseth their seruice, he doth it not of neede, as though he could not be without the, but for the comfort of our weaknesse. 1. 14. 11. And therefore whatsoever is said of the ministerie of Angels, ought to be referred to this end, that ouercomming all distrust, our trust in God shoulde be thereby the more strongly stablished, & not that they should leade vs away from God. 1. 14. 12.

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Although Christ in his rising againe began more fully to shew forth his glorie and power: yet in his ascending into heauen he first truly began his kingdom, be-

cause he then powred out greater abundance of his spirit, more royally aduanced his reigne, & shewed greater power both in helping them that are his, & in overthrowing his enemies. And yet that he is so absent according to the presence of his flesh, that hee is alway euery where according to the presence of his maiesty, & with the faithfull according to his vspeakable and inuisible grace. 2. 16. 14.

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Baptisme.

THe definition of Baptisme. The first end thereof is to serue our faith before God, the other end, to serue our confession before men. It bringeth to our faith three things, first that it is a signe of our cleansing, assuring vs that al our finnes are done away. 4. 15. 1. which is prooued by testimonies of the scripture, and that it is not the water that cleanseth vs, but the blood of Christ. Sect. 2.

The force of Baptisme is not restrained to the time past: but we are by it washed and cleansed once for al our life: and yet that we may not hereof take a libertie to sinne from thence forward. 4. 15. 3.

The power of the keyes (as they call it) that is to say, the ministerie of the Church, by which the forgiveness of finnes is daily preached vnto vs, is not to be severed from Baptisme. 4. 15. 4.

The second fruit of faith by Baptisme, is that it sheweth to vs our mortifying in Christ, and a new life in him. 4. 15. 5.

The third fruit is, that it testifieth that we are so vnited to christ, that we are partakers of all his good things. For which cause Christ is called the proper obiekt of Baptisme, and the Apostles baptised into the name of Christ, in whom we do so obtaine the matter both of our cleansing and of our regeneration, as we obtaine the cause thereof in the father, and the effect in the holy Ghost. 4. 15. 6.

It is prooued that the Baptisme was al one which was ministred of *Iohn* and of the

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the Apostles, although some of the olde Doctors thought otherwise. 4.15.7. and that it maketh not to the contrary, that more abundant graces of the Spirit are poured out, since the resurrection of Christ. But yet there is in baptisme a difference to bee made of the person of Christ from *Iohn*, and from the Apostles and other ministers. 4.15.8.

Both our mortifying and our cleansing were as by shadowe signified among the people of *Israel*, by the passage through the sea, and the comfortable calling of the cloud. 4.15.9.

It is false which some haue taught, that by baptisme we are restored to the same righteousness and purenes of nature which *Adam* had at the beginning. And there is shewed that in the children of God doe remaine yet some leauinges of sinne, although the same reigne not in them: which doth what they endeoures, & doth not giue them occasion to flatter themselves. 4.15.10,11. the same is proued by *Paul*. Sect. 12.

How baptisme serueth our confession before men. 4.15.13.

What is the order to vse baptisme, both for confirmation of our faith, and for a confession before me. Where it is shewed that the graces of God are not enclosed in the Sacrament, so as they be giuen to vs by the vertue thereof. 4.15.14,15.

Baptisme is nothing encreased by the worthines of him that doth minister it, nor diminished by his unworthinesse: against the Donatistes, & our Catabaptistes which require a rebaptizing, because we haue bin baptised in the kingdome of the Pope. 4.15.16. their arguments are confuted Sect. 17,18.

Baptisme is a continuall Sacrament of repenraunce for all our life, so that we need no other sacrament of penance. 4.19.17.

Of the coniuring of the water, the waxe candell, the chresme, the blowing, the spittle, and such other trifles added to the simple ceremonie of Christ: and the order of purely ministering it in the church is shewed. 4.15.19.

It is shewed that to minister Baptisme pertaineth to the ministers of the church

and not to priuate men, much lesse to women: and the contrary obiections are confuted 4.15.20,21,22.

Baptisme of infants.

The baptizing of infants doth very well agree with Christs institution, and with the nature of the signe. 4.16.&c.

Baptisme succeeded in the place of Circumcision, wherein they be like, and wherein they be unlike. 4.16.3,4.

Infants are not to be debarred from baptisme, sith the Lorde doth make them partakers of the thing signified in baptisme. 4.16.5. & that the Lorde doth regenerate infants. Sect. 17,18,19.

Sith it is certaine that the same covenant, which it pleased God to make with *Abraham*, is sealed in infants with the outward Sacrament, therefore ought baptisme also to haue place among them. 4.16.6.

Baptizing of infants is well proued by this that Christ embraced children and laid his hands vpon them. 4.16.7.

A confutation of certaine arguments of the enemies of infants baptisme. 4.16.8,22,23,25,27,28,29.

There commeth great fruite by the baptizing of infants, both to the faithfull parents & to the children. 4.16.9. Which fruite Satan trauaileth by the Anabaptistes to take from vs. 4.16.32.

A confutation of the aduersaries arguments, saying, that there be other things signified in baptisme than there are in Circumcision: that our covenant differeth from the olde covenant: that other are called children at this day than were at that time. 4.16.10,11,12,13,14,15.

A confutation of their other fained differences betweene Circumcision and baptisme. Sect. 16. Also of this obiection, that baptisme is a Sacrament of repentance and of faith: neither of which can be in tender infancie. 4.16.20,21.

In them of ripe age, faith and vnderstanding ought to go before baptisme: but in infants, the baptisme of the faithfull goeth before vnderstanding. 4.16.24.

A confutation of their error, which condemne to eternall death all that are not baptised. 4.16.26.

This,

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This, that Christ was not baptised till his age of 30. yeres, was for a good cause, and maketh nothing for the enemies of infantes baptisme. 4.16.29.

Why the supper is not to be ministred to the infantes of the faithfull, and baptisme not to be denied them. 4.16.30.

A long rehearsal of the arguments wherewith wicked *Seuettus* did fight against the baptisme of infantes, & a confutation of the same arguments. 4.16.31.

Of baptising of infantes. 4.8.15.

Bearing of the Crosse.

It behooueth that we deny our selues, that we may beare the crosse, because it is Gods will to exercise all his vnder the crosse, beginning at Christ his first begotten sonne. Which fellowship with Christ doth alreadie giue vs great ground of patience and comfort. 3.8.1.

It is for many causes necessarie for vs to lead our life vnder a continuall crosse: first to beate downe our arrogancie and trust of our own strength. And this remedie euen the most holy do need, as is proued by the example of *Dauid*. 3.8.2. Hereby our trust in God is confirmed, and our hope encreased. Sect. 3.

Secondly, that our patience may be tried, & we may be framed to obedience. 3.8.4. Which is most needfull for vs, sith the wantonnes of our flesh is so great to make vs shake off the yoke of God when he doth once handle vs gently. Sect. 5.

Sometime also to punish our offences committed: wherein wee acknowledge that hee doth the office of a good father towards vs, but contrariwise the vnfaithfull are oftentimes made more obstinate. 3.8.6.

A singular comfort when we suffer either thame or losse, or any other calamitie for righteousnes: which crosse most properly belongeth to the faithfull. 3.8.7.

How necessarie it is for the faithful, in the bitternes of afflictions, to be furnished with this thought, that God loueth them, but is angry with their faults. 3.4.34.

Bishops.

The name of Bishop in the old church was giuen to some one in euery seuerall company of ministers, for politike order,

and not that they should beare a Lordlie rule ouer other. 4.4.2.

It was the office as well of the Bishop as of other priestes, to preach and minister the Sacraments. 4.4.3.

The old Church did commonly obserue the order appointed by the apostles in calling of ministers. 4.4.10.11,12,13.

With what forme the ministers of the old Church were consecrate after their election. 4.4.14,15.

Of the ceremonie of ordering of true priestes. 4.19.28.

Oftentimes the order of priestes: prophets, and pastors, hath bin most corrupt in the church. 4.9.3,4,5.

Men are not bounde without exception to obey the pastors of churches, but in the Lord and his word. 4.9.12.

What Bishops, and of what qualities, be made in the papacie. 4.5.1.

The right of the people in election is taken away, and the old canons broken. 4.5.2,3.

What priestes are made in the papacy, and to what end. 4.5.4,5.

Of the giftes of benefices in the papacie. 4.5.6,7.

How faithfully all priestes in the papacie do execute their office, whether they be Monkes, or secular, as canons, deanes, parsons of paroches, bishops, &c. 4.5.8,9,10,11.

The negligence of them that gouerned Churches in the time of *Gregorie* and *Bernard*. 4.5.12.

The whole maner of ecclesiastical gouernance as it is at this day in the papacie, is nothing else but a place of spoyle, wherein theeeues do rob without law and measure. 4.5.13.

Of the dissolute licentiousnesse in all parts of their life, which priestes and bishops, &c. vse in the papacie. 4.5.14.

C

Calling.

OF the effectuall or inward calling, which is a sure testimonie of election, and hangeth vpon the only free mercie of God. 3.24.1,2.

Against them, which in predestination do

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doe make man a worker with God. Also against them that hang election vpon that which followeth election. 3. 24. 3.

The certaintie of our election is to be knowne by the word and calling of God, and we ought not to prease into the eternall counsell of God. 3. 24. 4.

The father hath chosen vs onely in Christ, in him therefore let vs behold the stedfast ground of our election. 3. 24. 5. and so, that therof also we may conceiue a sure confidence of perteuerance to the end. 3. 24. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Two kinds of calling yniuersall, and speciall. 3. 24. 8.

It is proued by diuers examples and testimonies of scripture, that the elect before their calling doe differ nothing from other men, and that it is false which some men doe dreame, that there is a certaine seede of election planted in their hearts euen from their natiuitie. 3. 24. 10, 11.

It is shewed at large that as God doth by the effectualnesse of his Calling toward the elect, make perfect the saluation to which he had by his eternall counsell appointed them: so hee hath his iudgements against the reprobates, whereby he puteth his purpose concerning them in execution, and maketh a way for his predestination. 3. 24. 12, 13, 14, &c.

Cardinals.

When the name of Cardinals first began, and how they haue so suddenly start vp to so great honour. 4. 7. 30.

Ceremonies.

The old Ceremonies are taken away, as touching their vse only, but not as touching their effect, for we haue the same effect at this day most evidently & effectually in Christ. And this doth nothing diminish their holmes, as it is proued. 2. 7. 16. & being weighed by themselves & without Christ, they are worthily called of *Paul* handwritings against vs. 2. 7. 17.

The ordinances concerning Ceremonies in the Popes law, doe command obseruation for the most part vnprofitable, and sometime also foolish although they haue a great seeming of wisdom: moreouer they oppresse consciences with their infinite multitude. 4. 10. 11, 12, 13.

The Popish Ceremonies can not be executed by this colour, that they be ordained for the instruction of the ignorant, as the ceremonies of the law were: because there appereth in this point a manifest difference betweene vs and the people before Christ. 4. 10. 14.

The popish ceremonies are beleued to be sacrifices cleansing sins, & deseruing eternall life: they are without doctrine, and are snares to catch monie. 4. 10. 15.

Charitie toward our neighbour.

It is proued, against the Sorbonists that Charitie is the loue of our neighbor and not of our selues. 2. 8. 54.

Vnder the name of neighbour is contained euery man, be he neuer so much a stranger to vs, and our enemy, 2. 8. 55. & therefore the Schoolemen are condemned of ignorance, which of the comāndments of God, not to desire reuenge, & to loue our enemies, haue made counsels, to the necessarie keeping whereof Monkes alone doe binde themselves: & it is proued that the olde doctors of the Church, yea & *Gregorie* himselfe, thought otherwise. 2. 8. 56, 57.

We haue need of patience, that we be not wearie of doing good to other. And we ought not to haue respect to the vnworthincesse or other qualities of men which might withdraw vs, but to God which so commaundeth vs. 3. 7. 6.

To the fulfilling of all the parts of charitie, it is not enough if we performe all the dutifull deedes of Charitie, but wee must doe it with a sincere affection of hart. Wherein the chiefe point is, that we take vpon our selues the person of him whom we see to neede our helpe. So that wee auide disdainfull pride and other corruptings of Charitie. 3. 7. 7.

Christ and the Apostles in rehearsing the summe of the lawe doe sometime leaue out the first table: not for that it more availeth to the summe of righteousness to lue innocently with men, than to honour God with godlinesse: but because vnfaigned Charitie is the prooffe of true godlinesse. 2. 8. 52, 53.

A consutation of the Pharisees of our time, which hold that we are iustified by Charitie,

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Charitie, because *Paul* saith that Charitie is greater than faith and hope. 3.18.8.

An exposition of the tenth comādemēt, where in (as in the former comādemēt) is forbidden not onely all purpose to hurt our neighbor, but also all lust or desire against Charitie. 2.8.49, 58.

God doth for good cause and woorthily require of vs so great feuentnesse and vprightnesse of loue. 2.8.50.

An exposition of the sixt comādemēt, wherein not onely the slaughter or hatred of our neighbour is forbidden vs, but also the preserving of his life is comādemēt vs, because man is both our flesh and the image of God. 2.7.39, 40.

Children.

See obedience of children to parents.

Church.

The Church the mother of the faithfull. 4.1.1, 4, 5.

An exposition of this article of the Creed, I beleue the holy Church. 4.1.2, 3

The holiness of the Church is not yet perfected. 4.8.12.

Of the inuisible Church: and of the visible Church, the signes whereof are the pure preaching of the worde and ministratō of Sacraments. 4.8.7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Wherefoeuer those signes are, we ought not to depart from that fellowship. 4.8.12.

There may some fault creepe in, either in doctrine or in ministratō of Sacraments, for the which yet wee ought not to cast off the communion of that Church, and much lesse for the imperfection of life and corruptnesse of manners. And herein the Anabaptists are reprooed. 4.1.12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

The Church is none otherwise holy, but that it alway hath many faults, & yet it ceaseth not to bee the Church, as is prooed by testimonies of Scripture and the experience of al ages. 4.1.17, 18, 19.

See Ministerie of the Church.

Churches power as touching Articles of faith.

It is proed by the exāple of the Apostles and Prophets, & of Christ himselfe, that whatsoever authoritie the Church hath, is properly not giuen to men, but to the worde, the ministratō whereof is

committed to them: And therefore it was neuer lawfull for the Church, to teach any other thing, than that which she received of the Lord. 4.8.1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9.

Christ hath euer taught his Church: and yet he hath vsed diuers manners of teaching according to the diuersitie of times, ere the law was written, in the time of the law & the Prophets, and last of all since that he himselfe was openly shewed in the flesh. 4.8.5, 6, 7.

False Church.

Where lying and falshood hath gotten the vpper hand and reigneth, there is not the Church. And this is prooed to be in the papacie, although they there boast of a perpetual successiō of bishops. 4.2.1, 2, 3, 4

They are not heretikes or schismatikes that depart from the papacie. 4.2.5, 6.

How much soeuer a man make the best of the faultes of the popish Church, yet the state thereof is no better than was in the kingdome of Israell vnder *Jeroboam*. 4.2.7, 8, 9, 10.

Yet by the goodnesse of God there remain in the papacy certaine footsteps of the Church: and so is that fulfilled which hath been written, that Antichrist should sit in the temple of God. 4.2.11, 12.

A comparison of the power which the true Church hath in teaching, with the tyrannic of the pope and his ministers in forging new articles of faith. 4.8.10. Of the Papists principle, that the Church cannot erre. 4.8.13.

It is false to say that it behooued that the Church should adde to the writings of the Apostles. 4.1.14, 15, 16.

A cōfutation of the arguments which the Papists make, to prooue that there is power giuen to the Church to come new articles of faith. 4.8.11, 12.

Christ.

The Godhead of the Sonne is prooed. 1.13.7.

Against certaine dogs, which doe priuily steale away from the Sonne of God his eternitie, affirming that he then first began to be, when God spake at the creation of the world. 1.13.8.

Diuers testimonies of scripture, which assume Christ to be God, and first out of the

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the old testament. 1.13.9,10, then out of the new testament. Sect. 11.

A prooffe of the same Godhead, by the workes that are in the Scriptures ascribed vnto him. 1.13.12. also by his miracles and certaine other things. Sect. 13.

A difference betweene Christes working of miracles, and the Prophets or Apostles dooing of the like. 1.13.13.

It is prooued by many and most strong testimonies of Scripture, that Christ tooke vpon him a true substance of mans flesh, & nota Ghost or counterfaine shape of man, as the Marcionites fained, nor yet a heauenly body as the Manichees lyingly affirmed. 2. 13.1.

An exposition of the places of Scripture, which *Marcion* writted to the confirmation of his error, and also of those which *Manichæus* wrested, and many of their Disciples doe wrest at this day. 2.13.2,3. where also are confuted the new Marcionites, which tooke hold that women haue no seede: There are also certaine other things confuted, which are objected as absurdities. 2.13.4.

See *Ascending of Christ into heauen.*

See *death of Christ.*

See *descending of Christ into hell.*

See *Mediator Christ.*

See *Merite of Christ.*

See *Priesthood &c. of Christ.*

See *Redeemer Christ.*

See *Resurrection of Christ.*

Christian libertie.

How necessarie is the knowledge thereof. 3.19.1.

Christian libertie consisteth in three parts: The first is entreated of. 3.19.2,3. The second. Sect. 4.5.6. The third. Sect. 7.8.

Christian libertie is a spirituall thing and all they doe wrongfullie expound it, which either make it a cloke for their lusts, or doe abuse it with offence of their weake brethren. 3.19.9,10.

Ciuill gouernement.

See publike gouernement.

Clerkes or Clergie

Of Clerkes in the olde Church. 4.4.9.

Concupiscence or Lust

The difference betweene concupiscence and counsell. 2.8.49.

That all the concupiscences of men are euill and guiltie of sinne, not inso much as they are naturall, but because they are all inordinate by reason of the corruption of nature. And so did *Augustine* thinke, if he be diligently weighed. 3.3.12. and this is prooued by many places of his writings. 3. 3.13.

Confession Auricular.

Concerning Confession, the schoole Diuines doe fight against the Canonists, affirming that it is not by the commaundement of God. A confutation of the arguments whercupon the first sort doe stand, first because the Lord in the Gospell did send the Leprous whom hee had cleansed to the Priestes: and there is shewed the true meaning of the dooing. 3.4.4.

A confutation of their second argument, for that the Lord commaunded his Disciples to loose and vwinde *Lazarus* when he was raised from death. 3.4.5.

A true exposition of two places by which they trauell to vphold their confession: that is to say, that they which came to the Baptisme of *Iohn* did confesse their sinnes, and *James* willet vs to confesse our sinnes one to another. 3.4.6.

The vse of confessing to a Priest was very ancient, but yet free as a politike order, not as a law set by Christ or his Apostles: and afterwarde the same was abrogate by *Nectarius* Bishop of the Church of Constantinople, bicause of a Deacon which had vnder that pretence abused a woman. This tyrannous law was not laid vpon Churches before the time of *Innocent* the third, about three hundred yeeres past, and the foolishnesse and barbarousnesse of that ordinance is declared. 3.4.7.

Witnesses of the said abrogation, our of *Chrysostome* Bishop of Constantinople. 3.4.8.

An exposition of *Innocentes* law concerning the confession of all sinnes, where are rehearsed the diuers opinions of the Romish Diuines concerning the number and vse of keyes, and the power of binding and loosing. 3.4.15.

The lawdnes of all the particular articles of the law of confessing, and specially of that concerning the rehearsing of all sinns. 3.4.16. & a plaine description of the crueltie

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wherewith poore consciences were by diuerse circumstances tormented therein. 3.

4. 17.

By a similitude is described how a great part of the world hath hitherto obeyed such illusions. That it is an impossible lawe, and maketh men hypocrites. And then is shewed a most certaine rule of confession according to the example of the publicane. 3. 4. 18.

A confutation of this article, that sinnes are not forgiuen, and that the gate of Paradise is shut, &c. vnlesse there be first firmly conceiued a vow of confessing, where also their obiection is confuted that iudgement cannot be pronounced till the cause be heard, that is to say, that absolution cannot be giuen till all the sinnes be rehearsed. 3. 4. 18.

It is no maruell that we condemne and abolish auricular confession, and our aduersaries doe falsely assigne so great profite vnto it, for so much as on the other side it armeth men to boldnes of sinning. 3. 4. 19.

They doe falsly pretende that they haue the power of the keyes, sith they are not the successors of the Apostles, nor haue the holy Ghost, forasmuch as they doe daily without consideration loose those things which the Lord hath commanded to be bound, and binde what he hath commaunded to be loosed. 3. 4. 20.

It is prouoed false that they say that the power of the keyes may sometime be vsed without knowledge, forasmuch as by that meane the absolution should be vncertaine. Where also is spoken of the absolution or condemnation which the ministers of the Gospell or the Church doe pronounce according to the word, and of the certaintie thereof. 3. 4. 21.

The absolution of the Priestes in the Papacie is vncertaine, as well on the behalfe of him that assoileth as of him that confesseth: but contrariwise it is in the absolution of the Gospell, which hangeth vpon this onely condition, if the sinner seeke his purging in the onely sacrifice of Christ, and to yeelde to the grace offered vnto him. 3. 4. 22.

The Popish Doctors, when they alleadge for themselues the power of loosing giuen

to the Apostles, doe wrongfully wrest to auricular confessiõ those sayings which Christ spake partly of preaching of the Gospell, and partly of Excommunication. The errors of *Lombard* and such other in this matter: and concerning the manner of remission with enioyning of penance and satisfaction. 3. 4. 23

A summe of all before spoken: and what the faithfull ought to thinke of auricular confession. 3. 4. 24.

True Confession.

What kinde of confession is taught vs by the word of God, namely to confesse to God the knower of our harts and of all our thoughts. 3. 4. 9.

Out of this secret confession made to God, followeth a voluntarie confession before men, so oft as it is behoouefull for the glorie of God or the humbling of our selues. And of this second kinde there was an ordinarie vse in the olde Church, and is also in the Church at this day. But yet extraordinarily it ought after a ipecciall manner to be vsed, whensoever it shall happen that the people be guiltie in any generall offence, or to be plagued with any calamity. Of the profite of such confession. 3. 4. 10, 11.

Of two other sorts of priuate confession: of which the first is vsed for our own cause, when we require comfort of our brethren, because the feeling of sinnes doth vex and rrouble vs: in which case we must chiefly resort to our Pastors: and this remedie is warlike and moderately to be vsed, that no bondage be brought in. The other sort is to appease and reconcile our neighbour, if he be in any thing offended by our fault, vnder which kinde is contained their Confession which haue sinned so far as to the offence of the whole Church. 3. 4. 12, 13.

The power of the keyes hath place in the three kindes of Confession. Of the fruit which they that confesse doe receiue thereby, because they know that forgiuenes of sinnes is declared to them by the messenger of Christ. 3. 4. 14.

Of confession of sinnes one sort is general, another speciall. 3. 20. 9.

Confirmation Popish.

The ceremonie of laying on of handes, when the children of the faithfull, which were

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were baptised in their infancie, did yeeld an account of their faith. 4. 19. 4.

Of the popish sacrament of Confirmation, or foisted in place of that holy institution. 4. 19. 4.

That the example of the Apostles is wrongfully alleaged for defence thereof 4. 19. 6.

It is blasphemie when they call it the oile of saluation. 4. 19. 7, 8. and when they say that none are made full Christians till they bee annointed with the bishops Confirmation. Sect. 9. and when they say that this annointing is to bee had in greater reuerence than baptism. Sect. 10. 11.

It is to be wished, that the manner of the olde Church were brought in vse againe, to call children to giue account of their faith. 4. 19. 13.

Conscience.

Consciences, when they seeke affiance of their iustification before God ought to forget all the righteousnes of the lawe 3. 19. 23.

The Consciences of the faithfull doe not follow the lawe as constrained, by necessitie of the lawe, but being free from the yoke of the lawe, doe voluntarily obey the will of God. 3. 19. 4, 5, 6.

Of the freedom of conscience in outward and indifferent things. 3. 19. 7, 8.

The consciences of the faithfull being set at libertie by the benefit of Christ, are made free from the power of al men: and how this is to be vnderstood: where also is spoken of the spirituall and ciuill gouernement, and what difference is to be put betweene them. 3. 19. 14, 15.

What is Conscience: and in what sense Paul saith, that the magistrate must be obeyed for conscience. 3. 19. 15, 16.

What is Conscience: and of the common difference betweene the temporal court, and the court of Conscience. 4. 10. 3, 5.

Of Councils.

We must keepe a meane in honouring of Councils, that we take nothing away from Christ, and our doctrine for the most part is confirmed by ancient Councils 4. 9. 1.

By the Scripture the Councils haue no authoritie, vnlesse they be assembled in the name of Christ: and what that is. 4. 9. 2.

It is false, which the Papists affirme: that truth remaineth not in the church vnles it be among the Pastors, & that the church it self is not vnles it remaine to bee seene in general counells. 4. 9. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

What things are to be weyed in searching the authoritie of any councill: and that Augustine prescribeth a very good way therein. 4. 9. 8.

Councils one against another. 4. 9. 9. and euen in those former and ancient Councils are found faults and errors. 4. 9. 10, 11.

Creation of the world.

Although God ought to bee known by the Creation of things, yet least the faithfull should fall away to the fained inuentions of the heathen, his will was that the historie of the creation should remaine written, and the time thereof expressed in the Scripture. 1. 14. 1. where their vngodly scoffing is confuted, which aske why it came not sooner in Gods minde to create heauen and earth 1. 14. 1.

For the same purpose it is rehearsed that God ended his worke, not in a moment, but in sixe daies: and likewise the order is set fourth, namely that Adam was not created til God had first furnished the world with all plentie of good things 1. 14. 2, 22.

A confutation of the errour of Manichæus concerning two originall beginnings 1. 14. 3.

It is prooued by the Scriptures that the knowledge of God which appeareth in the workmanship of the world can not by it selfe alone bring vs into the right way. 1. 5. 13. & yet are we rightfully without all excuse. Sec. 14.

Although the beholding of heauen and earth and the consideration of the ordering of things pertaining to men, do moue vs to worship God, yet al these things passed away without profit, euen from the wisest philosophers 1. 5. 10.

Heereupon came the infinite number of gods, & the contrarieties of opinion among the sectes of Philosophers concerning God 1. 5. 11.

The substance of God is incomprehensible: but in his workes, by engrauing certain points of his glorie therein he hath after

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a certaine maner presented himselfe to bee seene. 1.5.1.

The wisdome of God is testified, not only by those things which philosophers and learned men do finde by speculation in heauen and earth, but also which common men do perceiue by the onely helpe of their eyes. 1.5.2.

That we may with true faith conceiue so much as behooueth vs to know concerning God, it is good to learne the historie of the Creation of the world, in such sort as *Moses* hath set it fourth, the chiefe points whereof are briefly rehearsed. 1.14.20.

The consideration of the works of God, that is to say, of the Creation of all things, ought to bee applied to two principall ends: first that we do not with vnthankfull neglecting or forgetfulnesse passe ouer his vertues which he presenteth apparently to bee seene in his creatures. 1.14.21. Secondly, that wee may learne to apply them to our selues whereby we may stirre vpon our selues the trust, inuocation, praise, and loue of him. 2.14.22.

Crosse.

See bearing of the Crosse.

D.

Deacons.

OF Deacons and the two sorts of them. 4.3.9.

In the old Church the office of Deacons was the same that it was in the apostles time. Of subdeacons and archdeacons, and when they first began. 4.4.5.

How the Church goodes were vsed and bestowed in the old Church. 4.4.6,7.

Of Popish Deacons, their office, and the ceremonie of their ordering. 4.19.32.

Of Popish subdeacons, and their trissing office, and the fond maner of their ordering. 4.19.33.

Of Popish Deacons and their institution. 4.5.15.

The Papists haue no true Deaconrie left, forasmuch as all the disposition of Church goods among them is openly turned to sacriledge and robbery. 4.5.16,18,19.

A cōtutation of the shamelesse of certain Papistes, which say that the riotous excessse of priests and of all the Popish church, is the

gloriousnes of the kingdom of Christ which the holy prophets spake of before. 4.5.17.

Death of Christ.

Although Christ hath by the whole course of his obedience, that is to say, by his whole life and all the partes thereof, redeemed vs, yet the Scripture to set fourth more plainly the manner of our saluation, doth ascribe the same as peculiar and proper to the death of Christ. In the which the voluntarie yeelding of Christ hath the first place, which yet was so voluntarie as hee gaue ouer his owne affection not without strife. Also his condemnation is to be considered: Wherein two things are to be noted, namely that christ was reputed among the wicked, and yet that his innocencie was oftentimes testified euen by the iudges owne mouth. 2.1.5.

The manner of his Death is to be marked, that is to say, the accursed crosse. And it is declared by many testimonies of *Esaie* and the Apostles, that this behooued so to be, that the curse which was due to vs being cast vpon him and so ouercome and taken away, we should be deliuered. And this was figuratiuely represented in the sacrifices of *Moses* lawe, which at the last was performed in Christ the Originall truth of all figures. 2.1.6.

Both in the Death and buriall of Christ a double benefit is set before vs, that is to say, deliuerance from Death whereunto we were in bondage and the mortifying of our flesh. 2.1.6.

Descending of Christ to hell.

The Descending of Christ to Hell containeth the mysterie of a great thing, and is of no small importance to the effect of our redemption. Diuers expositions of this article are rehearsed and confuted. 2.16.8,9.

A true, godlie, holie and comfortable exposition thereof out of the word of God, which is also confirmed by the testimonie of the old doctors, that Christ did not only suffer a bodily death, but also did feele the rigour of Gods vengeance, whereby hee might both appease his wrath and satisfie his iust iudgement: and therefore it behooued that he should, as it were hand to hand wrastle

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wrastle with the power of hell and with the horror of euerlasting death, yet was God not at any time either his enemie, or angrie with him. But he did suffer the greuousnes of Gods seueritie, in respect that he being stricken and beaten with the hand of God, did feele all the tokens of Gods wrath, and punishment. 2. 16. 10, 11.

A confutation of certaine wicked and vnlearned men, which at this day doe finde fault with this exposition crying out that the Sonne of God hath wrong done to him, & that he is charged with desperatiō, which is contrarie to Faith. Therefore it is prooued against them with manifest testimonies, that these two things doe very well stand together, that Christ feared, was troubled in Spirite, was afraide, was tempted in euerie point as we are, and yet that he is without sinne. 2. 16. 12.

Diuels.

Those things that the Scripture teacheth concerning Diuels, tend commonly to this end, that we should be carefull to beware of their deceits, and furnish our selues with those weapons which may be able to beate backe the most mightie enemies. 1. 14. 13.

That we should be the more stirred vp to doe so, it sheweth vs that there is not one or two Diuels, but great armies of euill spirits that make warre against vs: and in what sense it sometime speaketh of the Diuell in the singular number. 1. 14. 14.

This ought to enflame vs to a continuall warre with the Diuell, for that he is euerie where called enemie to God & vs. 1. 14. 15.

The Diuell is naturally wicked, a murderer, a lyer, and forger of all maliciousnes. 1. 14. 15. But this euillnesse of nature is not by creation, but by corruption. 1. 14. 16.

It is curiositie to enquire of the cause, maner, time and fashion of the fall of the euill Angels, forasmuch as the Scripture leaueth it vs spoken. 1. 14. 16.

This the Diuell hath of himselfe and of his owne naughtinesse, desperately and purposefully to strue against God, but he can doe and perforce nothing vnlesse God be willing and graunt it. 1. 14. 17.

God so tempereth this gōuernment, that he giueth Satan no reigne ouer the Soules

of the faithfull, forasmuch as in the ende they euer obtaine the victorie, although in some particular dooings they be wounded and beaten downe: but he onely giueth the wicked to him to gouerne, and to vse his power vpon their Soules and bodies. 1. 14. 18.

A confutation of them which say that Diuels are nothing else but euill affectiōs or perturbations: and it is prooued by testimonies of Scripture, that they are mindes or Spirites endued with sense and vnderstanding. 1. 14. 19.

Discipline.

Discipline is a thing most necessarie in the Church. 4. 12. 1.

Of priuate admonishings, which is the first foundation of the discipline of the Church. 4. 12. 2.

Of the Ecclesiasticall Senate, that is to say, the Seniors or Elders, which together with the Bishops haue the ouersight of manners. 4. 3. 8.

Princes as well as the common people ought to be subiect to the Discipline of the Church, and so was it wont to be in the old time. 4. 12. 7.

Of the olde Discipline of the Cleargie, and the yeerely assembling of prouinciall synodes: and how this order is buried in the Papacie, sauing that they keepe certaine shadowes thereof. 4. 12. 22.

E.

Excommunication.

WHat is the power of the iurisdiction of the Church, and how necessary and auncient it is. 4. 11. 1, 4.

Of the power of binding and loosing so much as pertaineth to Discipline, wherein there is spoken of Excommunication. 4. 11. 2.

This power of the Church is distinct from the Ciuill power, and the one is a helpe to the other. Therefore the opinion of some men is false, which thinke that it ought to haue no place where are Christian Magistrates. 4. 11. 3, 8.

This is a stayed and continuall order in the Church, and not enduring onely for a time. 4. 11. 4.

Of the right vse of this iurisdiction in the olde Church: and how this power belonged

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not to one man alone, but to the assembly of Elders, 4. 11. 5, 6. and Chap. 12. Sect. 7.

Of the Excommunicatiō of the Church, and the authoritie thereof, 4. 12. 4.

The ends which the Church hath regard vnto in correctiōns and Excommunication, 4. 12. 5.

Of exercising the discipline of the church according to the proportion of sinnes, forasmuch as some be priuate & some be publicke, some be negligent defaults, some be hainous offences, 4. 12. 3, 4, 6.

In Excommunication seueritie ought to be tempered. And in this behalfe is noted the extreme rigoroufnesse of them in olde time, 4. 12. 8.

Every priuate man ought to esteem them that be Excommunicate as strangers from the Church, but not to accompt them past hope, but to endeavour to the vtermost of their power to bring them into the way againe, 4. 12. 9, 10.

If the bench of Elders doe not so diligently correct faults as they ought, or if the Pastors cannot amende all thinges as they would, yet priuate men ought not to depart from the Church, neither ought the Pastors to shake off their ministerie, 4. 12. 11.

Against the precisenes of the olde Donatistes and of the Anabaptistes of our dayes, which doe acknowledge no congregation of Christ, but where there is in euerie point an Angelike perfection, 4. 12. 12.

If the corruption of any sinne haue infected the whole multitude, the rigoroufnes of discipline must be tempered with the mercie, least the whole body be destroyed, 4. 12. 13.

F.

Faith.

THe name of Faith otherwise taken among holy writers than it is among the prophane, 4. 22. 13.

How it is to be vnderstoode that God is the obiect of Faith, 2. 6. 4.

Of Faith. And here the Sophisters are reprooued, which vnderstand nothing else by this word Faith, but a common assent to the historie of the Gospell, and doe simplie call God the obiect of Faith, in the meane time leauing out Christ, without whome there is

no Faith, nor any accessē to God, 3. 2. 1.

A confutation of the Schoole mens doctrine concerning vnexpressed Faith, whereas Faith requireth an expresse reknowledging of the goodnesse of God, in which standeth our righteoufnesse, 3. 2. 2.

Our Faith, so long as we are wauering in the world, is enwrapped with many remnants of ignorance, and in all things indefinitie is euer mingled with Faith, wherof many examples are seene in the Disciples of Christ before that they came to perfecte light, yet this is still most true, that vnderstanding is euer ioyned with Faith, 3. 2. 3, 4.

There is a certaine obedience to Christ, and aptnesse to learne, with a desire to profite, which is called by the name of Faith, whereas it is but a preparation to Faith, and that same may be called an vnexpressed Faith: yet it farre differeth from the Papists inuention, 3. 2. 5.

The true Faith or knowledge of Christ, is when we conceiue him in such sort as he is offered of the Father, that is to say, clothed with his Gospell. And Faith hath a mutuall relation to the word and the word to Faith, because the word is the fountaine of Faith, the ground of Faith, and the mirror in which Faith beholdeth God, 3. 2. 6.

Faith, although it assent to all the parts of the word of God, yet most properly it hath regard therein to the good will and mercie of God, that is to say, the promises of grace grounded vpon Christ, for the vnderstanding & certametrie wherof, the holy Ghost lighteneth our minds and strengtheneth our hearts: Hereupon is gathered the definition of Faith, 3. 2. 7.

A confutation of the Sophisters distinction of Faith, formed and formedlesse: whereby it appeareth that they neuer thought of the singular giste of the holy Ghost, for as much as Faith can in no wise be seuered from a godly affection, 3. 2. 8.

This word Faith hath diuerse significations, and is sometime taken for the power to doe miracles, with which giste of God, sometime the wicked are endued: Sometime it is figuratiuelie taken for that knowledge of God which is in some wicked men, which is rather a shadow & image of Faith,

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of which faith there are diuers sorts in them
3.2.9,10.

The reprobate haue also sometime such a like feeling as the elect haue, yet they doe not fully conceiue the force of spirituall grace, but only confusely. Neuertheles the same is a certaine inferiour working of the holy ghost. But this feeling differeth far from the peculiar testimonie which hee giueth to the elect. 3.2.11.

Yet is not the Spirit deceitfull, which lightly sprinkeleth the reprobate sometime with such a knowledge of the Gospell, and feeling of the loue of God as afterward doth vanish away. Sometime also there is stirred vp in their hearts a certaine desire of mutual loue towards God, but such a loue as is a hyred and not a hartie loue. At length it is concluded that there be some which do not faime a faith, and yet do lacke the true faith. Which is also proued by testimonies. 3.2.12. and such a feeling is in the Scripture called faith, although it be vnproperly so called. 3.2.13.

Faith is sometime taken for the sound doctrine of religion, & the whole summe thereof: contrariwise sometime it is restrained to some particular obiekt, and sometime it signifieth the ministerie of the Church. 3.2.13.

Faith is most rightfully called knowledge and science, and yet is such a knowledge as rather consisteth of certaine persuasion than of vnderstanding, for as much as that which our minde conceiueth by faith is most infinite. 3.2.14.

Faith is not content with a doubtfull opinion or a darke conceiuing, but requireth a full and settled assurednesse: and hereunto are to bee referred all those titles of commendation wherewith the holy Ghost setteth forth the authority of the word of God. 3.2.15.

Many doe so conceiue the mercie of God, that they receiue verie little comfort thereof, because they doubt whether he will be mercifull to themselves or no: but there is a farre other feeling of the abundant store of Faith, the chiefe ground whereof is that we do not thinke the promises to bee true without our selues only, but rather that by inwardly imbracing them we may make

them our owne. Hereupon is gathered, who may truly be called faithfull. 3.2.15.16.

Though the faithfull in reknowledging the goodnesse of God toward them are not onely oftentimes tempted with iniquitnesse, but also are sometime shaken with most grievous terrors: yet this withstandeth not but that faith bringeth assurednesse with it, because howsoeuer they bee troubled, yet they neuer fall and departe from that sure affiance which they haue conceiued of the mercie of God, but struing with their owne weakenesse they alway get the vpper hand at last: which is proued by many examples in *Dauid*. 3.2.17.

A description of the battell of the flesh & the spirit within a faithfull soule. 3.2.18.

The assurednes of Gods good wil. 3.2.18.

A confutation of the most pestilent subtle reasoning of certaine halfe Papistes, which although they confesse that so oft as wee looke vpon Christ, we finde plentiful matter to hope well, yet will needes haue vs to wauer and doubt in consideration of our owne vnworthinesse. And it is proued that we ought neuertheresse to looke for assured saluation, forasmuch as Christ by a certaine maruellous communion doth dayly grow together more and more into one bodie with vs. 3.2.24.

So soone as we haue any one drop of faith we begin to beholde God mercifull vnto vs, although a far off in deed, yet with so assured sight, as we know we are not deceiued: Both these pointes are proued by testimonies of *Paul*. 3.2.19.20.

It is shewed by examples, how Faith armeth and fortifieth it selfe with the worde of God to beare the violent assaults of tentations, and how the godly minde neuer suffereth the affiance of Gods mercie to be plucked away from it, although it be assailed with many remnants of vnbeleefe and distrust. 3.2.21.

In the good will of God: which faith is saide to haue respect vnto, although faith do chiefly looke vnto the assured expectation of eternall life, yet there are also contained promises of this present life and a perfect suretie of all good things, but the same such as may be gathered of the word: both these pointes are confirmed by testimonies

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of Scripture. 3.2.28.

Faith although it embrace the worde of God in euerie pointe, that is to saie, in the commaundementes also and in the prohibitions and threatnings, yet hath her foundation and proper marke whereunto it is directed, in the free promise of mercy: and for this reason the Gospell is called the word of faith, and is set as contrarie to the law. 3.2.29.

Yet doe we not by this distinction teare faith in sunder as *Pighius* shamefully cauileth 3.2.30.

Faith doeth no lesse neede the worde of God, than the fruit doth neede the liuely roote of the tree, and with the worde must be ioyned a consideration of the power of God, without the which mens eares will either not willingly, heare the worde, or not esteeme it worthily. His power is to be considered: in that that it is effectually, that is to say, by the workes of God, and by his benefis either particular or auncient, & such as he hath bestowed vpon the whole Church. 3.2.31.

The faithfull oftentimes so behaue themselves, that some errors are mingled with their faith, & they seeme to passe the bounds of the word, but yet so that faith hath alway the vpper hand: This is proued by the examples of *Sara* and *Rebecca*, whom in the crooked turnings of their mind, God did by a secret bridle hold fast in the obedience of his word. 3.2.31.

By reason of our blindnes and stiffneckednes, the worde sufficeth not to make vs haue faith, vnlesse the spirit of God do enlighten our minde, and strengthen our hart with his power: and the same spirite is not onely the begunner of our faith, but also doth encrease it by degrees 3.2.33.

Although it seeme to the most parte of men a most strange doctrine, that no man can beleue in Christ, but he to whom it is giuen, yet it is proued to be most true by reasons, testimonies of Scripture, and examples 3.2.34.

Therefore faith is called the Spirite of Faith, the worke and good pleasure of God: and it is a singular gifte, which he giueth by singular priuiledge to whom he will, as it is proued by notable sentences taken out of

Augustine. 3.2.35.

It is not enough that the mind be enlightened with vnderstanding of the word, vnlesse also the assurednes of the word be poured into the verie heart, both which things the Spirit worketh, which is therefore called the seale, the pledge, and the spirit of promise 3.2.36.

Although faith be tossed with diuers doubtings, yet it alway at the last, escapeth out of the gulfe oftentations, & receiueh most sweete quietnes. 3.2.37.

A confutation of the damnable doctrine of the Schoolemen, which say that we can none otherwise determine of the grace of God toward vs, than by moral coniecture. 2.38.

They are proued to be miserably blinde, in saying that it is rashnes for vs to conceiue an vndoubted knowledge of the wil of God: A good comparison of them & *Paul* in this point of doctrine. 3.1.39.

A confutation of their trifling shift that although wee may take vpon vs to iudge of the grace of God according to the present state of rightcousnes, yet the knowledge of persevering to the end abideth in suspense, 2.40.

It is proued that the definition of faith taught in this chapter, Sect. 7. agreeth with the Apostles definition: Heb. cap. 11. And the error of the schoolemen, that charitie is before faith and hope, is confuted by the testimonie of *Bernard*. 3.2.41.

Hope is alway engendred of faith, and is the vndued companion of faith, so that whosoeuer lacketh hope, is proued also to haue no faith. Also faith is nourished and strengthened by hope, and how necessarie are the helps of hope to stablish faith, which is assailed with so many sorts of tentations. 3.2.42.

By reason of this conioyning and alliance of faith and hope, the scripture doth many times vse those two wordes without difference, and sometime ioyneth them together. A confutation of the error of *Peter Lombarde*, which maketh two foundations of faith, that is to say, the grace of God, & the merit of works. 3.2.43.

Of the imperfection of faith, and the confirming and encrease thereof. 4.14.7.8.

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Of the summe of our faith, which we call the Creede, or Symbole of the Apostles. 2. 16. 18.

The conclusion of the 16. Chapter, wherein are briefly contained the benefices that came to vs by those things that are spoken concerning Christ in the Symbole of the Apostles. 2. 16. 19.

See iustificatiō of Faith.

Fasting.

Of that part of discipline of the Church, which concerneth the appointing of Fasting, or extraordinarie prayers: and howe pastors ought to vse it. 4. 12. 14, 16, 17.

It is to bee provided that no superstition creepe in in fasting. 4. 12, 19.

The holy and rightfull Fasting hath three endes. 4. 12. 15.

The definition of fasting. 4. 12. 18.

Of the superstition of Lent, and the diuersitie of obseruing the same Fasting. 4. 12, 20, 21.

Fear.

The faithfull are oftentimes troubled with Feare and distrust by reason of the feeling of their owne weakenes. 3. 2. 17.

Another kinde of Feare conceiued in a godly hart, either by examples of gods vengeance against the wicked, or by consideration of his owne miserie: Such feare is so much not contrarie to faith, that the faithfull are much exhorted to haue it. Neither is it any maruell, if there be in a faithfull soule both feare and faith, sith on the otherside in the wicked there are both dull negligence and carefullnes. 3. 2. 22, 23.

The feare of God proceedeth out of a double feeling, namely when we honor god as our father, and feare him as our Lorde: Neither is it any maruell if one minde haue both those affections.

This feare differeth from the feare of the vnfaithfull, which they commonlie call a seruile feare. 3. 2. 27.

Of forsaking of our selues.

The first beginning of framing our life after the rule set forth in the law, is to consider that we are not at our owne libertie, but hallowed and dedicate to God. And therefore we ought to forsake our selues, and our owne reason (which as the Philosophers

thinke, ought alone to be obeyed) to the end that we may be governed by the worde and Spirit of the Lord. 3. 7. 1.

Also that wee ought not to seeke those things that are our owne, but those things that are according to the will of the Lorde, and do serue to aduance his glorie. And that this is the forsaking of our selues, without the which there is a world of vices enclosed in the soule of man, and if there be any seeming of vertue at all, the same is corrupted with wicked desire of glorie. 3. 7. 2.

The forsaking or mortifying of our selues, is partly in respect of men, and partly, yea, and chiefly in respect of God. Towarde other men, the scripture commandeth vs to do two things: namely to preferre them in honour before our selues, and with vnfaigned truth to employ our selues wholly to procure their commodities. How the first of these points is to bee performed is taught in the 3. 4. 7. and also how the scripture leadeth vs by the hand to the second point is shewed in the 3. 7. 5.

See certaine things pertaining to this purpose. 3. 20. 43.

Freewill.

Man was endued with Freewill in the first estate of his creation. 1. 15. 8. which hee lost by his fall. Of this the Philosophers were ignorant, and so all such as follow them, giuing freewill to man, are vtterly deceiued. 1. 15. 8.

The pliability or weake power of freewill, which was in the first man, doth not excuse his fall. 1. 15. 8.

It is as well for our profit, as for the glorie of God, to acknowledge all our strength to be but a staffe made of a reede, yea, but a smoke. In the meane time we must beware, that while we take all vprighnes from man, wee doe not thereof take occasion of slothfullnes. But rather wee ought thereby to bee stirred vp to seeke in God all the goodnesse whereof we our selues are void: The defenders of freewill doe rather throw it downe headlong than stablish it. 2. 2. 1.

The Philosophers determine three powers of the soule, Vnderstanding, Sense, and Will or Appetite: and they thinke that the reason of mans vnderstanding sufficeth for his good gouernance: that will is by sense

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fenſe moued to euill, ſo that it doth hardly yeeld it ſelfe to reaſon, and ſometime is diuerſly drawn from the one, to the other, but yet that it hath a free election and can not be ſtopped, that it may followe reaſon her guide in all things: finally that vertues and vices are in our powers. 2.2.2,3.

The Eccleſiaſtical writers, although they acknowledged the ſoundneſſe of vnderſtanding, and the freedom of will to haue been ſore wounded by ſinne, yet haue ſpoken too much Philoſophically of this matter. The olde writers did it for this purpoſe, firſt becauſe they were loth to teach a thing that ſhoulde bee an abſurditie in the common iudgement of men, and alſo ſpecially leaſt they ſhould giue a newe occaſion of ſlothfulneſſe to the fleſh being alreadie too much dull to goodneſſe; as appeereth by manie ſayings of *Chryſoſtome* and *Hierome*. The Greeke doctours aboute all other, and ſpecially *Chryſoſtome*, doe exceede meaſure in aduancing freewill. But all the olde writers generally, except *Auguſtine*, do ſo varie and wauer in this point of doctrine, that there can almoſt no certaintie bee gathered of their writings. They which came after the, fell one after another to woorſe and woorſe. The definitions of freewill out of *Oriegen*, *Auguſtine*, *Bernard*, *Anſelme*, *Peter Lombard*, and *Thomas* 2.2.4.

In what things they do commonlie giue freewill to man, and of the three ſortes of mans will. 2.2.5.

Alſo of the common diſtinction of the three ſorts of libertie. 2.2.5.

Whether man bee wholly deprived of power to doe good, or whether hee haue yet ſome power though it be weake: where it is ſpoken of the common diſtinction of grace working and grace working together, and what is amiſſe in the ſame diſtinction. 2.2.6.

For aſmuch as it can not otherwiſe bee ſaid that man hath free will, but becauſe he doth euill of his owne will, and not by compulſion, it had bin very good for the church that this worde freewill had neuer bin vſed; which had raiſed vp men to a damnable truſt of themſelues. The old writers alſo do oft declare what they meane by that word, ſpeciallie *Auguſtine*, out of whome there

are many places alleaged, where he weakeneth and mocketh the ſtrength thereof, both when he calleth it Bondwill, and when he expoundeth the thing it ſelfe as it is at large. 2.2.7,8.

Although the old Eccleſiaſtical writers do ſometime too much aduance freewill, and haue ſpoken doubtfully and diuerſly in that matter: yet it appeereth by very manie of their ſayings, that they little or nothing eſteeming mans power, gaue the whole praiſe of all goodneſſe to the holy Ghoſt. Many ſuch ſentences are rehearſed out of *Cypryan*, *Auguſtine*, *Eucherius*, *Chryſoſtome*. 2.2.9.

The power of mans will is not to bee weyghed by the ſucceſſe of things, but by the choiſe of iudgement and the affection of will. 2.4.8.

It is proued againſt the defenders of freewill that ſinne is of neceſſitie, and yet neuertheleſſe ought to be imputed: alſo that it is voluntarie, and yet cannot be auoided. 2.5.1.

A ſolution of another obiection of theirs, where they ſay that vnleſſe both vertues and vices proceed of Free election of wil, it were no reaſon that man ſhoulde either be puniſhed or rewarded. 2.5.2.

Alſo another obiection, where they ſaie that if this were not the power of our will, to chooſe good or euill, then of neceſſitie either all men ſhould be good, or all men euill. 2.5.3.

Againſt the ſame men alſo it is proued that exhortations, admonitions, and rebukings are not in vaine, although it be not in the power of the ſinner to obey: and there is ſhewed what effect the ſame do worke both in the wicked and in the faithfull. 2.5.4,5.

It is not to be gathered by the commandments and law of God, that man hath free will and ſtrength to performe them, for God doth not onely command what ought to be done, but alſo promiſeth grace to obeie. 2.5.6,7,9.

This is proued as well in the commandements which require the firſt conuerſion to God, as alſo in thoſe which ſpeake ſimply of the obſeruing of the lawe, and thoſe which command men to continue in the receiued grace of God. For the ſame

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same God which requireth those things, doth testifie that the conuersion of a sinner, holiness of life, stedfastness of continuance, are his free giftes, and the praise thereof is not to be parted betwene God and man. 2.5.8,9,11.

The conditionall promises, as, if ye will, if ye heare, and such like, doe not prooue that there is in man a free power of willing or hearing: yet it is prooued that God doth not mocke men in so bargaining with them, Also what is the vse of such protestations, both toward the godly and toward the vn-godly. 2.5.10.

The reprochings, wherein God saith to his people that they were the cause that they receiued not all kinde of good things at his hande, doe not prooue that it was mans power to escape the euils wherewith they were afflicted. And there is spoken of the vse of such reprochings as well toward them that obstinately goe forwarde in their faultes, as toward the conformable that are conuerted to repentance. Also whereas the Scripture doth sometime giue to vs the office of doing, it doth so for no other reason but to awaken the slothfulness of the flesh. 2.5.11.

The saying of *Moses*, The commaundement is nere to thee, in thy mouth, and in thy hart &c. maketh nothing for the defenders of free will, for as much as hee there speaketh not of the bare commaundements, but of the Euangelicall promises of the Law. 1.5.12.

No more do those places make for them, where it is saide that the Lorde looketh and watcheth to see what men wil doe. 2.5.13.

Also those places where good works are called ours: and wee are saide to doe that which is holy and pleasing to the Lord. And here is shewed that the onely Spirit of God worketh all good motions in vs, but yet not as in stocks. 2.5.14,15.

An exposition of certaine other places of Scriptures, which the enemies of the grace of God doe abuse, to stablish Free will. 2.5.16, 17, 18, 19.

G.

God.

THe Scripture teaching the immeasurable and spirituall substance of God,

doth ouerthrow not onely the follies of the common people, but also the subtile inuentions of prophane philosophie, and the error of the Manichees concerning two originall beginnings, and the false opinion of the Anthropomorphites concerning a bodily God. 1.13.1.

In what sense it is said that God is in heauen, and what doctrine is to be gathered thereof. 3.20.40.

What, is the name of God to be sanctified. 3.20.41.

Of the kingdome of God among men, and of the encreasing and fulnesse thereof. 3.2.42.

See Knowledge of God.

See Image of God in man.

Gospell.

Christ, although hee were knowne to the Iewes in time of the lawe, was yet shewed in deede onely by the Gospell: and the holy Fathers tasted of that grace, which is nowe offered to vs with full abundance: they sawe the day of Christ albeit with a dim sight, the glorie whereof now shineth in the Gospell, without any veile betwene vs and it. 2.9.1,2.

In the same place also is shewed, that the Gospell is properly and specially called the publishing of the grace giuen in Christ, and not the promises that are written by the Prophets concerning the remission of sins. Against the doctrine of *Sernettus*, which taketh away the promises vnder this pretence, that by the faith of the Gospell we haue the fulfilling of all the promises, it is prooued that though Christ offer to vs in the Gospell a present fulnesse of spirituall good things, yet the enioying thereof lieth hidden vnder the custodie of hope so long as wee liue in this worlde, and therefore we must yet rest vpon the promises. 2.9.3.

A confutation of their error, which compare the law with the Gospell, none otherwise than the deseruings of workes with the imputation of free righteousness. 2.9.4.

John the Baptist had an office meane betwene the Prophets expositours of the lawe, and the Apostles publishers of the Gospell. 2.9.5.

Government.

See Politike Government.

Hands.

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H.

Handes.

See laying on of Handes.

Holy water of Papists.

See Booke.4.Chap.10.Sect.20.

Holy Ghost.

Testimonies whereby the Godhead of the holy Ghost is prooued. 1.13.14,15.

The holy Ghost is the bond wherewith Christ doth effectually binde vs to him, and without it, all that Christ hath suffered and done for the saluation of mankind doth nothing profit vs. 3.1.1,3.

Christ came after a singular maner furnished with the holy Ghost, to seuer vs from the world, and therefore he is called the Spirite of sanctification. Why he is sometime called the Spirite of the Father, and sometime the Spirite of the Sonne. He is called the Spirite of Christ, not onely in respect that Christ is the eternall word, but also according to his person of Mediator. 3.1.2.

An exposition of the titles wherewith the Scripture setteth forth the holy Ghost : and there is entreated of the beginning and whole restoring of our saluation : The titles be these, the Spirite of adoption, the earnest and seale of our inheritance, life, water, oile, ointment, fire, a fountaine, the hand of God, &c. 3.1.3.

Faith is the cheefe worke of the holy Ghost, and therefore to it for the most part are al those things referred which are commonly founde in the Scripture to expresse the force and effectual power of the holy Ghost. 3.1.4.

Humilitie.

It is not the true Humilitie which God requireth of vs vnlesse we acknowledge our selues vterly voide of all goodnesse and righteousnesse. 3.12.6.

Of this Humilitie there is an example shewed in the Publicane. 3.12.7.

That we may gue place to the calling of Christ, both presumption and carelesnesse must be far away from vs. 3.12.8.

There is no danger least man should take too much from himselfe, so that he learne that which wanteth in himselfe is to be recovered in God. It is a deuilish worde, although it be sweete to vs, that listeth vp man in himselfe : for repulping whereof, there are

recited out of the Scripture many weightie sentences, which doe rigorously throwe downe man : and also there are recited certaine promises, which doe promise grace to none but to them that doe pine away with feeling of their owne pouertie. 2.2.10.

Certaine notable sayings of *Chrysostome* and *Augustine* concerning true Humilitie. 2.2.11.

I.

Idoles.

THe Scripture setteth out God by certaine titles of addition and marks, not to the intent to binde him to one place or to one people, but to put difference betwene his holy Maiestie and Idols. 2.8.15.

An exposition of the first commaundement : where is shewed that worshipping, trust, iruocation, and thanksgiung, belong wholly to God, and no whit thereof may be conueied any other where without great iniurie to him to whose ends all things are open. 2.8.16.

An exposition of the second commaundement : where is spoken of Idols and Images. 2.8.17.

The Scripture, to the intent to bring vs to the true God, doth expressly exclude all the gods of the Gentiles, 1.10.3. and specially all Idols and Images 1.11.1.

God is seuered from Idols, not onely that he alone should haue the name of God, but that he alone should be wholly worshipped, and nothing that belongeth to the Godhead should be conueied to any other. 1.12.1.

The glorie of God is corrupted with false lying, when any forme is appointed to it. 1.11.1.

It is prooued by textes and reasons, that God generally misliketh al Portraictures and Images that are made to expresse a figure of him, and this prohibition pertained not to the Iewes onely. 1.11.2.

God did in old time so shew his presence by visible signes either to the whole people or to certaine chosen men, that the same signes admonished them of the incomprehensible substance of God. 1.11.3.

It is prooued euen of *Iuuenals* testimonie that the Papists are mad, which defende the Images of God & of Saints with the example

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ample of the Cherubs covering the propitiatorie. 1. 11. 3.

The stuffe it selfe and also the workmanship which is done with the handes of men, do shew that Images are not gods. 1. 11. 4.

Against the Grecians, which make no grauen Image of God, but doe giue themselves leaue to paint him. 1. 11. 4.

The saying of *Gregorie*, vpon which the Papists say that they stand, that Images are vnlearned mens bookes, is confuted by the testimonie of *Hierome*, *Habacuc*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Augustine*, *Varro*, and the decree of the *Elebertine* counsell. 1. 11. 5, 6, 7.

The Papistes Portraitures or Images whereby they represent the holie Martyrs & virgins, are paternes of most wicked riotous excesse and ynchastnes. 1. 11. 7, 12.

The people shall learne much more by the preaching of the word and ministracion of sacraments, than by a thousand woden crosses. 1. 11. 7.

The antiquitie and beginning of Idolatry, for that men thinking God not to be neere them, vnlesse he did shew himselfe carnallie present, raised vp signes in which they beleued that he was carnally conuerfant before their eies. 1. 11. 8.

After such an inuention by and by soloweth the worshipping of the Image, like as of god or of any other creature in the image: both which the law of God forbiddeth. 1. 11. 8, 9.

Against them, which for defence of abominable idolatry, do pretend that they doe not take the Images for Gods, it is prooued that neither the Lawes did thinke their calfe to be God, nor the heathen when they made to themselves images did euer thinke the same to be God, whom yet no man excuse. 1. 11. 9.

The Papistes are so perswaded as the heathen and the Idolatrous Jewes were, that they worship God himselfe vnder Images. 1. 11. 10. Neither can they escape away with their distinction of seruice and worship. 1. 11. 11, 16. and 1. 12. 2.

When Idolatry is condemned grauing and painting are not vtterly reprobued, but there is required a true & right vse of them both, that God bee not counterfayted with bodily shape but onely those things which

our eies may behold. 1. 11. 12.

Of Images in the temples of Christians, 4. 9.

Euē the Idolaters themselves in all ages, naturally vnderstood that there is one onely God: but this vnderstanding auailed no further than to make them to be vnexcusable. 1. 10. 3.

Idolatry is an euident prooffe that the knowledge of God is naturally planted in the minds of all men. 1. 3. 1.

Image of God in man.

What it is, that man was create after the Image of God: And heere are confuted the fonde expositions of *Oslander* and of other: and here is declared that though the Image of God do appeere also in the outward man & do extend to the whole excellencie wherewith the nature of man passeth all kinde of liuing creatures, yet the principall seat thereof is in the minde and in the hart, or in the soule and the powers thereof. 1. 15. 3. and 2. 2. 1.

The Image of God at the beginning appeared in *Adam*, in light of minde, vprightnes of hart, and the soundnes of all his parts: which is prooued by the repairing of corrupted nature, wherein Christ newly fashioned vs after the image of god, and by other arguments. 1. 15. 4.

Indulgences.

See Pardons.

Infants.

See Baptising of Infants.

Last Judgement.

Of the visible presence of Christ when he shall appeere at the last day. Of the Judgement of the quicke and dead, and that our faith is well and rightfully directed to the thinking vpon that day: and of the notable comforting that thereby ariseth in our consciences. 3. 25, 7, 8.

Of the incomprehensible grieuousities of Gods vengeance against the reprobate. 3. 25. 13.

Judiciall proceedings in Law.

Of the vse of Iudiciall proceedings, Magistrates, and Lawes, among Christians. It is lawfull for Christians to sue for their right before a Magistrate, so that the same be don without hurting of pietie and of the loue of our neighbour. 4. 20, 17, 18.

Desire

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Desire of reuenge, is alway to be auoided, whether it be a common or conuinciall action wherein men striue before a Iudge. 4. 20. 19.

The commandement of Christ, to giue thy cloke to him that taketh away thy coate, and such like prooue not but that a Christian may sue before a Magistrate, and vse his helpe for the preseruing of his goods. 4. 20. 20.

Paul doth not vtterly condemne sutes, but reprobeth the vnmeasurable rage of suing at law among the *Corinthians*. 4. 20. 21.

Iustification of faith.

Of the Iustification of faith, and first of the definition of the name, and of the thing it selfe. 3. 11.

The article of doctrine concerning the Iustification of faith is of great importance. 3. 11. 1.

It is shewed by the scripture what it is to be iustified by works, and what it is to be iustified by faith. 3. 11. 2, 3, 4.

A confutation of the error of *Oslander*, concerning essentiall righteousness, which taketh from men, the earnest feeling of the true grace of Christ. 3. 11. 5, 6, 7, &c. to the 13.

A confutation of *Oslanders* inuention, that whereas Christ is both God and Man, hee was made righteousnesse to vs in respect of his nature of Godhead and not of his Manhood. 3. 11. 8, 9.

Against them which imagine a righteousness compounded of faith and workes, it is prooued that when the one is established, the other must needs be ouerthrowen. 3. 11. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

It is prooued by the scripture against the Sophisters, that this is a sure principle, that we are iustified by faith onely. 3. 11. 19, 20.

It is prooued by testimonies of scripture, that the righteousness of faith is reconciliation with God, which consisteth onely vpon the remission of sins. 3. 11. 21, 22.

By the onely intercession or meane of the righteousness of Christ, we obtaine to be Iustified before God. 3. 11. 23.

That we may be thoroughly perswaded of the free Iustification, wee must lift vp our mindes to the iudgement seate of God: before which, nothing is acceptable but that

which is whole and perfect in euery behalfe, the dreadfull maiestie whereof is described by many places of scripture. 3. 12. 1, 2.

All godly writers do shew that when men haue to do with God, the onely place of refuge for conscience is in the free mercie of God, excluding all trust of workes: And this is prooued by testimonies of *Augustine* and *Bernard*. 3. 12. 3.

Two things are to be obserued in free Iustification: the first, that the Lord keepe fast his glorie vnminished: which is done when he alone is acknowledged to be righteous, for they glory against God, which glorie in themselves. 3. 13. 1, 2. the seconde, that our consciences may haue quietnes in the sight of his iudgement. 3. 13. 3, 4, 5.

What manner of beginning is of Iustification, and what continuall proceedings. 3. 1. 4.

A briefe sum of the foundation of Christian doctrine, taken out of *Paul*. 3. 15. 5.

This foundation being laide, wise builders do well and orderly build vpon, whether it be to set forth doctrine and exhortation, or to giue comfort. 3. 15. 8.

Good workes are not destroyed by the doctrine of Iustification of faith. 3. 16. 1.

It is most false that mens mindes are drawn away from affection of well doing, when we take from them the opinion of deseruing. 3. 16. 2, 3.

It is a most vaine slander, that men are prouoked to sin, when we affirme a free forgiveness of sins, in which we say that righteousness consisteth. 3. 16. 4.

In what sense the scripture oftentimes saith that the faithfull are iustified by workes. 3. 17. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

The doers of the lawe are iustified. 3. 17. 13.

Hee that walketh in vprightnes is righteous. 3. 17. 15.

An exposition of certaine places, wherein the faithfull doe boldlie offer their righteousness to the iudgement of God to be examined, and praye to bee iudged according to the same, and it is prooued that this disagreeeth not with the free iustification of Faith. 3. 7. 14.

The saying of Christ, If thou wilt enter into life; keepe the commandements, disagreeeth

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agreeth not with the free iustification of
saith 3.18.9.

K.

Kingdome of Christ.

See Priesthood.

Knowledge of God.

To knowe God, is not onely to conceiue
that there is some God, but to vnderstande
so much as behooueth vs to knowe of him,
and so much as auaileth for his glorie, and is
expedient. 1. 2. 1.

The Knowledge of God ought to tende
to this ende, first to frame vs to feare and re-
uerence: and then that by it guiding and
teaching vs we may learne to aske all good
things of him, and to account the same re-
ceiued at his hand. 1. 2. 2. & 1. 5. 8.

The Philosphers had no other Know-
ledge of God than that which made them
vnexcusable, but did not bring them to the
truth. 2. 2. 18.

This perswasion is naturally planted in
all men, that there is some God. 1. 2. 3. and
that to this ende, that they which doe not
worship him, may be condemned by their
owne iudgement. 1. 3. 1.

Though all men knowe by nature that
there is a God, yet some become vaine in
their superstitions, and other some of set
purpose doe maliciously depart from God.
1. 4. 1.

*See certaine things pertaining to this matter,
in the Title of Creation of the world.*

L.

Laying on of hands.

Of laying on of handes in ordering of
Ministers. 4. 14. 20.

Of the laying on of handes in making of
Popish priestes. 4. 19. 31.

Lawe.

The Lawe, that is to say, the forme of re-
ligion set foorth by *Moses*, was not giuen to
holde the olde people still in it, but to nou-
rish in their hearts the hope of saluation in
Christ vntill his comming: which is proo-
ued by this that *Moses* repeateth the men-
tion of the couenant: and by the order of
the ceremonies appointed as well in sacri-
fices as in washings, also by the office of
priesthood of the tribe of *Leui* and the ho-
nor of kingdome in *Dauid* and his posterity.

The lawe also of the ten commande-
ments was giuen to prepare men to seeke
Christ. 2. 7. 1, 2, and that is done, when it ma-
keth vs vnexcusable being on euery side
conuicted of our sinnes, to moue vs to seeke
for pardon of our guiltinesse. 2. 7. 3, 4.

It is prooued by the Scripture and de-
clared that the obseruing of the lawe is im-
possible. 2. 7. 5.

There are three vses and offices of the
morall Lawe: The first is, that shewing vnto
vs the righteousnesse which onely is accep-
table vnto God, it may be as a glasse for vs,
wherein we may behold our weaknesse, and
by it our wickednesse, and finally by them
both our accursednes: Neither turneth this
to any dishonour of the Law, but maketh for
the glory of the bountifulnes of God, which
both with helpe of grace aideth vs to doe
that which wee are commaunded, and by
mercie purteth away our offences. Neither
yet doth this office altogether cease in the
reprobate. 2. 7. 6, 7, 8, 9.

The second office, is to restrain the re-
probate with feare of punishment, least they
vnbridledly commit the wickednesse which
inwardly they alway nourish and loue: and
also to draw backe the children of God be-
fore their regeneration from outwarde li-
centiousnesse. 2. 7. 10, 11.

The thirde office, concerneth the faith-
full: for the Lawe although it bee alreadie
written with the finger of God in their hearts,
yet profiteth them two waies: For by study-
ing vpon it they are more confirmed in the
vnderstanding of the will of the Lorde, and
are stirred vp and strengthened to obedi-
ence, that they goe not out of kinde by the
sluggishnesse of the flesh. 2. 7. 12, 13. For as
touching the curse of the Lawe, it is taken
away from the faithfull, that it can no more
extend it selfe against them in damning and
destroying them. 2. 7. 14.

By the ten commandments of the Lawe
wee learne the same things which wee but
sleenderly taste by instruction of the lawe of
nature: First that we owe to God reuerence,
loue, and feare, that righteousnesse plea-
seth him, and wickednesse displeaseth him:
finally, that examining our life by the
rule of the Lawe, we are vnwoorthie to be
accounted among the creatures of God,
and

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and that our power is insufficient, yea no power at all to performe the lawe. Both these points engender in vs humilitie and abasing of our selues, which teacheth vs to flee to the mercie of God, and to craue the helpe of his grace. 2.8.1,2,3.

For as much as God the Lawe-maker is spirituall, that is to say, speaketh as well to the soule as to the body, therefore the lawe likewise requireth not onely an outwarde honestie, but also an inwarde and spirituall righteousnesse and a very angelike purenesse. 2.8.6. which is prooued by Christes owne exposition, when hee confuted the Pharisees wrong interpretation, which required onely a certaine outward obseruation of the law. 2.8.7.

There is alway more in the commandements and prohibitions of the lawe, than is expressed. Therefore for the right and true expounding of them, it behooueth to wey what is the intent or end of euey of them: Then from that which is commaunded or forbidden, we must drawe an argument to the contrarie, that we may vnderstand, that not onely an euill is forbidden, but also the good is commaunded which is contrarie to that euill. 2.8.8,9.

Why God spake by way of emplied comprehending, in setting forth the forme of his commaundements. 2.8.10:

Of the diuiding of the Lawe into two Tables: and howe therein wee are taught that the first foundation and the very soule of righteousnesse is the worshipping of God. 2.8.11.

Of the diuision of the ten commaundements, and how many commaundements are to be appointed to the first table, and how many to the second. 2.8.12,50.

An exposition of the commaundements of God: Where is declared that the Lord is the beginning of the Lawe, to stablish his owne maiestie, vseth three arguments: First by challenging to himselfe the soueraigne power and right of dominion ouer vs, he doth as it were by necessitie drawe vs to obey him: secondly hee allureth vs with the sweetnesse of the promise of grace: thirdly hee mooueth vs to obedience with rehearsall of the benefit that we haue receiued. 2.8.13,14,15.

The Lawe teacheth not onely certaine introductions and principles of righteousnesse, but the very accomplishment thereof, the expressing of the image of God, and the perfection of holinesse: which Lawe is all contained in two points, that is to say, the loue of God and of our neighbour. 2.8.51.

The Lawe of Nature. 2.2.22.

Lawes Politike.

Neither can Lawes be without the Magistrate, nor the Magistrate without Lawes. A confutation of them which say that a commonweale is not well ordered, vnlesse it be governed by the politike Lawes of *Moses*. For this purpose is rehearsed a diuision of the Lawes of *Moses* into morall Lawes, ceremonies, and iudiciall Lawes, and the end of euey one of them being discussed, it is prooued that it is lawfull for euey feuerall nation to make politike Lawes, 4.20.14,15. so that they agree with that naturall equitie, the reason whereof is set forth in the morall Lawe of *Moses*. Therefore it is shewed by examples that they may alter the ordinances of penalties according to the diuersitie of the country, time, and other circumstances. 4.20.16.

Libertie.

See Christian Libertie.

Lying.

An exposition of the ninth commaundement, wherein the Lorde forbiddeth falsehood, wherewith we by Lying or backbiting, doe hurt any mans good name, or hinder his commoditie. 2.8.47.

We many times sinne against this commaundement, although we doe not Lie. But in this point there must be a difference wisely made betweene the slandering which is here condemned, and iudiciall accusation or rebuking, which is vsed vpon desire to bring to amendment. 2.8.48.

Life of a Christian man.

The Law containeth a rule how to frame a mans Life, and diuers places also of the Scripture doe here and there declare it, and not without an orderly maner of teaching, although not so exquisite and curious as the Philosophers doe. 3.6.1.

Herein the Scripture doth two things: it stirreth vs vp to the loue of righteousnesse and teacheth a rule how to follow the same.

The

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The first pointe it worketh by diuers arguments and reasons. 3. 6. 2. and herein the Scripture layeth much better foundations, than can be found in all the bookes of the Philosophers. 3. 6. 3.

Against them that pretend a knowledge of Christ, when their life and manners resemble not the doctrine of Christ. 3. 6. 4.

Though perfection were to be wished in all men, yet we must also acknowledge for Christians the most part of men which have not yet proceeded so farre. We must alway endeouour forward, and not despaire for the smalnesse of our profiting. 3. 6. 5.

Out of a place of *Paul* these are gathered to be the parts of a well framed Life: consideration of the grace of God, forsaking of wickednesse and of worldly lustes, sobornes, righteousnesse, godlinesse, (which signifieth true holinesse) and the blessed hope of immortallitie. 3. 7. 3.

Life present, and the helpes thereof.

The Scripture teacheth the best way how to vse the goods of this Life. 3. 10. 4, 5.

Two faultes must be auoyded: that we doe neither bind our consciences with too much rigorousnesse nor giue loose reins to the intemperance of men. 3. 10. 1, 3.

God both in clothing and in foode prouideth not onely for our necessitie, but also for our delight. 3. 10. 2.

It is most necessarie, that every one of vs in all the dooings of his Life doe looke vpon his vocation, that we attempt nothing rashly or with doubtfull conscience. 3. 10. 6.

God disdaineth not to prouide also for the necessites of our earthly body, and in what sense we aske of him our dayly bread. 3. 20. 44.

Life to come.

God doth by diuers mysteries teach vs the contempt of this present Life, that we may earnestly desire Life to come. 3. 9. 1, 2, 4.

Such a contempt of this Life is required of vs, that we neither hate it nor be vnthankfull to God, of whose clemencie it is a testimonie to the faithfull. 3. 9. 3.

An admonition to them which are holden with too much feare of death, that Christians ought rather to desire that daie which shall make an end of their continuall miseries, and fill them with true ioy. 3. 9. 5, 6.

Of the incomprehensible excellencie of the eternall felicitie (which is the end of the Resurrection) the taste of the sweetnesse whereof we ought here continually to take, but yet to auoide curiositie whereupon doe arise trifling & noysome questions, yea and hurtfull speculations. And there shall be an equall measure of glorie to all the children of God in heauen. 3. 25. 10, 11. In which place also is an answer to the questions which some men do mooue concerning the state of the children of God after the resurrection.

In what sense eternall Life is sometime called the reward of workes. 3. 18. 2, 4.

M.

Magistrates.

THe office of Magistrates is not onely holy and lawfull before God, but also the most holy and honorable degree in all the life of men, and this is prooued by diuerse titles wherewith the Scripture doth set it forth, and by the examples of holy men, which haue borne ciuill power. 4. 20. 4.

This consideration is a pricke to godly Magistrates to mooue them to the dooing of their duetic, & also it is a comfort to ease the hard trauellers of their office. 4. 20. 6.

A confutation of them, which say that though in the old time vnder the law Kings and Iudges ruled ouer Gods people, yet this seruile kind of gouernement doth not agree with the perfection which Christ hath brought with his Gospell. 4. 20. 5, 7.

They erre which exclude the Magistrates from the charge of religion, forasmuch as their office extendeth to both the tables of the law. It is proued by Scripture, that they are ordeined Protectors and defenders as well of the worshipping of God as of common peace and honestie, which they can not thorowlie performe without the power of the sword. 4. 20. 9.

A declaration of this question by Scripture, how the Magistrates may be godlie, and also draw their sworde, and shed the blood of men, and it is prooued, that they are so farre from sinning in punishing offenders, that this is one of the vertues of a King, and a proofe of their godlines. Herein the Magistrates must beware of two faultes

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namely extreme rigorouſnes, and ſuperſtitious deſire of pittie. 4.20.10.

It is the ductie of ſubiectes towards Magiſtrates, to thinke honorabſe of them as of the Miniſters and Deputies of God, for- aſmuch as concerneth their degree, but not that they ſhould eſteeme the vices of men for vertues. 4.20.22.

It is alſo their dutie with mindes hartily bent to the honoring of them to declare their obedience towards them, whether it be in following their decrees or in paying of tributes, &c. to pray to God for their ſafetie and prosperitie, to raiſe no tumults and not to thruſt themſelves into the office of the Magiſtrate. 4.20.23.

Euen wicked Princes of euill life, and which rule tyrannouſly (for ſomuch as pertaineth to publike obedience) ought to be had in as great reuerence and honor as we would giue to the beſt King that might be, 4.20.24, 25. becauſe euen they alſo haue the publike power nor without the prouidence and ſingular power of God. Which is proued by diuerſe teſtimonies and ex- amples of Scripture: and there is ſhewed with what conſideration thoſe ſubiectes ought to bridle their owne impatience which liue vnder ſuch vngodly and wicked tyrantes. 4.20.26, 27. 28, 29, 31.

It is not lawfull for priuate men to riſe vp againſt tyrants, but onely for them which by the lawes of the Kingdome or of the countrie, are the defenders of the liberty of the people. 4.20.31.

The Lorde by his maueſſous good- neſſe and prouidence, doth ſometime raiſe vp ſome of his ſeruautes to puniſh tyrantes, and ſometime alſo hee directeth thereunto the rage of wicked men while they intende an other thing. 4.20.30.

In the obedience which is due to the commaundementes of Kinges and Rulers this is alway to be excepted, that it draw vs not away from the obedience of God: Neither is any wrong done to them when we reſuſe to obey them in ſuch things as they commaund againſt God: And this is our duetie, how great and preſent perill ſoeuer doe hang vpon ſuch conſtan- cie. 4.20.32.

Man.

Man is by knowledge of himſelfe not on- ly moued to ſeeke God, but alſo led as it were by the hand to finde him. 1.1.1.

The creation of Man is a notable ſhew of the power, wiſedome, and goodneſſe of God: Wherefore Man is by ſome of the Philoſophers called a little world. 1.5.3.

The vnthankefulneſſe of men which fee- ling tokens of the prouidence of God both in their Soule and body, yet doe not giue God praiſe. 1.5.4.

Two ſorts of knowledge of our ſelues, the one in our firſt Original eſtate, the other after *Adams* fall, and the latter is not to be receiued without conſidering the fiſt, leaſt we ſhould ſeeme to impure corruption to God the Author of nature. 1.1.5.1.

The knowledge of himſelfe is moſt ne- ceſſarie for Man, which conſiſteth in this (as the truth of God preſenteth) that fiſt conſidering to what ende he is created and endued with excellent gifts, he ſhould hang altogether vpon God, of whom he hath all things by giſt: then, that weying his owne miſerable eſtate after the fall of *Adam*, he ſhould truly loth himſelfe and concerne a new deſire to ſeeke God, that in him hee may recouer theſe good things, of which he himſelfe is found viterly void and em- ptie. Wherefore we muſt beware that in this point we hearken not to the iudgement of the fleſh and to the bookes of Philoſophers, which while they withholde vs in conſide- ring onely our good things, would carry vs away into a moſt wicked ignorance of our ſelues. 2.1.1, 2, 3.

Man can neuer come to the true know- ledge of himſelfe, vnleſſe he haue fiſt be- holden the face of God, that is to ſay, till he haue begon to know and weigh by the word of God what and how exact is the perfec- tion of his righteouſneſſe, wiſedome, and power, to the which we ought to be made of like forme. 1.1.2.

Euen the moſt holy men were ſtricken with feare and aſtoniſhment, when God did extraordinarily ſhew his preſence and glory vnto them. 1.1.3.

That whole Man is corrupted in both partes of him (that is to ſay both in vnder- ſtanding, minde, and in heart or will) is proued

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prooued by diuers titles wherwith the scripture describeth him, specially when it saith that he is flesh: And there is declared that this worde flesh is not referred onely to the sensuall part, but also to the superiour part of the soule.2.3.1.

That men do in vaine seeke for any good thing in their owne nature, is prooued by *Paul*, which unreating of the vniuersall kindred of the childre of *Adam*, & not rebuking the corrupted maners of some one age alone but accusing the perpetual corruption of nature, taketh from men righteousnes, that is to say, vprightnes & puresnes, and then vnderstanding, and last of al the fear of God.2.3.2.

A confutation of the obiection concerning certain heathen men, which forasmuch as they were al their life long by the guiding of nature bent to the endeour of vertue and honestie, do seem to warne vs, that we should not esteeme the nature of Man, altogether corrupt. Therefore it is declared that in the vnbeleeuers God doth not inwardly cleanse the corruption of nature wherewith Man is in eche part defiled, (as he doth in the elect) but by this prouidence sometime he bridleth it in them, that it breake not forth into deedes; and restraineth it by diuers waies, so much as he knoweth to be expedient for preserving of the vniuersall state of things.2.3.3.

Those vertues which wee reade to haue beene in heathen Men, are not sufficient prooues of the purenesse of nature, for as much as their minde was inwardly not vpright, being corrupted with ambition or some other poison, and not directed with desire to set forth the glorie of God: and also forasmuch as those vertues are not the common giftes of nature, but the speciall graces of God, which he diuersly and by a certaine measure giueth to prophane Men, as oftentimes to kings, and sometime to priuate Men.2.3.4.

*See Image of God in Man.
Mariage.*

An exposition of the seuenth commandment, wherein the Lord forbiddeth fornication and requireth chastitie and cleanness, which we ought to keepe and preserue

both in our mind, and in our eies, and in the apparell of our bodie, and in our toong, and in the moderate vse of meate and drinke. 2.8.41,41.

Continence is a singular gifte of God, which he giueth not to all men, but to some, yea and that sometime for a season: As for them to whom it is not granted, let them alway flee to Marriage, which is ordained of the Lord for the remedie of mans necessitie.2.8.41,42,43.

Maried persons must beware that they commit nothing vnbeeseeming the honestie and temperance of Marriage: Otherwise they seeme to bee adulterers of their owne wiues, and not husbands.2.8.44.

The Papists do wrongfully call mariage a Sacrament: And their reasons are confuted.4.19.34. It is prooued that the place of *Paul*, wherewith they seeke to cloke themselves, maketh nothing for them.4.19.35.

In the meane they disagree with themselves when they exclude priestes from this sacrament, and do say that it is vnclannes and defiling of the flesh 4.19.36.

By this false colour of Sacrament, the Pope with his clergie haue drawn to themselves the hearing of causes of Matrimonte, & haue made lawes of mariage, which partly are manifestly wicked against God, and partly most vniust toward men, which lawes are rehearsed.4.19.37.

Mediator Christ.

It behooued that Christ, to the ende that he might performe the office of Mediatour, should bee made man, for as much as God had so ordained, because it was best for vs, sith none other could be the meane for restoring of peace betweene God and vs, none other could make vs the children of God, none other could assure vnto vs the inheritance of the heauenly kingdome, none other coulede for remedie set mans obedience against mans disobedience. 2.12.1.2.3.

A confutation of their fantastickall conceite, which affirme that Christ shoulde haue become man, although there had needed no remedie for the redeeming of mankinde. And it is prooued by many reasons and textes, that for as much as the whole

Scripture crieth out that hee was clothed with flesh, to the ende that he might be the redeemer, therefore it is too great rashnes to imagine any other cause or purpose. 2. 12.

4. Neither is it lawful to search further concerning Christ: and those that doe search further, do with wicked boldnes runne forward to the faining of a new Christ: And herem *Osfander* is reprooved, which hath at this time renewed this question, and affirmeth that this error is confuted by no testimony of Scripture. 2. 12. 5.

And the principle is overthrowen which hee buildeth on, that man was create after the image of God, because he was formed after the likenesse of Christ to come, that hee might resemble him whom the father had already decreed to cloath with flesh: And there is shewed that the image of God in *Adam*, was the markes of excellencie wherewith God had garnished him, which doeth also shine in the Angels. 2. 12. 6, 7.

A solution of other objections or absurdities which the same *Osfander* feareth: namely, that then Christ was borne and create after the image of *Adam* but as it were by chaunte: and that the Angels should haue lacked their head, and men should haue lacked Christ their king, 2. 12. 6, 7.

How the two natures do make one person of the Mediatour in Christ: Which is shewed by a similitude taken of the ioyning of the soule and bodie in one man: And then it is prooued by diuers places that the scripture doeth many times giue vnto Christ those things which properly belongeth to the Godhead, and sometime those things which must be referred onely to the man-hood, and sometime giueth to the one nature that which is proper to the other: which figuratiue manner of speech is called Communicating of properties. 2. 14. 1, 2. and sometime also giueth to Christ those things which doe comprehend both natures together, but doe severally well agree with neither of them. Which last point the most parte of the olde writers haue not sufficiently marked: Yet it is good to be noted, for the dissolving of manie doubts, and for auoiding of the errors of *Nestorius* and

Eutiches. 2. 14. 3, 4.

A confutation of the error of *Seruetus*, which had put in the steede of the sonne of God, an imagined thing made of the substance of Gods spirit, flesh, & three elements vncreat: His suttletie is disclosed, and there is prooued (which thing he denieth) that Christ was the sonne of God, euen before that he was borne in the flesh, because he is that word begotten of the father before all worlds. 2. 14. 5.

Also it is prooued that he is truly & properly the sonne of God in the flesh, that is to say in the nature of Man, but yet in respect of his Godhead, and not of his flesh, as *Seruetus* babbleth. 2. 14. 6.

An exposition of certaine places which *Seruetus* and his disciples do enforce for defence of their error: There is also another cauillation of his disclosed, that Christ before that he appeared in the flesh, is in no place called the sonne of God but vnder a figure. 2. 14. 7.

Also there is opened the error of al them which do not acknowledge Christ the Sonne of God but in the flesh: and there are briefly rehearsed the grosse suttleties of *Seruetus*, wherewith he hath bewitched himselfe and other, ouerthrowing that which pure faith beleueth concerning the person of the sonne of God: And thereupon is gathered that with the craftie suttleties of that filthy dog, the hope of saluation is vterly extinguished. 2. 14. 8.

Merite of Christ.

It is truly and properly saide that Christ merited for vs the grace of God and saluation. Where it is prooued that Christ was not onely the instrument or minister of saluation, but also the author & principal doer thereof: And in so saying, the grace of God is not defaced, because the merit of Christ is not set against mercy, but hangeth vpon it. And those things which are *Subalterna*, fight not as contraries. 2. 17. 1.

The distinction of the Merit of Christ and of the grace of God is proued by many places of scripture. 2. 17. 2.

There are alleaged many testimonies of Scripture, out of which it is certainly and soundly gathered, that Christ by his obedience hath truly purchased and deserved fauour

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faour for vs with his Father. 2. 17. 3. 4. 5.

It is a foolish curiositie to enquire whether Christ hath deserued any thing for himselfe: and it is rashnesse to affirme it. 2. 17. 6.

Merites of workes.

The boasting that are made of the Merites of workes, doe ouerthrow as well the praise of God in giuing righteousnes, as also the certaintie of saluation. 3. 15. 1.

Whosoeuer first applied the name of Merite to good workes in the sight of Gods iudgement, he did against the purenesse of Faith. And though the olde Fathers vsed that name, yet they so vsed it that they haue in many places shewed that they attribute nothing to workes. 3. 15. 2.

An exposition of certaine places, where-with the Sophisters go about to prouoe that the name of Merite toward God is found in the Scripture 3. 15. 4.

It is prouoed by authoritie of the Apostles and *Augustine*, that the rewardes of righteousnesse doe hang vpon the meere liberality of God. 2. 5. 2.

It is proued that this is a false saying, that Christ Merited for vs onely the first grace, and that afterward we doe Merite by our owne workes. 3. 15. 6. 7.

There be certaine things touching Merites in the title of Iustificatiō by Faith.

Ministerie of the Church.

Of the Ministerie of the Church, and of them which despise this maner of learning. 4. 1. 5.

Of the efficacie of the Ministerie. 4. 5. 6.

God, which might teach the Church either himselfe alone or by Angels, yet doth it by the Ministerie of men for three causes. 4. 3. 1.

The Ministerie of the Church is garnished with many notable titles of commendation in the Scripture 4. 3. 2, 3.

Of Apostles, Prophetes, Euangelistes, Pastors, and Teachers: and what is the severall office of euery of them. 4. 3. 4. 5.

The chiefe partes of the office of Apostles and Pastors are to preach the Gospell, and Minister the Sacraments 4. 3. 6.

Pastors are so bound to their Churches, that they may not remouoe to any other place without publike authoritie. 4. 3. 7.

They are called in the Scripture, Bishops, Priestes, Pastors and Ministers which gouerne Churches. 4. 3. 8.

No man ought to thrust in himselfe in the Church to teach or gouerne: But there is a calling required. 4. 3. 10.

The preaching of the worde of God is compared to seede which is scattered in the ground: Whereby we vnderstand that the whole encrease proceedeth of the blessing of God and the effectuall working of the holy Ghost 4. 14. 11.

What manner of men ought to be chosen Bishops, and in what sort and of whom they are to be chosen, and with what forme or ceremony they are to be ordered. 4. 3. 1. 1. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

The olde Church before the Papacie, diuided all their Ministers into three degrees, Pastors, Elders, and Deacons 4. 4. 1.

Of the commission to remit and retaine sinnes, or to binde and loose, which is a part of the power of the keyes, and pertaineth to the Ministerie of the word 4. 11. 1.

Monkerie.

Monasteries in olde time were the seede plottes of Ecclesiasticall orders: And there is described out of *Augustine* the forme of the olde Monkerie, and how they were wont at that time to get their liuing with the labor of their handes. Whereby appeareth that at this day the maner of Popish Monkerie is farre otherwise. 4. 13. 8, 9, 10.

Of the proude title of perfection where-with the Monkes do set out their kinde of life. 4. 13. 1. 1. because they binde themselves to keepe the counsels of the Gospell (as they call them) whereunto other Christian men are not bound. Sect. 12. and because they haue forsaken all their possessions. Sect. 13.

As many as goe into Monasteries, doe depart from the Church, sith they openly affirme that their Monkerie is a forme of second Baptisme. 4. 13. 14.

The Popish Monkes do in maners much differ from the olde Monkes. 4. 13. 15.

Some things are to be misteked euen in the profission of the olde Monkerie, and they that were the Authors thereof brought a perillous example into the Church. 4. 13. 16.

Monkes with their vowes doe consecrate themselves

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themselves not to God but to the Diuell. 4. 13. 17.

As all vowes vnlawfull and not rightly made, are of no value before God, so they ought to be void to vs. 4. 13. 20.

Therefore they which depart from Monckery to some honest trade of life, are wrongfully accused of Faith breaking and periury. 4. 13. 21.

*Of Mortification,
See forsaking of our selues.*

O.

Obedience of Children to Parents.

An exposition of the fifth Commandment: The end and sum thereof. 2. 8. 35.

How farre this word honoring extendeth, and there be three partes thereof, Reuerence, Obedience, and Thankesgiuing. 2. 8. 36.

Of the promise adioyned to the fifth Commandment, concerning long continuance of life, and how farre the same pertaineth to vs at this day. 2. 8. 37.

How and by how diuerse meanes, God sheweth his vengeance vpon the disobedient: Yet obedience is not due to parentes and other, but sauing the law of God. 2. 8. 38.

Offences.

What offences are to be auoided, & what to be neglected: what is an Offence giuen, and what an Offence taken. 3. 19. 11.

It is declared by the doctrine and example of *Paul* who be weake, to who we must beware that we giue no Offence. 3. 19. 12.

Whereas we are commanded to beware that we Offend not the weake, the same is meant onely in things indifferent: Therefore they doe wrongfully abuse this doctrine which say that they heare Masse for the weakes sake. 3. 19. 13

Officials.

Of Popish Bishops Officials, as they call them. 4. 11. 7, 8.

Orders Papisticall.

The Sacrament of Order breedeth to the Papistes seuen other putie Sacraments, of whose names and differences they themselves be not yet agreed. 4. 19. 22.

Their fond and vngodly foolishnes, forasmuch as they make Christ fellow Officer with them in euery one of them. 4. 19. 23.

Of *Acoluthes*, Doorekeepers and Readers, whom the Papistes doe make Orders of the Church and Sacraments, 3. 19. 24. and with what ceremonies they consecrate them. Sect. 27.

Of Exorcistes or Coniurers an order of the Popish Church. 4. 19. 24.

The orders of Psalmites, Doorekeepers and *Acoluthes*, are vaine names among the Papistes, forasmuch as they themselves doe not execute the Offices, but some boy, or any layman. 4. 19. 24.

Of the shauing of the Clergie, and the signification thereof by the doctrine of the Papistes. 4. 19. 25.

They doe wrongfully applie it to *Pauls* example, which shaued his heade when he tooke a vowe, or to the olde Nazarites. 4. 19. 26.

It is shewed out of Augustine whence it first began. 4. 19. 27.

Of the three higher Orders: and first of Priesthood or sacrificership: where is shewed that the Papistes haue most wickedlie peruered the order appointed by God, and doe wrong to Christ the onely and eternall sacrificing Priest. 4. 19. 28.

Of their blowing at the making of the Popish Priests, and how in that ceremonie they doe wrongfully counterfaite Christ: Where is declared that the Lord did many things which he would not haue to be examples for vs to follow. 4. 19. 29.

Of the vndeble character or vndefaceable marke of the oyle wherewith Popish Priestes are anointed at their creation. And how the same is wrongfully applied to the children of *Aaron*. But these Priestes in coueting to be like the Leuites, are Apostataes from Christ. 4. 19. 30, 31.

Originall Sinne.

A definition and expounding of Originall sinne. 4. 15. 10, 11, 12.

A true definition of Originall and a declaration of the same definition: Wherein is shewed, that not onely punishment came from *Adam* vpon vs, but also that the infection distilled from him remayneth in vs, and how it is the sinne of another and also our owne sinne: Finally, that such infection pearced not onely into the inferiour desire, but also into the verie vnderstanding minde.

mind and bottome of the heart, so that there is no part of the soule free from corruption.

2. 1. 8, 9.

A confutation of them that dare charge God with their faults, because wee say that men are naturally faultie: And there is prooued, that man is corrupt by naturall viciousnesse: (to the ende that no man should thinke it to be gotten by euill custome) but yet such as proceeded not from nature, but is an accidentall qualitie, and not a substantiall propercie from the beginning. 2. 1. 10, 11.

Orbe.

See Swearing.

P.

Patience.

A Part of the forsaking of our selues, in respect of God, is contentation of mind and sustenance: Which we shall performe, if in seeking the commoditie or quietnes of this present life wee yeelde our selues wholly to the Lord, and do not desire, hope for, or thinke vpon any other meane of prospering than by his blessing. 3. 7. 8.

So shall it come to passe that we shall neuer seeke our owne commodities that vnlawfull meanes or with wronging of our neighbours: also that we shall not burne with vnmeasurable desire of riches or of honors: finally if things prosper well with vs, we shall yet beholden from pride, and if they happen ill, we shall yet bee restrained from impatience. 3. 7. 9. Which extendeth to all chaunces whereunto our present life is subiect, whereof the faithfull doe alwayes acknowledge the hand of God their father, and not fortune, to be the gouernour. 3. 7. 10.

The Patience of the faithfull is not such as is without all feeling of sorrow, but such as being vpholden by godly comfort, fighteth against the naturall feeling of sorrow. Therefore the Patience of the Strokes is to reiected: neither is it in it selfe any fault to weepe or feare. 3. 8. 8, 9.

A description of that struing which is indred in the hearts of the faithfull by the feeling of nature, which feeling cannot bee clean done away, & by the affection of godlines wherewith that same feeling must bee subdued and tamed. 3. 8. 10.

There is a great difference between Philosophical & Christian patience: Forasmuch as the philosophers doe teach vs to obey because we so must of necessitie: but Christ teacheth it, because it is righteous, and also because it is profitable for vs. 3. 8. 11.

Pardons.

The so long continuing of pardons declareth in how deepe darkenes of errors men haue been drowned these certaine ages past. 3. 5. 1.

What pardons are by the Papistes doctrine: Whereby is prooued that they are a dishonoring of the blood of Christ: A comparison of Christ and popish pardons. 3. 5. 1.

A confutation of the wicked doctrine of pardons, by the notable saying of *Leo* Bishop of Rome, and of *Augustine*. And there is shewed that the blood of martyres is not vnlawfull, although it haue no place in forgiveness of sins. 3. 5. 3, 4.

Either the Gospel of God must lie, or pardons must be lying deceits. And there is shewed what seemeth to haue been the beginning of them. 3. 5. 5.

Penance, the Popish Sacrament.

Of the vsage of the olde Church in publicke penance: and of the laying on of hands at reconciliation, Also how in processe of time the laying on of handes was vsed in priuate absolutions. 4. 19. 14.

The diuers opinions of the schoolemen how penance is a Sacrament: And there is shewed that the definition of a Sacrament doth not agree with it. 4. 19. 15, 16.

It is a lie, & a deceitfull error which they haue inuented concerning the Sacrament of Penance: and it is a wicked and blasphemous title wherwith they haue garnished it, a second boord after shipwracke from Baptisme. 4. 19. 17.

Persuerance.

See booke 2. Chap. 5. Sect. 3.

A confutation of the most wicked error, that Persuerance is giuen of God according to the Merite of men, so as euery man hath shewed himselfe not vnthankfull for the first grace: and in this opinion is shewed a double error. Of the common distinction of grace working, and working together: and how *Augustine* vsed it, qualifying it with an

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apt definition. 2. 3. 11.

Politike government.

There is a difference to be made between policie, and the inward government of the soule. Their doctrine is to be reiected which goe about to ouerthrowe policie as a thing not necessarie for Christians, or as a thing that overthroweth the spirituall libertie of the soule. Also those flatterers are to be reiected, which do giue too much vnto it, and do set it in comparifon against the authoritie of God. 4. 20. 1, 2, 3.

Policie is the gifte of God, which bringeth great commodities to mankind and no small helpe to the defence of the state of religion. Politike government hath three parts, the magistrate, the lawes and the people. 4. 20. 3.

Of the three formes of Ciuill gouernement, *Aristocracie* the gouernement of the best chofst men, *Democracie* the gouernement of the people, *Monarchy* the gouernment of one: it can not simply bee determined which of these is the best: yet it commeth to passe by the faulte of men, that it is safer and more tolerable to haue many to gouern than one to reigne. But all these formes are of God, and diuersly disposed by him, therefore it is the duty of priuate men to obey, & not to make inuouation of states after their owne will. 4. 20. 8.

Of the immunitie that the Romish clergie take to themselves, which was altogether vnknewen to the Bishops of the old Church. 4. 11. 15.

In matters of Faith, the iudgement in the olde time pertained to the Church and not to Princes, although sometime princes entemedled their authoritie in ecclesiasticall matters, but the same was done to preferre and not to trouble the order of the church. 4. 11. 15, 16.

Of the authoritie of the sword vsurped by the bishops in the papacie: and how they haue by litle and litle from so small beginnings growen to so great encrease. 4. 11. 9, 10

Pope.

It is proued that the supremacie of the sea of Rome is not by the institution of christ. 4. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Neither had Peter any principality in the Church or among the Apostles. 4. 6. 5, 6, 7.

Neither is it profitable nor may bee, that one man should beare rule ouer the whole Church. 4. 6. 8, 9, 10.

Although Peter had had a supremacie in the Church, yet it followeth not that the seat of that supremacie ought to be at Rome. 4. 6. 11, 12, 13.

It is proued by many arguments that Peter was not bishop of Rome. 4. 6. 14, 15.

The supremacie of the sea of Rome is not according to the vse olde Church. 4. 6. 16, 17.

Of the beginning and encrease of the Romish papacie, vntill it aduanced it selfe to that height, whereby both the libertie of the Church is oppressed and all moderate gouernment hath bene ouerthrowen. 4. 7.

In the most part of the council, the Bishoppe of Rome nor his legates had not the chiefe place, but some other of the Bishops had it at the Council of Chacedon: but yet without order. 4. 7. 1, 2.

Of the title of supremacie and other titles of pride wherwith the Pope boasteth himselfe, and when and how they crept in. 4. 7. 3.

Gregorie pronounceth that the title of vniuersall bishop was deuised by the deuil, and published by the crier of Antichrist. 4. 7. 4.

It is proued by the vse of the old church, that it is false which the bishoppe of Rome boasteth, that hee hath iurisdiction ouer all Churches. 4. 7. 5. Whether ye consider the ordering of bishops, Sect. 6. or ecclesiasticall admonitions and censures, Sect. 7. or summoning of Councils, Sect. 8. or authoritie of higher appeales. Sect. 9. 10.

The olde Bishoppes of Rome in the most part of their Epistles did ambitiously set forth the glorie of their sea, but those Epistles at time had no credite. Also they did thrust in certaine forged things as though they had been written in the old time by holy men. 4. 7. 11, 20.

Although in the time of Gregorie, the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome was greatly encreased, yet it is proued by his writings that it was then far from vnbredid dominion and tyranny. 4. 7. 12, 13, 22.

There was strife for the supremacie betwene the bishop of *Constantinople* and the bishop of *Rome*. 4. 7. 14, 15, 16. vntill *Thocas* grated to *Voniface* the third, that *Rome* should

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be the head of all Churches: which afterward *Pipine* confirmed, when he gaue to the Sea of *Rome* iurisdiction ouer the Churches of *France*. 4.7.17.

From thenceforth the tyrannic of the sea of *Rome* encreased more and more, partly by ignorance and partly by negligence of Bishops: which destruction of the whole order of the Church *Bernard* lamenteth and layeth to the Popes charge. 4.7.18.22.

The insolencie and shamelesnesse of the Bishops of *Rome* in setting forth their owne supreme authoritie. 4.7.19.20. which is reprooued by sayings of *Cyprian* and *Gregorie*. Sect. 21.

Rome can not be the mother of all Churches, forasmuch as it is no Church. Neither can the bishop of *Rome* be head of bishops, sith he is no bishop. 4.7.23, 24.

It is prooued by *Paul*, that the Pope is Antichrist. 4.7.25.

Although the Church of *Rome* in olde time had had the honor of supremacie, yet the same is not to bee bouade to a place. 4.7.26, 29.

Of the maners of the cite of *Rome*, of the Pope, and of the Cardinals and their diuinitie. 4.7.27, 28.

The Bishop of *Rome* first laide hand vpon kingdomes, and then vpon the Empire: Which is proued by most sharpe reprehensions of *Bernarde* to be vnmete for him that boasteth himselfe the successor of the Apostles. 4.1.11.

Of the gift of *Constantine*, wherewith hee laboereth to hide his robbie. 4.11.12. and howe there are not yet fise hundred yeres past, since the Popes were in subiection of Princes, and by what occasion they haue shaken it off. Sect. 13. and how they brought the cite of *Rome* into their power, but about a hundred and thirtie yeres ago. Sect. 14.

Prayer.

True faith can not bee idle from calling vpon God. 3.20.

How necessaie & how many waies profitable is the exercise of praying, 3.20.2. although the Lorde will not cease while we craue not, nor needeth any to put him in minde. Sect. 3.

The first rule of well framing our payer, is that we be no other wise disposed in hart and

minde than becommeth them that enter into talke with God. 3.20.4, 5.

The second rule is, that in praying we alway feele our own needes, & that earnestly considering that we want all these things that wee aske, wee ioyne with our prayer an earnest and feruent desire to obtaine, 3.20.6.

Wee ought to praie at all times, and in the greatest quietnes of our estates, the onely remembrance of our sinne ought to be no small prouocation to moue vs to that exercise. 3.20.7.

The thirde rule of praying well, is that we forsake all confidence of our owne glorie, least if wee presumptuously take any thing, be it neuer so little, vnto our selues, we with our vaine pride, fall downe from his face. 3.20.8.

The beginning of praying well, is the obtaining of pardon, with an humble & plaine confession of offence. 3.20.9.

In what sense the Praiers of certaine holy men are to bee taken, in which to intreate God, they seeme to alleage their owne righteousness. 3.20.10.

The fourth rule of praying well, is that being so ouerthrowen and beaten downe with true humilitie: we neuertheless encouraged to praie with an assured hope to obtaine: So in our prayers, faith and repentance do meete together. 3.20.11.

Of the certaintie of faith, wherby the faithfull do determine that God is fauorable vnto them. And how necessaie the same is in Praier: Neither is that certaintie weakened, when it is ioyned with acknowledging of our owne miserie. 3.20.12.

God comineth vs to call vpon him: he promisseth, that wee shall be heard: both these things are necessaie, that we may pray in faith. 3.20.13.

There are rehearsed diuerse promises of God, with the sweetenes wherof they that are not stirred vp to praier, are altogether vnexcusable. 3.20.14.

An exposition of certaine places wherin God seemeth to haue assented to some mens Praiers which yet were grounded vpon no promise. 3.20.15.

These fower rules of Praying well, are not examined with so extreme rigor, but that

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that God heerein doth beare with many infirmities, yea many intemperances in them that be his, which is prooued by manie examples. 3. 20. 16.

We must alway pray in the name of Christ onely. 3. 20. 17. neither were the faithful euer heard any otherwise. Sect. 18.

They which Pray otherwise, haue nothing left for them at the throne of God, but wrath and terror. 3. 20. 19.

It is not against Christs office of mediator: that we be commanded to Pray one for another. 3. 20. 19.

A confutation of the Sophisters deuise, which say that Christ is the mediator of redemption, and the faithfull are mediators of intercession. 3. 20. 20.

Against them, which make dead Saints intercessors to God for them, or doe mingle the intercession of Christ with the Prayers and merites of dead men. 3. 20. 21.

This foolishnesse hath proceeded in the papacie to grosse monstrousnes of vngodlines, and to horrible sacriledges. 3. 20. 22.

A confutation of the arguments wherwith the papastes labour to confirme the intercession of dead Samts. 3. 20. 23, 24, 25, 26.

It is vnlawfull to direct our praiers to dead Saints, forasmuch as this kind of worshipping doth most properly belong to God alone. 3. 20. 27.

Of the sortes of Prayer, and chiefly of thanksgiuing: Also of the continuall exercise of the faithfull in prayer and thanksgiuing. 3. 20. 28, 29.

Of the babbling of the Papistes, and of auoiding all boasting in prayers, of departing into secret places, and of publike Prayers. 3. 20. 29.

Publike Prayers must be made in the common and natie speech of the land. And there is entreated of kneeling and vncovering of the head at Prayer. 3. 20. 33.

Of the infinite goodnes of Christ, which hath also appointed vs a forme of Prayer: And how great comfort commeth vnto vs thereby. 3. 20. 24.

A diuision of the Lords Prayer, 3. 20. 35.

An exposition of the same Prayer. 3. 20. 36.

The same in euery point is a perfect and vpright prayer. 3. 20. 48. whereunto nothing

ought to be added, although wee may vse other words in making our prayers, Sect. 49.

Of the confidence which the name of the children of God doth bring vnto vs, which euen the confidence of our finnes ought not to ouerthrow. 3. 20. 36, 37.

Although wee ought to pray for all men, and specially for them of the householde of faith, yet this withstandeth not, but that wee may pray specially, both for our selues and certaine other. 3. 20. 38, 39, 47.

Of the boldnes of asking which the Lord granteth to his, and the trust of obtrayning. 3. 20. 47.

It is good that euery one of vs for exercise, appoint to himselve certaine peculiar houres to pray, so that it be done without superstitious obseruation. 3. 20. 50.

In all our prayer wee ought diligentlie to beware that we go not about to binde God to certaine circumstances. 3. 20. 50.

Of perseuerance and pacience in the exercise of prayer. 3. 20. 51, 52.

Predestination.

It is prooued that the doctrine of predestination is a doctrine of most sweete fruite. There are rehearsed three principall profits thereof: and they are admonished which being moued with a certaine curiositie doe beyond the bounds of Scripture breake into the secrets of the wisdom of God. 3. 1. 1, 2. and also they which would haue all mention of Predestination to be buried. Sect. 3. 4.

What is Predestination, and what is the foreknowledge of God, and how the one of them is wrongfully set after the other. The example of Predestination in al the offspring of *Abraham* in respect of other nations, is confirmed by many testimonies of Scripture. 3. 2. 1. 5.

Also there is shewed a speciall Predestination, whereby euen among the children themselves hee hath made difference betweene some and other some. Sect. 6. 7.

A confirmation of the doctrine of Predestination taken out of testimonies of scripture. 3. 22.

Of them that make a foreknowledge of Merits the cause of Predestination. Also of other men that blame God, because he electeth some and passeth ouer other. 3. 22. 1.

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God as wel in election as in reprobation hath no respect of workes neither passed nor to come, but his good pleasure is the cause of both. 3. 22. 23, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11.

This is prooued by *Augustine*, Sect. 8. and the trifling fittle deuile of *Thomas* to the contrarie is confuted. Sect. 9.

The promises of saluation are not directed to al, but peculiarly to the elect. 3. 22. 10.

These two sayings doe not disagree that God by the outward preaching of the word calleth many, and yet he giueth the gift of faith to few. 3. 22. 10.

Against them which so confesse election, that yet they denie any to bee reprobate of God 3. 23. 1.

The reprobate do in vaine contend with God, for as much as God oweth them nothing, and willeth nothing otherwise than righteously, and they themselues may finde iust causes of their damnation in themselues. 3. 23. 2, 3, 4, 5.

An answer to the wicked question of certaine men, why God should blame men for these things whereof hee hath layed a necessity vpon them by his Predestination. 3. 23. 6, 8, 9.

A definition of Predestination. 3. 23. 8.

A confutation of them which gather of the doctrine of Predestination, that God hath respect of persons. 3. 23. 10, 11.

Against those hogs which vnder colour of Predestination doe goe carelessly forward in their sinnes: and against all them which say that if this doctrine take place, all endeavour of well working decayeth. 3. 23. 12.

Against them which say that this doctrine ouerthroweth all exhortations to godly life, it is prooued by *Augustine* that preaching hath his course, & yet the knowledge of Predestination is not hindered thereby. 3. 23. 13.

In this point of doctrine we must so temper our manner of teaching the truth, that so far as we may, we wisely beware of offence. 3. 23. 14.

Whereas some obey the preaching of the word of God, and other some despise it, or be more blinded and hardened thereby, although this come to passe by their owne malice and vnthankfulnesse, yet wee must therewith also know, that this diuersity han-

geth vpon the secret counsell of God, than which it is vnlawfull for to search for any further cause. 3. 24. 12, 13, 14.

An exposition of certaine places, wherein God seemeth to denie that it comnieth to passe by his ordinance that the wicked perish, but in as much as against his wil they wilfully bring destruction vpon themselues. And there is shewed that those places make nothing against the doctrine of Predestination. 3. 24. 15, 16.

The vniuersalnesse of the promises of saluation, maketh nothing against the doctrine of the Predestination of the reprobate: and yet not without cause are they framed vniuersally. 3. 24. 16.

Here also are confuted certaine objections of them which denie this point of doctrine.

Priesthood, Kingdome, and Propheticall office of Christ.

That we may know to what ende Christ was sent of his father, and what he brought vnto vs, three things are cheefely to bee considered in him, his Propheticall office, his Kingdome, and his Priesthood: and therefore is giuen to him the title of Christ (or Messias which signifieth annointed) although hee be specially so called in respect of his kingdome. Albeit that God alway gaue prophets and teachers to his Church, yet it is prooued that all the Godly looked for full light of vnderstanding, onely at the coming of Messias: and that he when he appeared was annointed a Prophet, not onely for himselfe, but also for all his body. 2. 15. 1, 2.

As touching his Kingdome, first wee must note the spiritual nature thereof, wherevpon also is gathered the eternall continuance of it, which is of two sortes: the one pertaineth to the whole bodie of the Church, the other is proper to eury member: both sortes are declared and plainly set forth by testimonies of scripture. 3. 15. 3.

It is declared that the profite of the kingdome of Christ cannot otherwise bee perceued of vs, but when wee knowledge it to be spiritual: and the same profite consisteth in two things, namely that it enricheth vs with all good things necessarie to eternall

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eternall saluation, secondly, that it fortifieth vs with strength and vertue against the diuell and all his assaults. And so Christ reigneth for vs rather than for himselfe, whereupon wee are rightfully called Christians: Where it is saide that at the last day he shall yeeld vp his kingdome to God and his father, and such like sayings, the same maketh nothing against the eternitie of his kingdome. 4.15.4,5.

As touching his Priesthood, that the efficacy and profite thereof may come to vs, it is shewed that wee must beginne at the death of Christ. Hereupon it followeth that hee is an euerlasting intercessour, by whose mediation we obtaine fauour, whereby ariseth to godly consciences both boldnesse to pray, and quietnesse: finally that he is so a Priest, that hee ioyneth vs in the fellowship of so great an honour, to the end that the Sacrifices of prayers and praise which come from vs, may be acceptable to God. 2.15.6.

Promises.

Not without cause all the Promises are concluded in Christ: for as much as euery promise is a testifying of the lawe of God toward vs, and none of vs is beloued of God without Christ. Neither was *Naaman* the Syrian, *Cornelius* the Captaine, nor the Eunuche to whome *Philip* was caried, without knowledge of Christ, although they had but a very small taste to him, and a faith in some part vnexpressed. 3.2.32.

The Lord, to the end to fil our harts with love of righteousnes and hatred of wickednesse, was not content to see forth bare commandements only, but addeth Promises of blessings both of this present life and of eternall blessednes, and also threatenings both of present miseries, and of eternall death: The threatenings declare the great purenesse of God: the Promises doe shewe his great loue to righteousnesse, & his wonderfull goodnesse toward men. 2.8.4.

Of the Promise of Gods mercie to be extended to a thousand generations. 2.8.21.

Although the Promises of the lawe be conditional, yet they are not given in vaiue. 2.7.4.

Prophetical office of Christ.

See Priesthood.

Providence of God.

Prophane men, by fleshly vnderstanding doe confesse God the Creator, otherwise than wee doe by faith: for as much as faith doth teach that hee is also the gouernor of all things not by a certaine vniuersall motion, but by a singular prouidence which extendeth euen to the least sparowe. 1.16.1.

They which giue any thing to fortune, doe burie the Prouidence of God, by whose secreate counsell all successess are gouerned. 1.16.2.

Things without life, although each of them haue their propertie naturally planted in them, yet doe not put forth their force, but so farre as they be directed by the present hand of God: which is proued by the sunne, before which he would both light to be, and the earth to abound with all kinde of good things: which also wee reade to haue stand still by the space of two daies, and gone backe two degrees at the commaundement of God. 1.16.2. also by the starres and signes of the heauen, which the vnbeleuers doe feare. Sect 3.

The almightinesse of God is busied in continuall doing, so that it extendeth to euery particular act, and nothing happeneth but by his counsell: Which who so doe not acknowledge they defraude God of his glorie and doe extenuate his goodnesse: But we on the other side doe receiue double fruite thereof. 1.16.3.

It is proued that the Prouidence of God doth not onely beholde things that are done, but gouerneth all successess: Whereby is ouerthrown the fained inuention of bare foreknowledge and of vniuersall Prouidence onely: alio the error of the Epicures is confuted, and of them which giue to God a gouernance onely about the middle region of the aire. Yet there may a certaine vniuersall Prouidence be graunted, but so, that the speciall Prouidence be not darked, which doth gouerne not only certaine but all particular doings. 1.16.4,5.

That not onely the beginning of motion is in the disposing of God, is proued by the plentifulnesse of one yeere and the barrennesse of another, for whereas God calleth

callecth the one his blessing, and the other his curse and vengeance. 1. 16. 5.

The prouidence of God in governing the worlde, is cheefely to be considered in mankinde, and in the diuerse estate of all men, and diuerse disposing of successes. 1. 16. 6, 7.

Against them which cauil, that this doctrine of the Prouidence of God, is the Stoickes doctrine of fate or destiny. 1. 16. 8.

Whether any thing happen by fortune or chance : Where is rehearsed the saying of *Basilins Magnus*, that Chance and Fortune are wordes of heathen men : also the saying of *Augustine*, that he repented that hee had vsed the name of Fortune. Yet those things may be saide to happen by fortune in respect of vs, which being considered in their nature, or weighed according to our knowledge doe seeme so, although in the secreete counsell of God they be necessarie: Also all things that are to come, may bee saide to bee happening, inasmuch as they be vncertaine to vs 1. 16. 8, 9.

What things are to be considered, that the doctrine of the Prouidence of God, may be referred to a right hand, that we haue the profit thereof: and where the causes of those things that happen, appere not vnto vs, wee must beware that wee doe not thinke, that things are rolled by the sway of fortune: but we must so reuerence his secreet iudgements, that wee esteeme his will the most iust cause of all things. 1. 17. 1.

Against certaine dogges which at this daie doe barke against the Prouidence of God, it is prooued by the Scripture that whereas God hath so reuealed his will in the Lawe and the Gospell that hee illuminateth the mindes of them that bee his with the spirite of vnderstanding, to perceiue the mysteries therein contained, which otherwise are incomprehensible, yet the order of governing the world is called a bottomlesse depth, he cause when we knowe not the causes thereof, yet we ought reuerently to honor it. 1. 17. 2.

Such prophane men do foolishly comber themselves, when they alleage that if the doctrine of the Prouidence of God be true, then the prayers of the faithfull in which they aske anie thiug for time to come are

vaine, no counsell is to be taken for things to come, and then men which do any thing against the Lawe of God, doe not sinne : These dangerous errours they shall auoid, which in considering the Prouidence of God, shall frame themselues to true modestie. 1. 17. 3.

As concerning things to come, it is prooued that the Scripture doth well ioyne the aduisements of men with the Prouidence of God : because wee are not hindered by his eternall decrees, but that vnder his will, we may both foresee for our selues, and order our owne things : For the knowledge of consulting and taking heede, are inspired into men by the Lord, whereby we may serue his Prouidence, in the preferring of our own life. 1. 17. 4.

In all successes of time past the will of God doth gouerne: and yet the doers of wicked deedes are not excused, because they are accused by their owne conscience, and doe not obey the will of God, but their owne lust. They are indeed the instruments of Gods prouidence, but so, that they finde the whole cull in themselues, and in God is founde nothing but a lawfull vse of their euilnesse. 1. 17. 5. and 1. 18. 4. Where also the same thing is shewed in the election of king *Ieroboam*, the tenne tribes forsaking the house of *Dauid*, the slaughter of the sonnes of *Ahab*, and in the betraying of the sonne of God.

A godlie and holie meditation of the Prouidence of God, which is taught by the rule of godlinesse : first that being certainly perswaded that nothing happeneth by fortune, wee alway cast our eyes to God the chiefe cause of all things : then that wee doubt not that his singular Prouidence watcheth for vs, whether we haue to do with men as well euill as good, or with his other creatures : To which vse we must applie the promises of God in the scripture which testifie the same, the examples whereof are rehearsed. 1. 17. 6.

We must also adioyne those testimonies of Scripture which teach that all men are vnder the power of God, whether we neede to get their good wils or restrain the mallice of our enemies : which last pointe God worketh diuers waies, sometime by taking

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taking away their wit, sometime when hee granteth them wit, he fraieth them that they dare not go about that which they haue conceiued: and sometime also when he suffreth them to go about it, he breaketh their enterprises: Vpon which knowledge necessarilie followeth a thankfulness of minde in so prosperous successe of things. 1. 17. 7.

In aduersitie when wee are hurt by men, is required patience and quiet moderation of minde: Which is shewed in the examples of *Ioseph* being afflicted of his brethren, *Iob* persecuted of the Chaldees, and *Dauid* railed vpon of *Semei*. If we happen to be distressed with any myserie without the worke of men, this selfesame doctrine is the best remedie against impatience because the scripture testifieth, that euen aduersities also do come from God. 1. 17. 8.

A Godly man principally regarding the prouidence of God, yet will not leaue inferior causes vnmarked. Therefore if hee haue receiued a benefite of any man, he will hartily know and confesse himselfe to be bound vnto him. If hee haue taken harme or done harme to any other by his negligence or want of heede, he will impute it vnto himselfe, much lesse will he excuse his owne offences. In things to come chiefly hee will haue consideration of inferior causes, but yet so that in determining he wil not be carried away with his own wit, but comit himselfe to the wisdom of God: neither shall his trust so stay vpon outward helpe, that he will carelesly rest vpon them if hee haue them, nor be dismayed for feare if hee want them. 1. 17. 9.

A large description of the inestimable felicitie of a godly minde which resteth vpon the prouidence of God: and on the other side the miserable carefulness wherewith we must needs be distressed when the weakenes of this earthly cottage maketh vs subiect to so many diseases, sith our life and safetie is besieged with infinite dangers at home, abroad, vpon the land, in the water, by men, and by diuels. 1. 17. 10, 11.

Those places of Scripture, where it is saide that God repented him: make nothing against the doctrine of Prouidence, forasmuch as therein (like as also when hee is saide to be angry) the scripture applying it

selfe to our capacitie describeth him, not such as he is, but such as we feele him to be. Likewise, where he spared the Ninivites, to whom hee had threatened destruction within forrie daies: whereas he prolonged the life of *Ezechias* for many yerres, to whom he had declared present death: because such threatenings containe an vnexpressed condition. Which is well prooued by a like example in king *Abimelech*, which was rebuked for *Abrahams* wife. 1. 17. 12, 13, 14.

A confutation of them which coueting to get a praise of modestie, goe about to maintaine the righteousnesse of God with a lying defence, when they say: that those things which Satan and all the reprobate do naughtily, are done by the sufferance of God, and not by his prouidence and will. And it is prooued by the affliction of *Iob*, the deceiuing of *Achab*, the killing of *Christ*, the incestuous adulterie of *Abolon*, and manie other examples, that men doe worke nothing but that which hee hath already decreed with himselfe, and doth appoint so to be by his secret direction. 1. 18. 1.

And this hath place, not onely in outward doings, but also in secret motions. For it is prooued by the hardning of *Pharao*, and other testimonies, that God worketh euen in the mindes also and harts of the wicked. Neither maketh it any thing to the contrary, that oftentimes the worke of Satan is vsed therein: for God worketh neuertheles, but after his own maner, vsing a iust reuenge 1. 18. 2. therefore God is not the author of sins. Sect 4.

They are prooued guiltie of intollerable pride, which refuse this doctrine vnder pretence of modestie. A confutation of their obiection when they say, that if nothing happen but with the will of God, then hath hee in himselfe two contrary wils, forasmuch as he doth appoint those things to be done by his secret counsell, which he hath openlie forbidden by his lawes. And there is shewed, that God doth not disagree with himselfe, that the will of God is not changed, that hee doth not faime himselfe to nill that which hee willeth: but whereas there is in God, but one simple will, the same to vs appeereth diuers, because for the weaknes of our vnderstanding, we conceiue not how he diuersly

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diuersly both willet not, and willet one selfe thing to be done. Finally it is prooued by *Augustine*, that man sometime with good will willet some thing which God willet not: and sometime willet that thing with euill will, which God willet with good will. 1. 18. 3.

The consideration of Gods power in gouerning this frame of heauen and earth, and all the partes that are in them. 1. 5. 5.

The fellowship of men is so gouerned by the prouidence of God, that hee sheweth himselfe liberall, mercifull, righteous, and seuer. 1. 5. 6.

Those things which in the life of men are counted chaunces, as well of prosperitie as aduersitie are so many tokens of the heauenly prouidence, 1. 5. 7. and ought to awaken vs to the hope of the life to come, Sect 9.

How God worketh in the harts of them that be his, and Sathan in them that be his, but yet so, that they are not excused. 2. 4. 1.

God worketh also in the wicked, and euen in the same worke wherein Sathan worketh, and yet is not God so said to be the author of sinne, neither is Sathan or the wicked excused, but there is difference betwene the one and the other, both in the end and manner of doing. 2. 4. 2, 5.

The olde writers oftentimes referred these things, not to the working of God, but to his foreknowledge or sufferance, least the wicked shoulde thereby take occasion to speake irreuerently of the workes of God. But the Scripture when it saith that God blindeth, hardeneth, and such like, declareth somewhat more than a sufferance: although God doe worke two waies in the reprobate, namely by forsaking them, and taking his Spirit from them, and also by deliuering them to Sathan the minister of his wrath. 2. 4. 3, 4.

The ministerie of Sathan is vsed to stirre forward the reprobate, when soeuer the Lord by his prouidence directeth them hither or thither. 2. 4. 5.

Purgatorie.

Wee ought not to winke at the doctrine of Purgatorie, for as much as it is a damnable inuention of Sathan which maketh void the crosse of Christ, &c. 3. 5. 6.

An exposition of certaine places of scripture which the Papistes doe wrongfully wrest to the confirmation of their Purgatorie. 3. 5. 7, 8, 9.

An answer to the obiection of the Papists, that it hath bene an ancient vsage of the Church that prayers should be made for the dead. Where is shewed that this was done by them in the olde time, without the word of God, by a certaine wrongfull imitation, least Christians if they were slowe in hauing care of funerals and the dead, should seeme worse than heathen men. Yet herein was a great difference between this slipping of these old men, and the obstinate error of the Papists. 3. 5. 10.

R.

Redeemer Christ.

THe knowledge of God the Creator is vnprofitable vnto vs, vlesse faith doe also follow, setting him forth in Christ a Father and Redeemer to vs, and this doctrine from the beginning of the world in all ages hath bene holden among the children of God. 2. 6. 1.

It is' prooued by diuers arguments and testimonies of scripture, that the happy state of the Church hath alway bene grounded vpon the person of Christ. For both the first adoption of the chosen people, and the pre-seiuing of the Church, the deliuerance of them in perils, and the restoring after their dissipation, did alway hang vpon the grace of the Mediator. And the hope of all the godlie was neuer reposed any other where than in Christ. 2. 6. 2, 3, 4.

It is to be diligently considered how Christ hath fulfilled the office of redeemer, that we may finde in him all things necessarie for vs, sith (as *Bernard* saith) he is to vs light, meate, oyle, salt, &c. 2. 1. 6. 1.

An exposition how we shoulde say that God was our enemy vntill he was reconciled to vs by Christ, whereas to giue Christ to vs, and to preuent vs with mercie, were signes of the loue wherewith he before embraced vs. And there is shewed that the Scripture vseth this speech and such other, to apply it selfe to our capacitie: and yet it doth not the same falsly. And all this is prooued by the authoritie of Scripture, and the testimonie of *Augustine*. 2. 1. 6. 2, 3.

Regeneration.

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Regeneration.

Against certaine Anabaptists, which inuent a phrentike intemperance in steede of spirituall Regeneration, namely that the children of God being now restored into the state of innocencie, ought no more to be carefull to bridle the lust of the flesh, but onely to followe the spirite for their guide. 3.3.14.

The rest pertaining to this matter, see in the title of *Repentance.*

Religion.

Necessitie enforceth the reprobate to confesse that there is some God. 1.4.4.

They are deuced which say that Religion was deused by the suttletie of certaine men to holde the simple people in order. 1.3.2.

The very wicked and godlesse men are compelled whether they will or no to feele that there is a God. 1.3.2. and in what sense *Dauid* saith, that they thinke that there is no God. 1.4.2.

Remission of sinnes.

Against them which dreame a perfection in this life, which taketh away neede of asking pardon. 3.20.45.

Of Remission of sinnes: and in what sense sinnes are called debtes, and how wee are saide to forgiue other that haue offended against vs 3.20.45.

Of the distinction of fault and paine: where with most strong testimonies of scripture the dotting error of the Papists is confuted, namely that when the fault is forgiuen, yet God retaineth the paine, which remaineth to bee redeemed with satisfactions. 3.4.29,30. and there also is shewed that they cannot scape away with their distinction betwene euerlasting paine and temporall paines.

Of certaine places of Scripture wherewith they goe about to confirme their error: where is declared that there are two kindes of the iudgement of God: the one of Vengeance, the other of chastisement, which are wisely to be distinguished asunder. 4.4.31.

The first of these, that is to say, vengeance, the faithfull haue alway earnestly praied to escape: the other that is to say, chastisement, they haue received with

quiet minde, because it hath a testimonie of loue. And where it is saide that God is angrie with his Saints, the same is not meant of his purpose or affection to punish them, but is spoken of the vehement feeling of sorrow wherewith they are stricken so soone as they beare any part of his seueritie: and this is profitable for them. On the other side the reprobate, when they are stricken with the scourges of God doe alreadie after a certaine manner begin to feele the paines of his iudgement. Al which things are prooued by testimonies of the Scripture, and also by the expositions of *Chrysofome* and *Augustine*. 3.4.32,33.

God when hee had forgiuen the adulterie of *Dauid*, chastised him both for common example, and also to humble him: and for this reason hee daily maketh the faithfull (to whome hee is mercifull) subiect to the common miseries of this life. 3.4.35.

An exposition of the article of the Creed concerning Remission of sinnes. 4.1.20,21.

The keyes were giuen to the Church, to forgiue sinnes, not onely to men at their first conuersion to Christ, but to the faithful all their life long. 4.1.22.

This doctrine is prooued by testimonies of Scripture against the Nouatians, and certaine of the Anabaptists which saine that the people of God are by baptisme regenerate into an angelike life, & afterwarde there remaineth no pardon for them that fall. 4.1.23,24,25,26,27.

A confutation of them which make a voluntarie transgression of the lawe a sinne vnardonable. 4.1.28.

Repentance.

Repentance commeth of faith, and goeth not before it. 3.3.1.

A confutation of their reasons, which thinke otherwise, but hereby is not signified any space of time wherin faith breedeth repentance: but onely is shewed that no man can earnestly endeouour himselfe to Repentance vnlesse he know himselfe to be Gods. Of the error of certaine Anabaptists, Iesuits, and such other, which appoint to their nouice certaine daies for repentance. 3.3.2.

Certaine learned men long before this time, made two partes of Repentance, namely

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namely Mortification, which they commonly call contrition, Viuification which they wrongfully expound to be comfort by the feeling of the mercy of God: whereas it rather signifyeth a desire to liue well. 3.3.3.

They doe also make two other sortes of Repentance, the one of the Law, the other of the Gospell: where also are shewed examples of either sort out of the Scripture. 3.3.4.

A true definition of repentance taken out of the Scripture, & here Repentance though it cannot be seuered, yet ought to be distinguished from Faith. 3.3.5.

A plainer declaration of the definition of Repentance: where first is shewed, that there is required a turning to God, that is to say, an alteration, not onely in outward works, but also in the soule it selfe. 3.3.6. then that it proceedeth of an earnest feare of God: where also is entreated of the sorrowfulnesse that is according to God. 3.3.7.

Thirdly, that saying is declared that Repentance consisteth of two partes, the Mortification of the flesh, and the quickening of the Spirit. 3.3.8.

Both those things doe we obtaine by partaking of Christ, the first by communicating of his death, the second of his Resurrection. Therefore Repentance is a new forming of the Image of God in vs, and a restoring into the righteousnesse of God by the benefite of Christ: and this restoring is not fulfilled in vs in one moment. 3.3.9.

But there remaineth in all the Saintes, while they liue in mortall body, matter of strife with their flesh, and so thought all the Ecclesiasticall writers that haue beene of sound iudgement: and specially *Augustine*, which calleth this nourishment of euil and disease of lusting in the elect, weaknesse, and sometime sinne: and indeede it is sinne. 3.3.10.

This is confirmed by the testimonie of *Paul*, and by the summe of the commaundementes. Whereas it is saide that God cleanseth his Church from all sinne, the same is spoken rather of the guiltines of sin, then of the matter of sinne it selfe, which

ceaseth not to dwell in the regenerate (but ceaseth to reigne in them) though it be not imputed. 3.3.11.

A declaration of the seven causes or effectes, or partes or affections of Repentance, which *Paul* rehearseth: Those be studie or carefulnesse, excusing, displeasure, feare, desire, zeale, reuenge. Whereunto also is added out of *Paul*, and declared by an excellent admonition of *Bernard*, that in such renewing we must keepe a measure. 3.3.15.

The fruites of Repentance are deuotion toward God, charitie toward men, holines and purenesse in all our life: but all these ought to begin at the inward affection of the hart, from whence outward testimonies may afterward spring foorth: where also is spoken of certaine outward exercises of Repentance, which the olde Writers seeme to enforce somewhat too much. 3.3.16.

Turning of the hart to God is the chiefe point of Repentance: Sackcloth and Ashes, weeping and fasting, were vsed of them in the olde time before Christ, as tokens of publike repentance: of which the two last may yet be vsed to appease the wrath of God in the miserable times of the Church. 3.3.17.

The name of Repentance or penance is vnproperly drawne from his naturall sense to this outward profession. Publike confession is not alway necessarie in sinnes: but priuate confession to God may neuer be omitted, wherein we ought to confesse not onely those things that we haue lately committed, but the displeasure of our greuous fall ought also to call vs backe to remembrance of our passed offences. Of speciall penance which is required of hainous offenders and certaine other: and of the ordinances which the children of God, euen the most perfect, ought to vse all their life long. 3.3.18.

God doth therefore freely iustifie them that be his, that he may also with the sanctification of his Spirit restore them into true righteousnesse: therefore *John*, Christ, and the Apostles preached Repentance and remission of sinnes. The effect of which saying is declared. 3.3.19.

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Christians ought to exercise themselves in a continuall Repentance, & he hath most profited, that hath learned most to mislike himselfe. 3. 3. 20.

Repentance is a singular gift of God, vnto which he calleth all men, which he giueth to all them whom hee purposeth to saue, and which the Apostle pronounceth, that it shall neuer be giuen to wilfull Apostataes whose wickednes is vnpardonable, that is to say, such as haue sinned against the holy Ghost. 3. 3. 8.

Although fained Repentance doth not please God, yet hee sometime for a season spareth hypocrites which make a shewe of some conuersion, which hee doth not for their sakes, but for common example, that we may learne more chearefully to giue our mindes to vnfayned Repentance: and this is prooued by the examples of *Ahab*, *Esau*, and the Israelites. 3. 3. 25.

The Schoole Sophisters doe fowlie erre in those definitions which they make of repentance, and no better doe they diuide it, when they parte it into contrition of hart, confession of mouth, and satisfaction of worke: where is entred of certaiue questions which they moue: whereupon is easilie gathered, that they babble of things which they know not, when they speake of Repentance. 3. 4. 1.

When they require those three things in Repentance they must needs binde thereunto forgiuencie of sinnes: And if it be so, then are we most miserable, forasmuch as we can neuer haue quietnes of conscience: which is prooued first in that contrition of hart such as they require. 3. 4. 2.

There is a great difference betweene the doctrine of such contrition, and that contrition which the Scripture requireth of sinners, that they truly hunger and thirst for the mercy of God. 3. 4. 3.

In what sense the olde writers thought that solemne penance, which was then required for heinous offences, might no more be effsoones done then Bapisme. 4. 1. 29.

Reason of Man.

Mans vnderstanding is not so to be condemned of perpetuall blindnesse, that we leaue it no whitte of vnderstanding in any

kinde of thing: but it hath some knowledge in as much as he is naturally caried with desire to search out truth: And yet this desire by and by falleth into vanitie, because the minde of Man cannot for dulnes keepe the right way to search out truth, and for the most parte he discerneth not of what things it is behoouefull for him to seeke the true knowledge. 2. 2. 12.

As touching earthly things it is prooued by examples that the minde of Man hath a sharpe vnderstanding, as first of households, sixth euery Man vnderstandeth that the fellowship of men must be holden together by lawes, and comprehendeth in minde the principles of those lawes. 2. 2. 13.

Also in liberal Artes and handy crafts for learning whereof, yea for amplifying and garnishing of the same, there is in man a certaine aptnesse, although some be more apt then other. But the light of reason and vnderstanding of men, is so a generall good qualitie in all men, that yet it is a free gift of Gods liberahitie towards euery man: which thing God sheweth when he createth some Idiots and dull witted: also when he maketh one man to excell in sharp invention, an other in iudgement, an other in quicknesse of minde, againe when he powreth into men singular motions according to cuerie mans calling, and according to the time and matter that is to be done. 2. 2. 14. 17.

The inuention of Artes, the orderlie teaching of deepe and excellent knowledge thereof, which appeare to haue bene in the olde Lawyers, Philosophers, Physitians, being prophane men, doe declare vnto vs, that the minde of men how much soeuer it be fallen from his first vprightness, is yet still garnished with excellent giftes of God. 2. 2. 15.

They are the giftes of the holy Ghost which the Lord giueth to whom hee will, euen to the vngodly for the publike benefite of mankind: therefore we ought to vse them although they be communicate vnto vs by the ministrerie of the wicked, to whom they are but transitorie and fleeting, because they are without the sound foundation of truth. 2. 2. 16.

It is shewed in the first two pointes that
mans

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mans reason seeth nothing that concerneth the kingdom of God and heavenly matters, which are contained in three things, that is to say, to know God, his fatherly fauour toward vs, and the way to frame our life according to the rule of his law. 2.2.18, and to that purpose are alleaged diuers testimonies of scripture. Sect. 19. 20. 21. In the thirde it seemeth that hee hath sonie more vnderstanding than in the other, for as much as man is instructed by the lawe of nature to a right rule of life. But such knowledge is vnperfect in the vnbeleeuers, and availeth to no other ende, but to make them vnexcusable: neither doe they by that naturall light, see the truth in euery thing. And here is expounded the saying of *Themistius*, that vnderstanding in the vniuersall definition is seldome deceiued, but the error is when it descendeth to particular causes, & there is shewed, that mans vniuersall iudgement in the difference of good and euill, is not alway sound and vpright. For it attayneth not those which are the chiefe things in the first table of the law, namely of confidence in God, &c. In the second table, although it haue some more vnderstanding, yet it appeareth that it sometime erreth: as when it iudgeth that it is an absurditie to suffer too imperious gouernment, and not to reuenge wrongs: also it knoweth not the disease of desire in the whole obseruation of the law. 2.2.22, 23, 24.

It is prooued by the Scripture, that the sharpenes of our reason in all the parts of our life, is nothing before the Lord, and our mindes do reape the grace of enlightening, not onely at the beginning, or for one day, but at euery moment. 2.2.25.

See vnder the title of freewill, certaine things pertaining to this matter.

Resurrection of Christ.

Without the resurrection of Christ all is vnperfect that we beleue concerning his crosse, death, & burial, therof we receiue three profitnes: forasmuch as it hath both purchased vs righteousness before God, and is to vs a pledge of the Resurrection to come, and by his life, we are now regenerate into newnes of life. 2.16.13.

A declaration of the historie of the Re-

surrection of Christ. 3.25.3.

Last Resurrection.

For as much as the faithfull, doe chiefly neede hope and patience, least they should faint in the course of their calling: hee hath soundly profited in the Gospell which is accustomed to a continuall meditation of the blessed Resurrection. 3.25.1, 2.

The article concerning the last Resurrection, containeth a doctrine of great weight, graue and hard to beleue: for the ouercoming of which hardnes by faith, the Scripture giueth two helps, the example of christ, and the almightines of God. 3.25.3, 4.

A confutation of the Sadduces, which denie the Resurrection: and of the Millenaries which appointe the kingdome of Christ to endure but a thousand yeeres. 3.25.5.

A confutation of their error, which imagine that soules at the last day shall not receiue againe the bodies wherewith they are now cloathed, but shall haue new and other bodies. 3.25.7, 8.

Of the maner of the last Resurrection. 3.25.8.

By what reason, the last Resurrection, which is a singular benefit of Christ, is common also to the wicked and the accursed of God. 3.25.9.

S.

Sabbath.

AN exposition of the fourth commandment, the end therof, and the three causes whereupon wee must note that it consisteth. 2.8.28.

The first cause is a shadowing of spiritual rest, that is to say, of our sanctification: this is prooued by diuers places to haue bene the chiefe thing in the Sabbath 2.8.29.

Why the Lord appointeth the seventh day. 2.8.30, 31.

This part, for as much as it was Ceremonial, is taken away by the death of Christ. 2.8.31.

The two later causes, that is to say, that there should be certaine daies appointed for assemblies in the church, & that there should be giuen to seruants, a rest from their labor, do serue for all ages. 2.8.32.

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Of

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Of daies of meeting in the church to hear the worde of God and common praier: where is spoken of obseruing of the Sunday. 2.8.32, 33. and of superstition to be auoided in this behalfe. 2.8.34.

Sacraments.

What is a Sacrament. 4.14.1.

For what reason the old writers vsed this word in that sense. 4.14.2, 13.

A Sacrament is neuer without a promise going before, which the Lord sealeth by that meane, wherein he prouideth helpe for our ignorance and dulnesse, and also for our weakenes. 4.14.3, 5, 6, 12.

A sacrament consisteth of the worde and the outward signe: but the sacramental word is to betaken otherwise than the papists think 4.14.4.

Sacraments cease not to be testimonies of the grace of God, although they be giuen also to the wicked, which do gather to themselves more grievous damnation thereby. 4.14.7.

Our faith is so confirmed by sacraments, that yet it hengerth vpon the inward effectuall working of the spirit. 4.14.9, 10, 11. and no vertue is to be put in the creatures. Sect. 12.

A confutation of the diuillish doctrine of the sophistical schooles, that the sacraments of the new law do iustifie and do giue grace, so that we do not stop it with deadly sinne. 4.14.14.

Augustines good distinction betweene a sacrament and thing of the sacrament, whereby is prooued that though God in Sacraments do truly offer Christ, yet the wicked receiue nothing but the sacrament, that is to say, the outward signe. 4.14.15, 16.

We must not thinke that there is ioyned or fastened to the sacraments any secreete vertue, whereby they by themselves do giue vs the graces of the holy Ghost. 4.14.17.

In the old time God gaue vnto his people some sacramentes in miracles and some in naturall things. And there is spoken of the tree of life and of the rainebowe. 4.14.18.

Sacramentes are on the Lordes behalfe testimonies of grace and saluation, and on our behalfe tokens of our profession. 4.14.19.

The sacramentes of the olde Church vnder the lawe, tended to the same ende that our sacramentes doe, that is to say, Christ: whom yet our sacraments do more plainly represent, wherefore the schoolemens doctrine is to reiected, which say, that the old sacraments did shew a shadow of the grace of God, and ours do giue it presently. 4.14.20, 21, 22, 23, &c.

The five falslie called Sacraments.

When we denie those five to bee Sacraments, which are inuented by men, we strue not about the name but the thing: because the papists will haue them to be visible forms of inuisible grace. 4.19.1.

Many reasons are brought, why it is not lawfull for men to make sacraments. Also there is a difference to be put betweene sacraments, and other ceremonies. 4.19.2.

The number of seauen sacraments cannot be prooued by the authoritie of the olde church. 4.19.3.

Although the old church vnder the lawe, had no sacraments, yet at this day, the christian Church ought to be content with those two, which Christ hath ordained: and it is not lawfull for men to make other, nor to ad vnto those any thing of their owne. 4.18.20.

Sacrifices.

A difference betweene the sacrifices of *Moses* his law, and the supper of the Lord in the christian church. 4.18.12.

What the name of a sacrifice properly signifieth: and of the diuers kinds of sacrifices vnder the lawe: which may be deuided into two sorts, whereof some may be called of thanksgiuing, and other some propitiatorie or of cleansing. 4.18.13.

Our onely propitiatorie sacrifice, is the death of Christ. Sacrifices of thanksgiuing we haue many, as all the duties of charitie, praier, praises, giuing of thanks, and all that we do to the worshipping of God. 4.18.13, 16, 17.

This maner of sacrificing is daily vsed in the church, and in the supper of the Lord: And thereupon all Christians are sacrificing priests.

Satisfactions Papiuicall.

Of satisfaction, which they make the thurde thing in penance, of retaining the paine,

paine, the fault being forgiven, and such like lies, which all are overthrown, by setting against the free forgiveness of sinnes, by the name of Christ. 3. 4. 25.

A confutation of the blasphemous error of the schoolemen, that forgiveness of sins, and reconciliation is once done in baptism, but after Baptisme we must rise againe by satisfactions. 3. 4. 26.

By such error, Christ is spoiled of his honor, & the peace of conscience is troubled, forasmuch as they can never certainly determine, that their sins are forgiven them. 3. 4. 27.

In *Daniel*, when *Nabuchadnezzar* is commanded to redeeme his sinnes with righteousness: that same redeeming is referred to God, rather than to men, and the cause of pardon is not there set forth, but rather the manner of true conversion. The same is to be saide of certaine other places of Scripture. 3. 4. 36.

An exposition of that place in the Gospell, *Many sinnes are forgiven her, because she hath loved much*: Meaning that love is not the cause, but the proove of forgiveness. 3. 4. 37.

The olde writers of the Church did not speake of satisfactions in such sense as the Papistes doe: for they vnderstand that the penitent doe make satisfaction to the Church, and not to God. 3. 4. 38, 39.

*Scripture, the Word of God,
and the authoritie
thereof.*

Men doe not sufficiently know God the creator, and discern him from fained gods, by consideration of his creatures, vnles they be also holpen by the light of the word. And God hath kept this order in teaching them that be his, not onely since that he chose the Iewes for his peculiar people, but also from the beginning, euen toward *Adam*, *Noe*, and the other Fathers. 1. 8. 1.

Either by oracles, or by visions, or by the ministerie of other, the Fathers had the word which they were certainly perswaded to be the word of God, whereby they knew the true GOD the creator and gouernor of all things: which word afterward, that he might provide for men in all ages, he caused to be written in the Law and the

Prophetes, as it were in publike registers. 1. 6. 2, 3. in which place also is prooued by testimonies of Scripture, that the doctrine of the word, must be ioyned to the consideration of creatures, least we conceiue a sicke knowledge of God.

Of them which say that the authoritie of Scripture hangeth vpon the iudgement of the Church, and in how ill case we should be, if it were so. 1. 7. 1.

This error is well confuted by the place of *Paul* in the second chapter to the Ephesians, where he saith that the faithfull are builded vpon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophetes. 1. 7. 2.

In what sense *Augustine* sayeth, that hee would not haue beleued the Gospell, vnles the authoritie of the Church did moue him: which place they doe caullously wrcit to the confirmation of their error. 1. 7. 3.

Although there be many other argumentes, which do prooue, yea, doe enforce the wicked to confesse, that the Scripture came from God, yet by none other meane than by the secret testimonie of the Holy Ghost, our hartes are truly perswaded that it is GOD, which speaketh in the Law, in the Prophetes, and in the Gospell. And this is prooued by many places of *Esaias*. 1. 7. 4, 5.

The orderly disposition of the wisdom of God, the doctrine sauoring nothing of earthliness, the goodly agreement of all the partes among themselves, and specially that baseness of contemptible wordes, vntering the high mysteries of the heauenly kingdome, are second helpes to stablish the credit of Scripture. 1. 8. 1, 2, 11.

Also the antiquity of the Scripture, whereas the bookes of other religions, are later than the bookes of *Moses*, which yet doth not himselfe inuent a new God, but setteth forth to the Israelites, the God of their fathers. 1. 8. 3, 4.

Whereas *Moses* doth not hide the shame of *Leui* his Father, nor the murmuring of *Aaron* his brother, & of *Mary* his sister, nor doth aduance his owne children: the same are argumentes, that in his bookes is nothing fained by man. 1. 8. 4.

Also the miracles which happened, as well at the publishing of the law, as in all the rest of time. 1. 8. 5.

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Which miracles, when the prophane writers could not deny, they cauled, that *Moses* did then by Magicall Artes. Which sclander is confuted by most strong reasons. 1.8.6.

Also whereas *Moses* speaking in the person of *Israhel*, assigneth the government to the Tribe of *Juda*, and where he telleth before of the calling of the Gentiles, whereof the one came to passe foure hundred yeeres after, and the other almost two thousand yeeres: these are arguments, that it is God himselfe which speaketh in the Bookes of *Moses*. 1.8.7.

Whereas *Esay* telleth before of the captiuitie of the Iewes, and their restoring by *Cyrus* (which was borne a hundred yeeres after the death of *Esa*) and where *Ieremie* before that the people was ledde away appointeth their exile to continue three score and tenne yeeres, whereas *Ieremy* and *Ezechiel*, being farr distant in places the one from the other, doe agree in all their sayings, where *Daniel* telleth before of things to come, for sixe hundred yeeres after: these are most certaine prooues, to stablish the authoritie of the Bookes of the Prophetes. 2.8.3.

Against certaine vngodly scoffers which aske how we know that those are the writings of *Moses* and the Prophetes, which are read in their names: and how we know that there was euer any such *Moses*. 1.8.9.

Also of them that aske, from whence the copies of the Bookes of the Scripture came to vs, forasmuch as *Antiochus* commanded them all to be burned. And there is spoken of the wonderfull prouidence of God in preferuing them so many ages, among so many enemies, and so cruell persecutions. 1.8.10.

The simplicity of speech of the first three Euangelistes, containng heavenly mysteries, the phrase of *John* thundering from on high with weightie sentences, the heauenly maiestie shining in the writings of *Peter* and *Paul*, the sudden calling of *Matthew* from the boorde, the calling of *Peter* and *John* from their fisherbootes to the preaching of the Gospell, the conuersion and calling of *Paul* being an enemy to Apostleship, are signes of the holy Ghost speaking in

them. 1.8.11.

The consent of so many ages, of so sundrie nations, and of so diuersẽ munes in embracing the Scripture, and the rare godlinesse of some, ought to stablish the authoritie thereof among vs. 1.8.12.

Also the bloode of so many Martyrs which for the confession thereof, haue suffered death with a constant and sober zeale of God. 1.8.13.

Against certaine phrentike men, which forsaking the reading of Scripture and learning, doe boast of the Spirit and doe flie to reuelations. 1.9.1,2.

A confutation of their obiection, that it is not meete that the Spirit of God, to whom all things ought to be subiect, should be subiect to the Scripture. 1.9.2.

Also where they say that we rest vpon the letter which slayeth 1.9.3.

The Lord hath ioyned with a mutuall knot the certaintie of his doctrine and of his Spirit. 1.9.3.

Such as the beholding of the heauen and earth and other creatures doth depaint out God vnto vs, such doth the Scripture set him forth, that is to say, eternall, full of goodnesse, clemencie, mercie, righteoutnesse, iudgement and truth: and also to the same end. 1.10.1,2.

What is to be thought of the power of the church in exposition of scripture. 4.9.13

The Romish Doctors doe wrongfully abuse this colour to the confirmation of their errors and blasphemies 4.9.14.

Of singing in the Church.

Voyce and singing auale nothing in prayer, without affection of the harte 3.20.31.33.

Of the vsage of Singing in Churches. 3.20.32.

Single life.

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It is fond to defend the forbidding of mariage with the examples of the Leuiticall priests, which when they should go into the sanctuary lay asunder from their wiues. 4. 12. 25.

Sinne.

A confutation of *Platoes* saying, that men Sinne not but by ignorance: also of their opinion which say that in all Sinnes there is an aduised malice and frowardnes. 2. 2. 22, 23, 25.

Against the false imagination of the Sophisters concerning veniall finnes, which they cal desires without a determined assent, which do not long rest in the hart: it is prooued that every sinne, euen the lightest desire deserueth death, and is deadly, except in the saints which obtaine pardon by the mercie of God. 2. 8. 58, 59.

A confutation of their fonde distinction between deadly and veniall sins, and of their scander when they say that we make all sins equall. 3. 4. 28.

How it is to be expounded, that God visiteth the iniquitie of the Fathers vpon the children vnto the third and fourth generation: and whether such reuengement be vnseemely for the righteousnes of God. 2. 8. 19. 20.

Sinne against the holy Ghost.

The true definition of Sin against the holy Ghost, & examples thereof out of the scripture. 3. 3. 22.

It is not one or another particular falling, but a generall forsaking, the description whereof is declared by the Apostle. Neither is it any maruell if God wil be alwaies vnapeasable to them that haue so fallen. 3. 3. 23. forasmuch as he promiseth pardon onely to them that repent, which they shall neuer do. And though the scripture do say that some such haue groaned and cried, yet that was not repentance or conuersion, but rather a blind torment by desperation. 3. 3. 24.

Of the Soule.

That the Soule or Spirit of man is not onely a breath, but an immortall substance, although it were created, is prooued by conseruence, by the knowledge of God, & by so many excellent gifts wherewith the minde of man is endued, yea, and by those things which it conceiueth in sleepe, and also by many arguments taken out of the scripture. 1. 15. 2. Finally by this that it is said, that man was created after the image of God. Sect. 5.

Against them that vnder the colour of Nature do denie the prouidence and gouernance of God vnto it selfe in the maruelous and in a manner innumerable powers of the soule. 1. 5. 4, 5.

A confutation of the error of the *Manichees* and of *Seruetus*, that the soule is a deriuation of the substance of God: also of the error of *Osander*, which acknowledgeth no image of God in man without an essentiall righteousnes. 1. 15. 5.

Concerning the immortality of the soule, in a manner none of the Philosophers hath certainly spoken: but they doe binde the powers thereof to this present life, whereas the scripture doth so giue to it the chiefe rule in gouernance of life, that it also stirreth vp man to the worshipping of God. Also of the diuersitie of soules, and of the diuision of the powers of the soule according to the Philosophers. 1. 15. 6.

Another diuision more agreeable with Christian doctrine, that is to say, that the powers of the soule are vnderstanding and will: and the office and force of either of them in mans first estate. 1. 15. 7, 8.

That there yet remaineth somewhat of the seede of religion yet imprinted euen in the corruption of the soule. 1. 15. 6.

Of their error which thought that whole man perisheth by death, and that the soules at the last shall rule againe with the bodies. 3. 25. 6.

Of the state of soules from death to the last day. 3. 25. 6.

A description taken out of *Bernarde*, of the miseries of a faithfull soule, being considered as it is in it selfe and of it selfe: and on the other side, of the assured glorying of a faithfull soule in Christ, which blotteth

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out all her vnworthinesse. 3. 2. 25.

Superstition.

The simplicitie of the superstitious doth not excuse them, because their blindnes is found to be mingled with vanitie, pride, and obstinacie. 1. 4. 1. 3.

When superstition goeth about to please God, it mocketh him with lying colours. 1. 4. 3.

The superstitious do not approche vnto God but against their will and with seruile feare. 1. 4. 4.

Whosoeuer do corrupt the true religion, although they follow the consent of antiquitie or the custome of any citie, yet they depart from the one and true God. 1. 5. 12.

It is proued by the etymologic of the words *Superstition*, *Religion*, *Eusebeia* or godlines, what difference is betwene Religion and superstition. 1. 12. 1.

The craft of superstition, when graunting the chiefe place to the one God, it besetteth him with a rout of smaller Gods. 1. 12. 1, 3.

Supper of the Lord.

Of the bread and wine the signes in the holy supper: and it is declared by his own words at his Supper, why the Lord willed that we should vse them. 4. 17. 1.

Wee gather a great fruit of confidence and sweetnesse out of this sacrament, which testifieth that wee are so growen together into one bodie with Christ, that whatsoever is his, wee may lawfully call it ours. 4. 17. 2.

This is declared by the words of the supper. 4. 17. 3.

The chiefe office of the sacraments is not to giue vnto vs the body of Christ without any higher consideration, but rather to seale that promise wherein hee testifieth that his flesh is verily meat. 4. 17. 4.

The supper maketh not Christ then first to beginne to bee the bread of life, but that wee should feele the force of that bread. He once gave his flesh for the life of the world, & dayly giueth it to them that bee his. Wee must beware that we do not too much abace or aduance the signes. The eating of the flesh of Christ is not faith, but rather the effect of faith. 4. 17. 5.

So thought *Chrysostome* and *Augustine*: and in what sense *Augustine* said, that in beleeuing we eat the flesh of Christ. 4. 17. 6.

They do not say enough, which passing ouer the mention of flesh and bloode, doe thinke that wee are made partakers onely of the spirite of Christ. The mysterie of the Supper is so great, that neither the tongue can expresse with speaking, nor the heart comprehend with thinking the greatnesse thereof. 4. 17. 7.

How faine the perfect communicating of Christ extendeth. Where is declared that Christ, which from the beginning was the life giuing word of the father, made the flesh which he took vpon him to be also life giuing to vs. 4. 17. 8, 9.

The faithfull doe truly eate of the same flesh howe great distance of places soeuer there be between them and it. 4. 17. 10.

The mysterie of the supper consisteth of two things, the bodily signes, and the spiritual truth: Which spiritual truth containeth three things, signification, matter, and effect. 4. 17. 11.

Of the transubstantiation of bread & wine into the body and blood of Christ, which the craftsmen of the court of *Rome* haue forged. 4. 17. 12, 13. &c. & 20.

They are without testimony of antiquity. And in what sense the old writers said, that in the consecration is made a secret turning. Also the signification of the supper agreeth not, vnlesse the substance of the outwarde signes remaine. 4. 17. 14.

The bread is a sacrament to none but to men to whom the worde is directed. And heere are confuted certaine arguments of the teachers of transubstantiation. 4. 17. 15.

Of some men, which though they do at one word graunt that the substance of the signes remaineth, yet placing the body of Christ in breade and vnder breade, they fall backe into the locall presence, and saine a being euery where. 4. 17. 16, 17, 18, 20.

A confutation of their obiections. 4. 17. 21, 22, 23. &c.

It is proued that this doctrine is not maintained, neither by the testimony of *Augustine*, nor by authoritie of scripture. 4. 17. 28. 29. 30. 31.

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A confutation of certaine other of their obiections, and chiefly of this that they say, that whatsoever wee teach of spirituall eating, is against the true and reall eating: where also is declared that the body of Christ is in the supper offered to the infidels, but they receive it not. 4.17.33.

Neither can the saying of *Augustine* bee drawn to this purpose, that the Sacraments are nothing appeared by the infidelitie of men. Which is proved by diuerse other testimonies of the same man. 4.17.34.

How the body and bloud of Christ is giuen to vs in the Supper, and what maner of presence of Christ we ought to hold therein. 4.17.18,19,32.

Of the exposition of the words of Christ in the supper. 4.17.20,21.

The body of Christ is contained in quantitie, and comprehended in heauen vntill the last day, as it is proued by the scriptures, 4.17.26,27.

Of the papistes carnall adoration, and concomitance, and consecration of the host (as they call it) and carrying it about in pompe. 4.17.35,36,37.

The mysterie of the supper ought to stirre vs vp to giuing of thanks, to exercise vs in remembreing the death of Christ, to kindle vs to holines of life, and chiefly to charity. 4.17.37,38.

In the papacie the Supper (the true ministracion whereof is not without the word) is turned into a dumme action. And heere is spoken of the laying vp of the Sacrament to bee extraordinarily distributed to sicke men. 4.17.39.

The doctrine of the papistes, when they go about to prepare men to the worthinesse of eating the body of Christ, doth in cruell wise torment consciences: And the diuell coulde not by any readier way destroy men. Of the best remedie to auoid this destructi-on. They erre which in the supper doe require of the faithfull perfection of faith. 4.17.41,42.

As touching the outwarde vsage of the ministracion of the Supper, there are manie things indifferent: And how it ought to be ministred most comely. 4.17.43.

Of the small assemblie at this daie at the partaking of the Supper, which is a

token of contempt, wherewith the holy fathers in olde time were much displeas'd: And how the custome which commandeth men to communicate once euery yeere, was a most certaine inuention of the diuill. 4.17.44,45,46.

It is proued by authoritie of the scripture and by the vsage of the old Church, fower hundred yeeres before the death of *Gregory*, and by many other argumentes, that the constiuitiion which tooke away from laie men the cup of the Lord, came out of the diuels worke-shop. 4.17.47,48,49,50.

Of the concomitance of the bloud in the flesh of Christ, which is a popish inuention. 4.17.47.

The Supper of the Lord is profanely abused, if it be giuen to all men without choice. Of the dutie of ministers in reiecting the vnwoorthie. 4.12.5.

A brieve sum of those things which wee ought to knowe concerning the two Sacraments. And why the supper is oftentimes ministred, and Baptisme but once. 4.18.19.

Swearing.

An exposition of the thirde commandement, in which these three things are con-reined, that we neither thinke or speake anie thing of God, nor of his word and honorable mysteries, nor yet of any of his workes, otherwise than reuerently. 2.8.22.

A definition of Swearing: where is declared that it is a kinde of worshipping of God. And therefore wee must beware that our othes containe not any dishonor to the name of God, which is done in forswearing: or any contempt of it, which is done in superfluous othes, or in which the name of any other than God is vsed. 2.8.23,24,25.

It is proued by Scripture against the Anabaptists: that all othes are not forbidden vs, that Christ in the Gospell changed nothing as touching the rule of Swearing, set forth in the lawe. 2.8.26. Which is proued by his owne example: and not onely publike, but also priuate othes are permitted, keeping the moderation which the lawe commandeth. 2.8.27.

T

Temples.

OF Temples of Christian men for assemblies of the congregation. 3.20.30.

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It is prooued by the authoritie of the old Church, and the reasons of *Augustine*, that it is not expedient, that there shoulde bee any images in Christian temples. 1. 11. 13.

The preaching of the word and the Sacramentes, are liuely images which onely are fit to bee in Christian Temples, 1. 11. 7. 13.

The wickednesse of the Nycene Synode which was holden by the commandement of *Irene* the Emperesse, and the filthy follies thereof in allowing images in Temples, and the worshipping of them. 1. 11. 14, 15, 16.

Of the garnishing of Temples and holie things in the olde Church. 4. 4. 8. and 4. 5. 18.

Temprations.

Of diuerse kindes of Temprations: and in what sence it is said that God tempteth vs. 3. 20. 46.

Testament, old, and new.

Of the likenes of the old, and new Testament: Where is declared, that they are all one in substance and matter, but onely doe differ in ministracion. The likenes standeth chiefly in three points. 2. 10. 1, 2.

The first point is, that the old Testament did not holde the fathers in earthly felicitie, but had chiefe regarde to the life to come. Which is prooued by *Paul*, which saith that the promises of the Gospell are contained vnder it. 2. 10. 3.

The same also is prooued by the lawe and the Prophetes: First, by considering the wordes of the couenant: *I am your God*. 2. 10. 7, 8.

Againe, *I will bee the God of your seed after you*. Sect. 9. Also by the life of the holy Fathers, as *Adam*, *Abel*, *Noe*, Sect. 10. *Abraham*, Sect. 11. *Isaac*, *Iacob*, Sect. 12. 13. 14. And by many testimonies of *Dauid*. Sect. 15, 16, 17, 18. Of *Iob*, Sect. 19. Generally of all the latter prophets. Sect. 20. But namely of *Ezechiel*. Sect. 21. Of *Esaie* and *Daniel*. Sect. 22. A conclusion of this point with rehearsing certaine testimonies out of the new Testament. Sect. 23.

The second point is that the olde Testament did not stand vpon the merits of men, but vpon the free mercie of God. The third point is that the couenant of the Fathers

with God, did then stand vpon like knowledge of Christ the mediator. 2. 10. 4.

Also in signification of Sacraments the Israelites vnder the law were equal with the Christian people. 2. 10. 5, 6.

There are fower differences of the olde Testament from the newe, whereunto we may adde a fift. The first is, that although in the old time also the Lords wil was to direct the soules of his people to the heauenly inheritance: Yet to the ende that they might bee the better nourished in the hope thereof, hee gaue it them to bee beholden, and after a certaine manner tasted vnder earthly benefices. But nowe the grace of the life to come, being more cleerely reueiled by the Gospell, hee directeth our mindes the straight way to the meditation thereof, leauing which inferiour manner of exercising which hee vsed among the Israelites. 2. 11. 1.

Therefore the old Church is compared to an heire vnder age, which is gouerned by Gardians 2. 11. 2.

For this reason, the fathers so much esteemed this life, and the blessings thereof. 2. 11. 3.

The second difference is in figures wherewith the olde Testament did shewe forth the image and shadowe of spirituall good things. The newe Testament giueth the present truth and perfect bodie. There is also a reason shewed why the Lorde kept this order: And a definition of the old testament 2. 11. 4.

In this sence it is saide, that the Iewes were by the introduction or schooling of the lawe ledde vnto Christ: before that he was deliuered in the flesh. 2. 11. 5. which appeared in the most excellent Prophetes that were endued with singular grace of the spirite. Sect. 6.

The third difference, is taken out of the one and thirtie Chapter of *Jeremie*, and the thirde Chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians, that the old Testament is littall, and the new Testament is spirituall: the old bringeth death, the newe is the instrument of life. 2. 11. 7, 8.

The fourth difference is, that the Scripture calleth the olde Testament, the Testament of bondage, because it engendreth

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fear in mens mindes: but the new is called the Testament of libertie, because it raiseth them vp to confidence and surterie. The three latter differences are comparisons of the lawe and the Gospell. The first containeth also the promises made before the law. The fathers liued so vnder the lawe and the olde Testament, that they staid not there, but alwaies aspired to the new, yea and embraced a certaine communicating thereof.

2.11.9,10.

The fifth difference is, that before the coming of Christ, the Lorde had seuered one nation, in which hee would keepe the covenant of his grace, in the meane time neglecting all other nations. So the calling of the Gentiles is a certaine signe, where-with the excellencie of the new Testament is set forth about the olde: a thing so incredible, that it seemed yet newe to the Apostles themselves, being exercised in reading of the Prophets, and endued with the holy Ghost 2.11.11,12.

A conclusion of this matter, and an answer to diuers objections of some men, which saie that this varietie in the Church, this diuerse manner of teaching, so great change of vsages and ceremonies, is a great absurditie. Where is declared that the constancie of God appeereth in this chaunging, and hee hath done nothing but wisely, righteously, and in mercie, when he gouerneth his Church, after one sort in childhood, and after another sort in riper age, and also when hee did keepe close in one people the shewing forth of his grace before the coming of Christ, which afterwarde he powred forth vpon all nations.

2.11.13,14.

Theft.

An exposition of the eight Commandement: where is intreated of diuers kindes of Theft, and some which although men iudge other wise, yet are accounted Thefts before God. And so hee that doth not performe that which by the office of his calling hee oweth to other, is a Theefe.

2.8.45.

What we ought to do, that we may obey this commandement, is shewed by diuers examples according to the diuersitie of persons and offices. 2.8.46.

Traditions.

For as much as the Lord, willing to teach a rule of true righteousnesse, hath drawn all the partes thereof to his owne will, thereby it appeereth, that all the good workes which men deuise of their owne wits, are nothing woorth before him: But the true worshipping standeth vpon obedience onely, which is the beginning, mother, and preseruer of all vertues. 2.8.5.

Of Traditions of men, that is to say, ordinances proceeding from men, concerning the worshipping of God: And of the vngodlinesse and necessitie of them. 4.10.1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8.

A diuision of popish constitutions, which they call Traditions of the Church, into such as containe ceremonies, and other which are said to pertaine to discipline. The wickednesse of both sortes, because they place the worship of God in them, and consciences are bound with precise necessitie of them. 4.10.9.

For them the commandement of God is made voide 4.10.10.

A true marke of mens Traditions, which ought to be reiected of the Church, and of all godly men. 4.10.16.

A confutation of the pretence which some men vse that defende Popish Traditions to bee of God, because the Church cannot erre, and is gouerned by the holy Ghost. 4.10.17.

It is a meere mockerie to say, that the Apostles were authors of the Traditions, wherwith the Church hath heretofore been oppressed. 4.10.18, 19, 20.

The example of the Apostles, when they commanded the Gentiles to abstaine from things offered vnto Idols, from strangled, and from bloud, is falsly alleaged to excuse the tyrannie of the Popes lawes. 4.10.21, 22.

The Lords kingdome is taken from him, when hee is worshipped with the lawes of mens Traditions: which is propoed by examples and testimonies of scripture to haue alwaies bene a most hainous offence in the sight of God. 4.10.23, 24.

The inuentions of men cannot bee defended by the example of *Menoha*, which being a priuate man offered sacrifice, nor

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of *Samuel* which sacrificed in *Ramath*. 4. 10. 25. nor of *Christ* which willed men to beare the burdens that the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* did binde together. 4. 10. 26.

Of holy and profitable ordinances of the Church, and the ende that they tende vnto. 4. 10. 1.

Of such ordinances of the Church as ought to bee accounted holy, namely those which serue for comlineffe, or doe preferue order and peace in the Church. 4. 10. 27, 28, 29. We must wisely consider, which bee of that sort. 4. 10. 30.

It is the dutie of Christian people, to obserue such ordinances: And what errors herein are to be taken heede of: And howe in the meane time, the libertie of consciences may still bee preferued safe. 4. 10. 31, 32.

Tributes.

Of Tributes, Taxes, Impositions, and Finances, which are paid to Princes: And howe Princes may vse them with a good conscience. 4. 20. 13.

Trinitie.

In one simple essence of God, wee must distinctly consider three persons, or (as the Greekes call them) *Hypostases*. 1. 13. 2.

A confutation of them which in this matter doe condemne the name of person, and reiect it for newnesse. 1. 13. 3, 4, 5.

The holy doctors haue bene compelled to inuent certaine new wordes, to defende the truth of God against certaine subtil men, which mocked it out with shifting: as against *Arrius* they inuented this worde *Homoousion* Consubstantiall, and against *Sabellius* the name of three properties or persons. 1. 13. 4, 16.

The diuers sentences of *Hierome*, *Hilarie*, and *Augustine*, in the vse of theie wordes. 1. 13. 5.

What we call a person, when we entreat of the Trinitie. 1. 13. 6.

Of the error of *Seruetus*, in the taking of this word Person. 1. 13. 22.

As God hath more cleerely opened himselfe by the comming of *Christ*, so hee is since that time more familiarly made knowne in the three Persons. 1. 13. 16.

Testimonies of Scripture, whereby is shewed the distinction of the Father from

the Word, and of the Word from the Spirit. 1. 13. 17.

Also in the Scripture there is a distinction made of the Father, from the Word and the Spirit, and of the Spirit from them both, as well by obseruation of order, as by prophecies ascribed to them. 1. 13. 18.

This distinction of Persons maketh not against the most simple vnitie of God. 1. 13. 19.

In what sense the Fathers say, that the Father is the beginning of the Sonne, and yet that the Sonne hath his essence of himselfe. 1. 13. 19.

A brieve summe of those things which wee ought to beleue concerning the one essence of God & the three persons. 1. 13. 20.

And herein we must dispute soberly, and with great moderation, that neither our thought, nor our toong, doe passe beyonde the bonds of the word of God. 1. 23. 21.

A confutation of the doing errors of *Seruetus* in this point of doctrine. 1. 13. 22.

A confutation of the error of certaine lewde men, which say, that the Father is truly and properly the one onely GOD, which in making the Sonne and the holy Ghost, did powre his Godhead into them. 1. 13. 23.

It is false which they say, that when mention is made of God in the Scripture, onely the Father is meant thereby. 1. 13. 24.

Also it is false which they dreame of vndiuided substances, of which euery one hath a part of the essence. 1. 13. 25.

An answer to their obiection, that *Christ*, if he be properly God, is wrongfully called the sonne of God. 1. 13. 26.

An answer to many places which they bring out of *Irenaeus* for prooffe of their opinion, where hee affirmeth the Father of *Christ* to be the one onely and eternall God of *Israel*. 1. 13. 27.

Also to the places of *Tertullian*. Sect. 28.

It is prooued that *Iustine*, *Hilarie*, and *Augustine*, doe make of our side. 1. 13. 19.

The Sonne is of the same substance with the Father. 4. 8. 16.

V.

Last Vnction as they call it.

What manner of administration is of the Popish last Vnction, and in what forme

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forme of words : And how it cannot be defended by the authoritie of *James*, or by the example of the *Apostles*. 4. 19. 18.

Forasmuch as the grace of healing which was in the olde tyme giuen to the *Apostles*, hath long agoe ceased in the Church. Sect. 19. 20. And though it still remained, yet this their wicked obseruation is farre from that holie ceremonie of the *Apostles*. A declaration of the blasphemies thereof when they coniure the oyle, and ascribe vnto it that which is proper to the holie Ghost. 4. 19. 21.

Vocation.

See calling.

Vowes.

Of *Vowes* which are made against the expresse worde of *God*: whether they may well be vowed of *Christian men*, and howe they are to be esteemed. 4. 13. 1, 6.

Three things are to bee considered in *Vowes*: Who it is to whom we vowe, namely *God* which delighteth in obedience. 4. 13. 2. Who we be that do Vowe, that wee measure our owne strength and looke vpon our calling, that wee neglect not the benefite of libertie which *God* hath giuen vs. Sect. 3. And with what minde we Vowe. Sect. 4.

Of the *Priestes*, *Monkes*, and *Nonnes* Vowe of single life. 4. 13. 3, 17, 18, 19.

There be fower endes of *Vowes*, two haue respect to the time past, and two to the time to come. 4. 13. 4, 5.

There is one common Vowe of all the faithfull which they make in baptisme. 4. 13. 6.

Of the rashnesse and superstition of the world in making of *Vowes*. 4. 13. 1, 7.

W

Of Warres.

Warres are lawfull, when *Magistrates* are driuen of necessitie to take weapon in hand, to execute publike reuenge vpon those that trouble the peace of their dominion, whether they be ciuill or forreine enemies. 4. 20. 11.

It maketh not to the contrarie heereof, which manie alleage, that there is not in the newe Testament anie testimonie or example which prooueth that *Warre* is a thing lawfull for *Christians*. But *Magistrates* ought to take great heede, that in taking of

weapon in hand, they nothing at all followe their own lustes. As *Warre*, so *garisons* also, leagues and ciuill fortifications are things lawfull for *Christians* to vse. 4. 20. 12.

Will of God.

Of the secret will of *God*. Also of another Will, whereunto answereth *Willing obedience*. 3. 20. 43. and 3. 24. 1, 7.

Will of Man.

Whether the Will of man bee in euerie part through defiled and corrupted, so that it bringeth forth nothing but euill: Or whether it yet reteine some libertie of choise. Where is declared the common saying taken out of the *Philosophers*, that all things by naturall disposition couet that which is good. And there is shewed that the libertie of wil cannot be prooued thereby. 2. 2. 26.

The soule hath not onely a weake power but no power at all of it selfe to aspire to goodnes. And sith the whole man is subiect to the dominion of sin, it is prooued by testimonies of scripture and of *Augustine*, that the will of man is bound with most streight bondes. 2. 2. 27.

Man by his fall lost not his Will, but the soundnesse of his Will, so that hee cannot moone, much lesse applie himselfe to goodnes, but is necessarily drawn or lead vnto euill, howbeit not by compulsion but voluntarie. Which is prooued by *Augustine* and *Bernarde*. A large declaration of the difference betweene compulsion and necessitie. 2. 3. 5.

Sith the Lorde both beginneth and perfitteth good in our harts, sith he worketh in vs to will, that is to saie the good will, sith he createth a newe hart, taketh away the stonie hart and giueth a fleshy hart, it followeth, that the Will of man is vterlic corrupted and hath no goodnesse at all. 2. 3. 6.

It is cleerely prooued by reasons and diuerse testimonies of Scripture, that *God* worketh good will in them that bee his, not onely in preparing or turning them from the beginning so as it may afterwarde doe some good of it selfe. But because it is his onely worke that Will conceiue a loue of goodnes, that it is enclined to the studie thereof, that it is stirred and moued to an enduour.

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endeavour to followe it, and againe that the choise, studie, and endeavour doe not faint, but proceed to effect, finally that man goeth constantly forward in them and continueth to the end. 2. 3. 7. 8. 9.

Therefore it is prooued by the authoritie of Scripture & of *Augustine* that this which hath bin taught these many ages, that God so moueth our will, that it is afterwarde in our owne choise to obey or disobey his motion and other like sayings are viterly false. 2. 3. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Also in doings, which of themselves are neither righteous nor vnrighteous, and belong rather to the bodily than the spirituall life, the wil of man is not free, but by the speciall motion of God is enclined to clemencie, mercy, wrath, feare, and other diuerse affections, when it pleaseth him to make way for his prouidence. Which is prooued by scripture, by daily experience, and by the authoritie of *Augustine*. 2. 4. 6, 7.

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The same is shewed in them which being professed by Sacraments, are Christians onely in name, denying God in their deeds: Also in hypocrites which with vaine false colours doe hide the wickenes of their hart. 3. 14. 7, 8.

Finally, it is prooued that euen the children of God truly regenerated by his spirite, can not stande by any righteousness of their owne workes before the iudgement of God, because they can bring forth no good worke that is not sprinkled with some vncleannes of the flesh, and therefore damnable. Moreouer although they could bring forth anie such worke, yet one sin is enough to blot out the remembrance of all former righteousnesses. 3. 14. 9, 10, 11.

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World.

See Creation of the World.

THE ENDE OF THE TABLE.

TO THE CHRISTIAN AND STVDIOUS READERS OF this Booke, *Augustine Marlorate* wistheth health.



Hosouer shall reade and peruse these two Tables following, and especially the latter, may maruell what I meant (after so many impressions and corrections of this worke) to collect and gather all the places of holy Scriptures therein alleaged: and a great part of the authorities therein expounded, whereas if any fruit or profit thereof were to be had, the same long before might haue bene done: and especially about three yeeres past, when the author himselfe was so diligent therein: who besides the many and profitable additions (which it containeth) hee himselfe setting the same in order, with his owne handes, and reducing it to a most exact perfection did then set and publish it forth, in such sort, that in foure booke being diuided into Chapters and diuers Sections, hee hath right woorthily and in familiar manner, comprised the summe of the whole Christian Religion. And certainly I cannot denie but it would haue bene very good and commodious, if that any one man would haue taken the paine, faithfully and truly to haue collected those places: which thing I thought once to haue done by the aduise of the Imprinter, seeing that my charge and office did else where call mee, as also when I had perused and set it in another order than it was before, and had euen finished it, I was compelled to omit it, or at the least to surcease for the time. And after that this booke being put forth both in Latine and French, was set to sale in euery place, because I sawe no man who then did take the paine to reduce the places of Scriptures to a Table, and vnderstanding how profitable the same would be to all men: I could not choose but after my power, and as leasure serued in those troublesome times, to employ my whole care and trauell therein. And because all things should be done and come forth more certaine and in better order: I would not giue credite, nor trust to the numbers which the Imprinter had before set and made: for when I had diligently conferred them all, I found many false, many omitted, and some disorderly set: And surely that happeneth very soone to such as are not best skilfull in examining and perusing the places of holy Scripture to bee soone deceiued. Wherefore all things diligently restored, and that supplied which seemed to want, I did so order the places of Scripture collected out of the olde and new Testament, that if there were any, through forgetfulness, or by any other means omitted or ouerslipped: (as it cannot be but that in a great harvest some one eare of corne shall escape the reapers hande) I durst warrant so few shall be found, that this Table being brought to triall you shall not finde one much more plentifull or larger. Neuerthelesse I do pray and request the readers, that if they do finde any, they shal aduertise the Imprinter, whereby the same may better be examined and corrected. And this is to be noted, that such whole verses as I haue comprised in this Table, they were not wholly but in part alleaged, much lesse expounded in the Institution: which thing I did vpon good consideration. For oftentimes it happeneth that in diuers places of the Institutions, some authorities are alleaged, which are proued but by some part of the verse. And because in noting the places and numbers, we must

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use repetitions (which for the most part bring a lothsomeesse to the reader) I thought it better to put in the whole verse, than by often divisions, to use vaine and superfluous repetitions. And as concerning the commoditie which the reader may gather by this my trauell (besides that which by use and experience I am taught by these Tables, which for mine owne priuate studie and exercise I wrote vpon the Institutions heretofore set foorth) I durst to affirme this much that they which are not exercised in entreating the holy Scripture, and yet desirous to serue the Church of God, doe diligently endeavour themselves thereunto, they shall finde a large and plaine way, both with dexteritie to expound the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, as also aptly to apply the authorities here alleaged, and such like to the edifying of the Church, which is the very ende of the whole. And although wee want not good Commentaries to discover vnto vs the naturall sense of the Scripture, which we doe now studie and apply: yet because they who wrote the same, and who with good successe haue travelled therein, were contented with the plaine and sincere exposition of the text: none could tell by the use of the said Commentaries onely (vlesse they were well practised in the principles of religion) how and to what common place they ought to apply the argument then in hand. But who can be so contented to use this Table, when soeuer he shall finde the places which he entreateth, he shall see how and to what ende the same is to be applied, whether to the confirmation of true doctrine, or to the confuting of the aduersaries, or to the reconciling of such places as seeme to be repugnant. And this shall be very commodious and profitable, not onely for the amplifying of any argument, but also to satisfie them, which are desirous to be confirmed in the principall points of Christian Religion. For it is manifest how simple and slender is their oration and speech, which bring and alleage nothing else, but as they read in the Commentaries: where the authors themselves (being most woorthie and well learned) doe chiefly desire breuitie, because the readers should use and studie the common places themselves, to the ende they shoulde the more largely be applied to those things which in the Commentaries are but breefely expounded. Againe, for as much as we haue not alwaies in readinesse, what good authors haue written vpon the Scripture: and very few Commentaries vpon some bookes, and namely vpon this Institution, are to be found or had: This Table expounding the obscure and hard authorities, shall greatly further and helpe the readers. For they shall either finde some readie interpretation, or some entrance whereby to search and finde out the true sentence. And as touching the translation, I trust it shall not seeme strange to the reader, in that I haue rather followed the selfe same words, as they be in the Bible, than as they be alleaged by Caluini in this his Institution. For he being a man most excellently well learned, and of great reading (as by his works it doth appeere, how readie and familiar the Scriptures were to him) had not alwaies the bookes in readinesse, or lying open before him, when he wrote: neither was it necessarie that what soeuer he did auouch out of the old or new Testament, he should expresse or write it in the selfe same wordes: for it is sufficient, that the sense be faithfully retained, and the true proprietie of the wordes obserued, and so to eschew the cauillings of all men, saving such as will finde fault in that, which in the least part cannot be followed nor obserued. Being therefore perswaded, that neither he himselfe will be offended, nor the reader mislike, if the sentences in the Bible be translated according to the Hebrew, as concerning the olde Testament, and according to the Greeke, as touching the new Testament: I haue aduertured to aduouch the authorities of the Scriptures in another order (as concerning the wordes) than they are alleaged in this booke of Institutions. And therefore sometimes that which is recited in the thirde person, this Table doth expresse in the seconde, and so contrariwise: but yet so, that the sense and meaning is alwaies referued, which thing euerie man shall easily perceiue, if diligently and without hastie iudgement, he doe conferre euerie thing together: for else curious heads doe loose that fruite, which by aduised reading they might haue and receiue. And as concerning the names and numbers of the bookes, and of the Chapters of the olde Testament, we haue not followed the common translation, but that which is most agreeable to the Hebrew. And therefore we doe aduertise the readers, that they doe not take the first booke of the Kings, for the first of Samuel: nor the seconde of Kings, for the second of the same Prophet: which is so done by them, who heretofore haue quoted the Chapters in this imprinted booke, because they followed the Concordances of the Bible, called the great Concordances, which is collected according to the common translation: and by that meanes, as it may evidently appeere

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to all men some bookes of the Olde Testament are not lightly intituled: and the Psalmes otherwise and in another order diuided, than did the Hebrewes. And forasmuch as all the principall pointes of religion are in this Booke copiously and faithfully expounded, we may easilie refute the false opinions of the Adversaries. Whosoever shall come to the reading thereof, either with a minde to learne, or a desire to profite: there is no doubt, but he shall very much profite himselfe, and helpe others: whose consciences he may so strengthen and assure, as they neede not to quaille in any point, because they be assured, that their Faith is grounded vpon the firme foundation of the Propietes and Apostles, who wrote and spake, being inspired by the holy Ghost, who hath willed and commanded his most precious and deare word, to be read, heard, and handled, in all feare and reuerence, without adding thereunto, or taking from the same: leaſt we be woorthily reprocued of our folly. Let vs therefore, in all simplicitie and feare of God, read so wholesome and necessarie things, and dayly proceede therein, in the grace and knowledge of God, who onely is the Saviour, heade and Doctor of the Church: To whom now and for ever be all glory. *Calend. Maij. 1562.*

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*The first number signifieth the Booke, the second the Chapter,
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ANOTHER TABLE IN WHICH

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- 11 Let the earth shoot forth greene flourishing herbes, and bearing feede according to his kinde. 1.1.6.2
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- 5 Looke vp vpon the heauens, and number the starrs if thou canst, and he said vnto him, so shall thy seede be. 3.18.2
- 17 Therefore when the Sunne was set there rose a darke mist, and there appeared a smoking furnace, &c. 4.14.18
- 18 I will giue vnto thy seede this Countrey, from the floude of Ægypt vnto the great floud Euphrates. 4.16.11
- 16.2 Behold, the Lord hath shut me vp, that I should not bring fourth: goe thou into thy handmaide, if peraduenture at the least, &c. 3.2.31
- 5 And Sarai said to Abraham, thou dealest vnjustly with me. 2.10.11
- I gaue my hand-maid into thy bosome. 3. 2.31
- 9 And the Angell of the Lord saide vnto her, returne vnto thy mistres. 1.14.16
- 15 Agar brought fourth a sonne to Abraham. 2.10.11
- 17.2. I will make my agreement betweene me and thee, and I will multiple thee wonderfull much. 3.18.2
- 5 I haue ordained thee a Father of many Nations. 2.10.11
- 7 And I will put my couenant betweene me and thee: and betweene thy seed after thee in their generations by an euerlasting truce, that I may be thy God and the God of thy seede after thee. 2.8.21. & 2.10.9. & 2.13.1. & 4.15.20. & 4.16.3
- 10 Euery male of you shall be circumcised. 4.14.20. & 4.16.3
- 11 And you shall circumcise the flesh of your vncircumcision, and it shall be a signe of the league betweene me and you. 4.16.24
- 12 The child of 8. daies shal be circumcised amongst you, euery male in your generations. 4.16.5. & 4.16.6. & 4.16.30
- 13 And my couenant shall be in your flesh for an euerlasting league. 4.17.22
- 14 The male, the flesh of whose vncircumcision hath not bene circumcised,

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- that Soule shall be wiped out from amongst his people, because hee hath broken my couenant. 4.16.9
- 21 I will ordaine my couenant with *Isaac*. 4.14.5
- 18.1 The Lord appeared vnto him in the valley of *Mamre*. 1.14.5
- 2 There were three men appeared vnto him standing by him. 1.14.9
- 10 Returning, I will come vnto thee about this time, and thy wife *Sarai* shall haue a sonne. 3.18.2
- 23 If there shall be 50. iust in the cite, shall they perish also? and wilt thou not spare that place for 50. iust, if they shall be in it? 3.20.15
- 27 Because I haue begun once, shall I speake vnto my Lord, being duste and ashes? 1.1.2
- 19.1 And two Angels came to *Sodom* in the euening. 1.14.9
- 20.2 And he said of *Sarai* his wife, she is my sister. 2.10.11
- 3 Whether or no wilt thou die for the woman which thou broughtest? for she hath a husband. 2.17.14
- 18 For God did shut vp euerie wombe of the house of *Abimelech*, for *Sarai* the wife of *Abraham*. 2.8.19
- 21.2 And *Sarai* conceived, and bare a sonne to *Abraham* in hir age. 2.10.11
- 10 Cast out this handmaid and hir sonne. 2.20.11 & 4.2.3
- 12 All things that *Sarai* shall say vnto thee, haiken vnto hir, because in *Isaac* shall thy seede be called. 3.22.5
- 24 And *Abraham* said, I will sweare. 2.8.27
- 25 And *Abraham* blamed *Abimelech*, for the well of water which his seruants took away by force. 2.10.11
- 22.1 The which after they were done, God tempted *Abraham*. 3.8.4 & 3.20.46
- 2 Take thou thy onely sonne *Isaac*, whom thou louest, and goe into the land of visions, and offer him in sacrifice. 2.10.11
- 3 Therefore *Abraham* rising by night siddled his Ass, carrying with him two yong men and his sonne *Isaac*, and when they had cut wood for sacrifice, he went into the place that God had commaunded him. 3.18.2
- 8 My Sonne, God will provide to hug-
 selfe an offering of Sacrifice. 1.16.4
- 12 Now I know that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not spared thy onely sonne for me. 3.8.4
- 26 I haue sworne by my selfe (saith the Lord) because thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thy onely sonne, &c. 3.18.2
- 17 I will blesse thee, and multiply thy seed as the starres of heauen, and as the sand that is by the shore of the Sea. 3.18.2
- 18 And all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in thy seede, because thou obeyedst my voice. 2.13.1 & 4.14.21
- 23.4 I am a stranger and pilgrime among you, giue me the right of buriall with you, that I may burie my dead. 3.25.8
- 7 *Abraham* arose, and did worship the people of that Countrey, that is to say, the sonnes of *Heb*. 1.12.3
- 12 *Abraham* did worlship before the Lord and the people of that Countrey. 1.12.3
- 19 And *Abraham* buried his wife *Sara* in the double caue of the field which caue was right ouer against *Mamre*, this is *Hebron* in the land of *Canaan*. 3.25.8
- 24.2 He will send his Angell before thee. 1.14.6 & 1.14.12
- 12 Lord God of my master *Abraham*, helpe me this day, and deale mercifully with my master *Abraham*. 1.14.12
- 25.27 *Isaac* loued *Esau*, because he did eate of his venison. 3.23.1
- 26.1 A dearth being risen in the land, after the barrennes which happened in the daies of *Abraham*, *Isaac* went to *Abimelech* King of *Palesine* in *Gerara*. 2.10.12
- 4 And I will multiplie thy seede as the stars of heauen, and I will giue to thy posterity all these regions, & all nations shall be blessed in thy seede. 2.13.1
- 7 And he answered, she is my sister, for he feared to confesse that she was associated vnto him in marriage. 2.10.12
- 15 For this, the *Palesines* enuiuing him, they damned vp the welles that the seruantes of his father *Abram* had digged, at that time filling the vp with earth. 2.10.12
- 10 But there also was a brawling of the shepheardes of *Gerara* against the shepheardes of *Isaac*. 2.10.12
- 31 And rising in the morning, they swore

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- one to the other. 2.8.27
35. Which both did offend the minde of
Isaac and *Rebecca*. 2.10.12
- 27.9 Go thy waies forth to the flock and
bring vnto me two good Kids, &c. 3.2.31
- 14 Hee went and brought, and gaue vnto
his mother. 2.10.14
- 27 So soone as he sented the smell of his
garments, blessing him, he said, behold the
smell of my sonne as the sinell of a full
field the which the Lord hath blessed. 3.
11.23
- 38 *Esau* with a great howling wept. 3.3.24.
3.3.25
- 39 Thy blessing shall exceed in the fatnes
of the earth, and in the dew of heauen. 3.
3.25
- 28.5 *Isaac* therefore let *Jacob* depart. 2.10.
12
- 11 And he saw in his sleepe a ladder stand-
ing on the earth, and the top therof tou-
ching heauen. 2.9.2
- 12 And also the Angels of God going vp
and downe by the way. 1.14.12
- 13 *Jacob* therefore rising early, tooke the
stone which hee did lay vnder his head,
and he reared it vp for a remembrance,
powring oyle thereupon. 1.11.15
- 22 I will offer the tenthes vnto thee of all
things that thou shalt giue me. 4.13.4
- 29.20 *Jacob* serued for *Rachell* seuen yeeres.
2.10.11
- 23 And in the cuening he brought in *Le-
lia* his daughter to *Jacob*. 2.10.12
- 27 Fill vp the weeke of daies of this cou-
pling, and I will giue her vnto thee for the
worke by which thou shalt serue mee in
seuen other yeeres. 2.10.12
- 30.1 But *Rachel* seeing that she was vnfruit-
full, she enuied her suster, and said vnto hir
husband, giue me children, otherwise I
will die. 2.10.12
- 2 Whether or no am I a God that hath ta-
ken from thee the fruit of thy wombe? 1.
16.7
- 31.19 And *Rachell* stole away the idols of
her father. 1.11.8
- 23 Who tooke his brethren vnto him, &
following after him seuen daies, he tooke
him in the mount *Gilead*. 2.10.12
- 40 Day and night I was oppressed with
heat and cold, and sleepe was farre from
mine eies. 2.10.12
- 53 Therefore *Iacob* swore by the feare of
his father *Isaac*. 2.9.27
- 32.1 *Iacob* went on the iourney that he had
taken in hand, & the Angels of the Lord
met him. 1.14.5
- 7 *Iacob* feared wonderfully, &c. 2.10.12
- 10 I am not worthe of the least of all thy
compassions, and all the truth which thou
hast shewed vnto thy seruant: for with
my staffe haue I passed ouer this *Jordan*.
3.22.14, & 3.20.26
- 11 Deliuer me from the hand of my bro-
ther *Esau*, because I feare him very much,
least he comming, doe strike the mother
with her sonnes. 2.10.12, & 3.20.14
- 28 For if thou were strong against God,
how much more shalt thou preuaile a-
gainst men? 1.14.5
- 29 *Jacob* asked him, tell mee what is thy
name? he answered, why dost thou seeke
after my name the which is manuellous?
and he blessed him in that place. 1.13.10
- 30 And *Iacob* called the name of that place
Phanuell, saying, I sawe the Lord face to
face, and my soule is safe. 1.13.10
- 33.3 And he going forth worshipped pro-
strate on the earth seuen times, vntill his
brother drew nigh. 2.10.12
- 24.5 *Jacob* vnderstood that he had rauished
his daughter *Dina*. 2.10.12
25. *Simon* and *Leui* the brethren of *Dina*
went into the citie boldlie with their
swords and all the male being slaine, &c.
2.10.12, & 4.1.24
- 29 You haue troubled me, and haue made
mee bee hated of the Chananites and
Pharaites inhabitants of this countrie. 2.
10.12
- 35.18 But her soule departing for griefe, &
death being now at hand, she called, &c.
2.10.12
- 22 *Ruben* went, and slept with *Bala* the
Concubine of his father, that was not vn-
known vnto him. 2.10.12, & 4.1.24
- 57.28 And the Madianites Marchants
passing by, they drew him: out of the Ce-
sterne, they sold him to the Ismaelites for
twentie pieces of siluer money. 4.1.24
- 32 They tooke his coate, sending them
which bare it to his father, &c. 2.10.12
- 38.18 Therefore the woman conceived at

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- one copulation, &c. 2. 10. 12. & 4. 1. 42
42. 6 The brethren of *Ioseph* came and did
reuerence vnto him. 1. 12. 3
- 36 You haue made me to be without chil-
dren: *Ioseph* is not aliuie any more, *Sime-
on* is holden in chaines and you cary *Ben-
iamin* away: all these euils hath fallen on
me. 2. 10. 12
43. 14 My omnipotent God make him fa-
uourable towards you, & that he let loofe
with you your brother that he holdeth in
chaines and this *Beniamin*: for I shall be
as once destitute without children. 2.
4. 6
45. 8 I was not sent hither by your coun-
sell, but by the will of God. 1. 17. 8
47. 7 And *Iacob* saluted *Pharao*. 1. 11. 15
- 9 The daies of the Pilgrimage of my life be
130. yeeres: few and euill. 2. 10. 12. And
they came not vnto the daies of my fa-
thers, in the which they were pilgrimes.
2. 10. 13
- 29 Thou shalt keepe promise and shalt
deale pitifully with me, that thou burie me
not in *Aegypt*. 2. 10. 13
- 30 But I will sleepe with my fathers: and
thou shalt carrie me from this countrie,
and put thou mee in the sepulchre of my
Ancestors. 2. 10. 13. & 3. 25. 8
- 31 Who swearing, *Israel* worshipped the
Lord, turning to the head of the bed. 1.
11. 15
48. 14 And *Israell* stretching out his
right hand, put it on the head of *Ephraim*.
4. 3. 16
- 16 The Angell which hath deliuered mee
from all euils, blesse these boyes. 1.
14. 6
- And let the names of my fathers *Abraham*
and *Isaac* be called vpon them. 3. 20.
25
- 19 But his yoonger brother shall be grea-
ter than he, and his seede shall grow into
nations. 5. 22. 5
49. 5 *Simeon* and *Leui* brothers warlike ves-
sels of iniquitie. 1. 8. 4
- 9 *Iuda* the whelp of a Lyon: my son thou
ascendest to the pray, being still thou did-
dest lie as a Lyon, and as a thee Lyon who
shalt raise thee? 1. 8. 4
- 10 The Scepter shall not be carried away
from *Iuda*, neither the Captaine from his

home, vntill he come that is to be sent, &
he shall be that the Gentiles looke for. 1.
8. 7

18 I will looke for thy saluation O Lord.
2. 10. 14

50. 20 You haue imagined euil of me, but
God will turne that into good; that hee
might exalt me as you see presently 1.
17. 8

25 When God shall visite you, carrie a-
way with you my bones from this place.
2. 10. 13

E X O D V S.

2. 12 **W**hen hee looked heere and
there, and saw that no body
was present, he hid the *Aegyptian* which
he stroke or killed, in the sand. 4. 20. 10
3. 2 And the Lord appeared vnto him in a
flame of fire from the middest of a bram-
ble bush. 4. 17. 21
- 6 I am the God of thy father, the God of
Abraham, the God of *Isaac*, the God of *Ia-
cob*. 2. 8. 15. & 2. 10. 9
- 8 I haue come downe that I may deliuer
them from the hands of the Egyptians, &
that I may bring them out of that coun-
trie. 4. 20. 30
- 10 But I came, that I might send thee to
Pharao, that thou mightest lead away my
people. 4. 8. 2
- 14 Which is sent me vnto you. 1. 13. 23
- 21 I wil giue fauor vnto this people before
the Egyptians, and when you goe forth
you shall not goe forth empty. 1.
17. 7
- 43 And the Lord saide, throwe it on the
earth, he threw it, and it was turned into a
snake. 4. 17. 15
- 11 Who hath made the mouth of man or
who hath framed the dumme and deafe,
the seeing and the blinde? not I? 1. 13. 14
- 21 See thou doe all things openly before
Pharao which I haue put into thy hands,
I will harden his heart, and he shall not
let the people go. 2. 4. 4. & 3. 14. 13
- I will harden his heart, and he shall not
let the people go. 1. 18. 2
- 25 *Sephora* tooke therefore a sharpe stone,
and circumcised the vncircumcision of
her sonne. 4. 15. 22
6. 7 And I wil take you vnto me for a peo-
ple, and I will be your God. 2. 10. 8

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- 23 Aaron tooke *Elizabeth* to wife the daughter of *Aminadab* the sister of *Nahafson*, which bare vnto him *Nadab*, and *Abiu*, and *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar*. 2.13.3
- 7.1 And the Lord saide vnto *Moses*, behold, I haue ordained thee the God of *Pharao*, and *Aaron* thy brother shall be thy Prophet. 1.13.9
- 3 But I will harden his hart, and will multiplie my signes and wonders in the land of *Ægypt*. 1.18.2. & 2.4.3. & 2.4.4
- 10 Aaron tooke his rodde before *Pharao* and his seruants, and it was turned into a snake. 4.17.15
- 11 *Pharao* called his wise men and inchanters, and they made vnto him likewise certaine wonders through *Ægyptiacal* inchantmentes. 1.8.9
- 12 And they in like manner cast forth their rodde, which were turned into dragons, but the rod of *Aaron* deuoured their rods 4.17.15
- 8.15 But *Pharao* seeing that quietnes was giuen him, he made his hart worse. 1.18.2
- 10.1 And the Lord said vnto *Moses*, goe in vnto *Pharao*, for I haue hardened his hart, and the hartes of his seruantes, that I may make these tokens on him. 2.4.4
- 11.3 The Lorde will giue fauour to his people before the *Ægyptians*. And *Moses* was a great man in the Countrey of *Ægypt* before the seruants of *Pharao* and all the people. 2.4.6
- 12.5 It was a Lambe without spot, a hee Lambe of a yeere olde. 4.16.31
- 26 And when your children shall say vnto you, what religion is this? 4.16.30
- 43 This is the religion of passing ouer, cuerie stranger shall not eate thereof. 4.17.22
- 46 Neither shall you breake the bones thereof. 1.16.9
- 13.12 Sanctifie to me euery first borne that doth open the wombe amongst the children of *Israel*, as well of men as of beast, for they be all mine. 4.16.31
- 14.19 And the Angell of the Lord, lifting vp himselfe, which did go before the campe of *Israel*, went after them. 1.14.6
- 21 And when *Moses* had extended his hand against the sea, the Lord tooke it away, a mightie winde blowing and burning all the night, &c. 4.15.9
- 26 And the Lord said vnto *Moses*, stretch out thy hand ouer the sea, that the waters may returne to the *Ægyptians* and vpon the chariots and horsemen of them. 4.15.9
- 31 The people feared the Lord and beleueed in him, and in his seruant *Moses*. 4.8.2
- 15.3 The Lord as a champion, omnipotent in his name. 1.13.24. & 4.17.23
- 16.7 And in the morning you shall see the glory of the Lord, I haue heard you murmuring against the Lorde. But we what be we that you doe murmur against vs priuily. 1.8.5
- 14 And when the dew was ascended that was fallen, behold vpon the vpper part of the earth there appeared a litle thing in a manner of the likenesse, &c. 4.17.34. & 4.18.20
- 17.6 Beholde, I will stand there before thee vpon the rocke *Horeb*, and thou shalt strike the rocke, and water shall proceede there from, that the people may drinke. 4.17.15. & 4.17.21. & 4.18.20
- 15 And *Moses* did build an Altar, & called the name thereof *Iehoua Naffi*. 1.13.9
- 18.16 And when there shall be any disposition amongst them, they shall come vnto me, that I may iudge between them, and that I may shewe the Commandementes of God and his lawes. 4.11.8
- 19.5 You shall be vnto me as the treasure and best of all the people, for all the earth is mine. 4.16.13
- 6 And you shall be vnto me a kingle Priesthood, and a holy people. 2.7.1
- 16 And now the third day was come and it waxed bright in the morning, and behold thundering began to be heard, and lightnings to flash, and thicke cloudes to couer the hill, and the sound of the trumpet did make a noise very vehemently, and the people did feare which were in the tentes. 1.8.5
- 20.3 Thou shalt not haue strange Gods before me. 1.13.24
4. Thou shalt not make to thy selfe a graven image, neither any likenesse that is in heauen, aboue the earth, neither that

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- is in the earth beneath, neither of those things that be in the waters beneath the earth. 1.11.1.& 1.11.1.2.& 1.13.24
- 5 Thou shalt neither worship them nor serue them: I am thy mighty Lord God, icalous, visiting the iniquitie of the Fathers vpon the children, to the third and fourth generations of them that hate me. 1.12.1
- 6 And being mercifull vnto thousands of them that loue me and keepe my Commandements. 2.10.9
- 13 Thou shalt not kill. 4.20.10
- 24 In which shall be the memorie of my name, I will come to thee and blesse thee. 4.1.5
- 21.13 But he that hath not lien in waite, but that God hath giuen him into his hands,&c. 1.16.6. & 1.18.3
- 17 He that shall curse his Father or Mother, shall die the death. 2.8.36
- 22.1 If any man shall haue stollen an Oxe, or a sheepe, and shall haue killed him or sold him, he shall restore five Oxen for one Oxe, and foure Sheepe for one Sheepe. 4.20.16
- 8 If the theefe be not found, the master of the house shall be brought to the Iudges, and he shall sweare that he hath not &c. 4.20.4
- 11 An othe shall be betweene them, that he hath not stretched out his hand to the thing of his neighbour. 2.8.26
- 26 Thy tenthes and first fruites thou shalt not be slacke to pay. 3.7.5
- 23.1 Thou shalt not admit a lie, neither shalt thou ioyne thy hande, that thou shouldest beare false witness for the wicked. 2.8.47
- 4 If thou shalt meete the Oxe or Ass of thy enemy going astray, bring him backe vnto him. 2.8.56
- 5 If thou shalt see the Ass of him that hateth thee lie vnder his burden, thou shalt not passe by, but shalt lift it vp together with him. 2.8.56
- 12 That thy Oxe and thy Ass may take rest, and that the sonne of thy hand maiden may be refreshed, and the stranger. 2.8.32
- 13 And yee shall not sweare by the name of outwarde Gods, neither shall it be heard out of your mouth. 2.8.25
- 19 Thou shalt carie the first of thy fruits into the house of the Lord thy God. 3.7.5
- 20 Behold I will send my Angell, which may goe before thee, and may keepe thee in the way, and may bring thee into the place which I haue prepared. 1.14.6
- 24.18. And *Moses* entering the middest of the cloude, ascended into the hill, and was there 40. daies and 40. nightes. 1.8.5. & 4.12.10
- 25.17. Also thou shalt make a mercy seat of fine golde, two cubites and a halfe long, and one cubite and a halfe broad. 1.11.3
- 18 Thou shalt also make two goldē Cherubines beaten out on both sides of the Oracle. 1.11.3
- 20 Thou shalt couer both the sides of the mercie seate, stretching out their winges, and couering the Oracle, and their faces one to another, to the mercie seate wards, by the which the Arke is couered: in the which thou shalt put the testimonie that I shall giue thee. 1.11.3
- 40 Looke in and doe according to the example which was shewed thee in the mountaine. 2.7.1. & 4.14.20
- 28.9 And thou shalt take two *Onix* stones, and thou shalt graue on them the names of the children of Israell. 3.20.18
- 10 Six names in one stone, and the other sixe on the other stone, according to the birth of them. 3.20.18
- 12 And *Aaron* shall carrie the names of them before the Lord, vpon either shoulder, for a remembrance. 3.20.18
- 21 And the stones shall be according to the names of the children of *Israel*, 12. according to their names, grauen as signets, euery one according to his name, and they shall be for the 12. Tribes. 3.20.18
- 29.9 And thou shalt gird them with girdles, both *Aaron* and his sonnes, and thou shalt put on them bonets, and they shall be Priestes to me by a perpetual religion. &c. 4.2.9
- 36 And thou shalt offer a calfe euery day for reconciliation, and thou shalt cleanse the Altar, &c. 2.17.4. & 4.18.13
- 30.10. And *Aaron* shall make reconciliation

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- tion vpon the hornes thereof once a yeere, with the blood that is offered for sinne. 2.15.6
- 30 Thou shalt annoint *Aaron* & his sons, and thou shalt sanctifie them that they may minister vnto me in the priests office 4.19.31
- 31.3 And I haue filled *Beseleel* with the spirit of God, with wisdome, vnderstanding, and knowledge in each worke. 2.2.16
- 13 See that you keepe my Sabbath, because it is a signe between me and you in your generations. 2.8.29
- 32.1 Arise, make vs gods that may go before vs, for why, wee know not what hath happened to this man *Moses*, that brought vs out of the land of *Ægypt*. 1.11.8
- 4 And they saide, these be thy gods, O *Israell*, which brought thee forth of the land of *Ægypt*. 1.11.9
- 27 Let euery man put his sword by his side, and goe to and froe from gate to gate through the hoste, and slaie euery man his brother, and friend, and neighbour. 4.20.10
- 32 Either pardon them this fault, or else if thou do it not, wipe me out of the booke which thou hast written. 3.20.35
- 33.19 I will haue mercie on whom I will, and I will be fauourable vnto whom it shall please me. 2.5.17. & 3.11.11. & 3.22.6.8. & 3.24.15
- 20 Thou canst not see my face, for man shall not see me and liue. 1.11.3
- 34.6 The Lord passing before him, he said: the Lord, the Lord, strong, mercifull, and gracious, patient, and of much mercie. 1.10.2
- 7 Which doest pay the iniquitie of the fathers to the children, and vpon the childrens children, vnto the third and fourth generation. 2.8.29
- 28 Therefore *Moses* was there with the Lord fortie daies and fortie nights, hee ate neither bread, nor dronke water. 1.8.5. & 4.12.20.
- 29 And when *Moses* came downe from the mount *Sinai*, the two *Tables* of testimonye were in his hands (and he wist not that the skin of his face did shine bright after that God had talked with him) 1.8.5
- 35.2 You shall work fixe daies, the seuenth day shall be vnto you the holy Sabbath of the Lords rest. 2.8.29
- 30 Behold, the Lord hath called by name *Beseleel* the sonne of *Vri*, the sonne of *Hur* of the Tribe of *Iudab*. 2.2.16
- 40.34 And a cloud did couer the Tabernacle, the maicstie of the Lord glittering and shining. 1.8.5

LEVITICVS.

- 1.2 **W**Hosoever of you shall offer a sacrifice vnto the Lord, yee shall offer it of cattel, as of Beefes and of sheepe. 4.14.20
- 4 And he shall put his hand vpon the head of the sacrifice, and it shall be acceptable and profit able for his attonement. 4.3.16
- 5 And he shall offer vp the calfe before the Lord. 4.18.11
- 4.2 A soule when it shall sinne through ignorance in any of the commaundements of the Lorde, &c. 4.1.28
- 5.13 And the priest shall make an attonement for him as touching his sinne, that he hath sinned in one of these points, and it shall be forgiuen him, &c. 2.17.4
- 8.6 And all the multitude being gathered together before the doore of the Tabernacle, hee washed *Aaron* and his sonnes. 4.3.15
- 11.44 Be you holy because I am holy. 4.19.25
- 16.2 Speake vnto *Aaron* thy brother, that he enter not each time into the sanctuarie that is betweene the veile before the propitiatorie, &c. 2.15.6
- 21 And *Aaron* putting both his hands vpon the liue Goate, confessed al the iniquities of the children of *Israell*, &c. 3.4.10
- 18.5 The which things if a man doe, hee shall liue in them. 2.8.4. & 2.17.5. & 3.14.13. & 3.17.3
- 6 None shall come neere any of the next of his blood that he should reueale their shamefulness. 4.19.13
- 19.2 Be you holy, because I the Lord your God am holy. 2.8.14. & 3.6.2. & 4.19.25
- 12 Thou shalt not forswear in my name, neither

The Table.

- Neither shalt thou defile the name of thy God, I am the Lord, &c. 2.8.24
- 16 Thou shalt not be a false accuser nor a whisperer amongst the people 2.8.47
- 18 Thou shalt not seeke auengement, neither shalt thou be mindful of the wrong of thy Citizens to thee. 2.8.56. & 4.20.
- 19
- 31 You shall draw away your promises from them that worke with spirits, neither enquire you any thing of southsayers that you shoulde bee polluted by them. 4.1.5
- 20.6 The soule which followeth after coniuers and southsayers, and goeth a whoring after them, I will put my face against him, &c. 1.8.5
- 7 Sanctifie your selues and bee you holy, because I your Lord God am holy. 4.19.
- 25
- 9 He which curseth his father or mother, shall die by death. 2.8.36
- 26.3 If you shall walke in my waies, and shall keepe my commandements, and do them. 2.5.10
- 4 I will giue you raine in his time. 1.16.5.
- 2.8.4
- 12 I will walke amongst you, and I will be your God, and you shall be my people. 2.
- 10.8
- 20 Your strength shall bee consumed, in vaine, the earth shall not bring forth her fruit, neither the trees, &c. 3.20.44.
23. Yet if by these you will not receiue my discipline, but will walke contrarie vnto me. 1.17.8
- 26 Afterwardes I shall haue broken the staffe of your bread, in such sort, that ten women may haue bread in one ouen, and they shall deliuer them by weight, &c. 3.
- 20.44
- 33 But you I will disperse amongst the nations, and I will draw out a sword after you, and your land shall be desert, &c. 2.
- 11.1
- 36 And such of you as shall remaine, I will cause feare in your hearts. 1.18.2. & 2.
- 4.6
- 18 Then the Nazarite shall be shauen before the doore of the Tabernacle of promise, by the lockes of his consecration, and he shall take his haire and put it vpon the fire. 4.19.26
- 9.18 All the daies that the cloud did stand vpon the Tabernacle, they did erect their tentes there according to the commandement of the Lord. 4.15.9
- 11.9 And when the dew did fall by night vpon the campe, the Manna did fall together with it. 1.8.5
- 18 Be you sanctified, to morrow you shall eate flesh. 3.20.51
- 31 A winde going out from the Lorde, brought quales from beyonde the sea. 1.
- 16.7
33. As yet the flesh was betweene their teeth, neither as yet was chewed, and behold the wrath of the Lorde was stirred among his people, &c. 3.20.51
- 12.1 *Marie and Aaron spake against Moses for his wiues sake, which was an Ethiopian* 1.8.4
- 14.43 The Amalekites and Chananites are before you, by whose sword you shall fall, for because you would not stay your selues vpon the Lord, neither will the Lord be with you. 2.5.11
- 15.32 It came to passe when the children of Israel were in the desert, and had found a man gathering sticke on the Sabbath. 2.8.29
- 16.24 Command all the people, that they bee separated from the Tabernacles of *Chore, Dathan, and Abiron.* 1.8.5
- 20.10 The multitude being gathered before the rocke, he said vnto them, harken you rebels and infidels, whether or not shal we bring you water out of this rocke? 1.8.5
- 26 And when you shall haue stripped the father from his garment, cloth *Eleazar* his sonne with it. 4.3.15
- 21.8 Make a brasen serpent, and put him for a signe, who soeuer being stroken and look vpon him, shall liue. 4.18.20
- 9 *Moses* made therefore a brasen serpent, and set him for a signe, the which when they that were stroken did behold, they were healed. 2.12.4
- 23.10 Let my soule die the death of the righteous,

N U M B E R S.

- 6.5 **A**L the while of his separation, the rasor shall not passe ouer by his head. 4.19.26

The Table.

- righteous, and let my last ende bee like theirs. 2.10.14
- 19 God is not as man, that he should lie, nor as the sonne of man that he should be changed. 1.17.12
- 28.2 These be the sacrifices that you should offer, two Lambes of two yeeres olde without spot, daily for a continuall sacrifice. 4.1.5
- hart, and with all thy strength. 2.7.5. & 2.8.51. & 3.19.4
- 13 Thou shalt feare the Lord thy God, and serue him onely, and thou shalt sweare by his name. 2.8.25
- 16 Thou shalt not tempt the Lorde thy God, as thou temptest him in the place of temptation. 4.13.3
- 25 He will haue mercy vpon vs, if we doe keepe and doe all his commandements before our Lorde God as he hath commanded vs. 3.17.7

DEUTERONOMIUM.

- 1.16. H Eare them, and iudge you that is right, whether he be a citizen or stranger. 4.20.4.6.9
- 39 Your little ones whom you said should bee caried captiues, and your sons which this day knewe not good from euill, they shall enter in. 4.16.19
- 2.30 The Lorde thy God will harden his spirit, and will make his hart obstinate, so that he shall be deliuered into thy hands. 1.18.2. & 2.4.3 & 2.4.4
- 4.2 You shall not adde to the word which I speake vnto you, neither take there from. 4.9.2
- 7 Neither is there a nation so great, which hath the gods so at hand, as our God is at hand at euerie of our requestes. 3.24.15
- 9 Keepe thy selfe therefore and thy soule carefully, that thou forget not the wordes that thy eyes haue seene, and let them not depart out of thy hart all the daies of thy life, &c. 2.8.5
- 11 And you came vnto the foote of the hill, which did burne to heauen, there was therein daikenesse, cloudes, and mistes. 1.11.3
- 15 Keepe your soules therefore carefully, you sawe not anie likenesse in that day that the Lorde spake vnto you. 1.11.2
- 16 Least that being deceiued, you should make vnto your selues some grauen similitude, or image of male or female. 2.8.17
- 17 The likenes of euery beast that bee vpon the earth, or of flying birds vnder the heauens. 2.8.17
- 5.14 That thy seruant and handmaid may rest as well as thou. 2.8.32
- 17 Thou shalt not kill. 4.20.10
- 6.5 Loue the Lorde thy God with all thy hart, and with all thy strength. 2.7.5. & 2.8.51. & 3.19.4
- 13 Thou shalt feare the Lord thy God, and serue him onely, and thou shalt sweare by his name. 2.8.25
- 16 Thou shalt not tempt the Lorde thy God, as thou temptest him in the place of temptation. 4.13.3
- 25 He will haue mercy vpon vs, if we doe keepe and doe all his commandements before our Lorde God as he hath commanded vs. 3.17.7
- 7.6 Because thou art a holie people vnto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy God hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest bee vnto him a peculiar people of all the people which be on earth. 2.8.14
- 7 Not because you did exceed in number the rest of the nations, is the Lord ioined vnto you and hath chosen you, when as you be the least of all nations. 3.22.5
- 8 But because the Lord loued you, and did keepe his oath that hee swore to your fathers, &c. 3.22.5
- 9 And thou shalt know, because the Lord he is the strong God and faithfull, keeping couenant and mercy with them that loue him, and with them that keepe his commandement. 3.17.5
- 12 If after you shall heare these iudgments, you shall keepe and doe them, the Lorde thy God will keepe the couenant and mercie with thee, which he swore to thy fathers. 3.17.1
- 13 And hee will loue thee, and blesse and multiplie the fruite of thy wombe, and the fruite of thy lande, &c. 3.17.1
- 8.2 And thou shalt remember all thy iourney by the which the Lord thy God leade thee fortie yeeres by the desert, that hee might afflict thee and prouee thee. 3.20.46
- 3 That he might shewe thee that man liueth not onely by bread, but by euerie word that goeth out of the mouth of the Lord. 1.16.7. & 3.20.44
- 9.6 Know thou therefore, the Lorde thy God gaue thee not this good country for to possesse for thy rightousnes sake, when as thou art a people of a most hard necke. 3.21.5

The Table.

- 10.12 And now *Israel*, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but that thou shouldest feare the Lorde thy God, &c. 2.8.51
- 14 Lo, behold the heauen, and the heauen of heauens, the earth, and all that bee in them be the Lorde thy Gods. 2.11.11. & 3.21.5
- 15 And yet notwithstanding the Lord was ioyned vnto thy fathers, and loued them, and chose their seed after them, &c. 3. 21.5
- 16 Circumcise therefore the vncircumcision of your harts, and harden not your necke any more. 2.5.8. & 3.3.6. & 4.16.3. & 4.16.21
- 20 Thou shalt feare the Lorde thy God & shalt serue him onely, thou shalt cleaue vnto him, and shalt sweare by his name. 2.8.25
- 11.26 Lo, I put before your sight this day a blessing and a cursing. 3.17.1
- 12.13 Beware thou offer not thy burnt offrings in euery place that thou shalt see. 4.2.9
- 14 But in that place that thy Lorde God hath chosen, in one of thy tribes there thou shalt offer thy offrings, and thou shalt doe whatsoeuer I commaund thee. 4.2.9
- 28 Keepe and harken to all that I commaund thee, that it go well with thee, and thy children after thee for euer, &c. 2. 8.5
- 32 Thou shalt not adde nor diminish any thing. 4.10.17
- 13.3 The Lord your God proued you, that it might appeere, whether you loued him or not with al your hart, and with all your soule. 3.20.46
- 14.2 Thou art a holy people to the Lorde thy God, and hee chose thee, that thou mightest be to him a peculiar people, out of all the nations of the earth. 2.8.14
- 16.10 And thou shalt celebrate the holy day of weeks vnto the Lord thy god a willing offering of thy hands, which thou shalt offer according to the blessing of the Lord thy God. 2.18.8
- 19 Thou shalt not respect persons, nor take bribes, because bribes do blind the eies of the wise, and doe change the wordes of the iust. 4.20.9
- 17.8 If thou shalt perceiue hard and doubtful iudgement betweene bloud & bloud, and cause and cause, &c. 3.4.4
- 9 Thou shalt come vnto the Priest of the Leuites, and to the Iudge that shall bee at that time, and thou shalt seeke of them, &c. 3.4.4. & 4.8.2
- 11 And they shall teach thee according to that lawe, and thou shalt followe their iudgement. 4.8.2
12. Whosoeuer shall be proude, not willing to obey the government of the Priest, which that time serueth before the Lorde the God, by the sentence of the Iudge that man shall die, and thou shalt take away euill from *Israel*. 4.8.2
- 16 And when he shall be ordeined, he shall not encrease his horse, neither shall hee cary the people backe into *Aegypt*. 4.20.9
- 18.11 Neither he which seeketh the truth at the dead. 3.5.6
- 13 Thou shalt be perfect and without spot with thy Lord God. 2.8.51
- 15 The Lord thy God will raise vp a Prophet vnto thee of thy nation, and of thy brethren like vnto mee, him thou shalt heare. 4.1.5
- 19.19 They shall giue vnto him, as he had thought to haue done vnto his brother. 4.20.16
21. If a man shall beget a contumelious and stubborne sonne, which will not be ruled by his father or mother, and shal contemne to obey to be chastened, &c. 2.8.36
- 23 He is cursed of God that hangeth on a tree. 2.7.15. & 2.16.6
- 23.5 And he will turne his curse into a blessing, because he did loue thee. 3.21.5
- 14.13 But by and by thou shalt restore vnto him his pledge before the sunne set, that sleeping in his garment he may blesse thee, and that thou maiest haue righteousnes before the Lorde thy God. 3.17.7
- 26.18 Behold, the Lorde hath chosen thee this day, that thou shouldst be vnto him a peculiar people, as hee tolde thee, and that thou mightest keepe all his precepts. 2.8.14
- 27.26 Cursed bee hee that doth not abide by

The Table.

- by the words of this lawe, and that doth not thoroughly doe them in worke. 2.7.5 & 2.7.15. & 2.16.6. & 3.11.19. & 3.12.1 and 3.14.13. & 3.17.1. & 3.17.9
- 28.1 If thou shalt heare the voice of the Lord thy God, that thou doe and keepe all his commandements that I command thee this day, the Lord thy God will make thee excellenter than all nations that dwell on the earth. 1.17.8. & 2.5.10
- 2 All these blessings shall come vpon thee, and shall ouertake thee if thou shalt haarken to those precepts. 2.8.4
- 12 The Lord shall open his best treasure, the heauen, and he shall giue raine vnto thy land, &c. 1.16.5
- 29 And alwaies thou shalt suffer reproch, and thou shalt be oppressed by violence, neither hast thou any to deliuer thee. 4.20.25
- 36 The Lord shall leade thee and the king which thou dost ordaine ouer thee, into a nation which thou dost not knowe, neither thy fathers, &c. 2.11.1
- 65 For the Lorde shall giue vnto thee a fearefull hart, and failed eies, and a soule consumed with greefe. 2.4.6
- 29.2 You haue seene all that the Lord did before you in the land of *Egypt* &c. 2.2.20
- 4 And the Lord gaue not vnto you an vnderstanding hart, and seeing eies, and eares which might heare, vntill this present day. 2.2.20
- 18 Least there bee amongst you a man or woman, or familie, or tribe, whose hart this day is contrarie from the Lord our God, that it should goe and serue, &c. 3.17.5
- 19 And when hee hath heard the wordes of this othe, he blisse himselfe in his hart, saying: Peace shall bee vnto me, and I will walke in the wickednesse of my hart: and so he take with drunkennesse thirst. 3.17.5
- 20 And the Lorde shall not forgiue him, but then most of all shall his rage fume and his zeale against that man, and al the curses shall light vpon him that are written in this booke. &c. 3.3.7
- 29 The secrete things belong vnto our Lorde God, but those that bee manifest, vnto vs and our children for euer, that we may doe euery thing of this lawe. 1.17.2. & 3.21.3
- 30.2 And thou shalt returne vnto him, and thou shalt be obedient vnto his government, as I haue commaunded thee this day, with thy children, &c. 3.3.6
- 3 The Lord thy God shall bring thee back from thy captiuitie, and hee shall haue mercie of thee, and hee shall gather thee together againe from amongst all the nations amongst whome hee had scattered thee. 4.1.24
- 6 The Lord thy God will circumsise thy hart, and the hart of thy seede that thou maist loue the Lorde thy God, &c. 2.5.8 & 2.5.12. & 3.3.6. & 4.16.3
- 10 If thou shalt for all this heare the voice of the Lord thy God, and shalt keepe his precepts and ceremonies which be commaunded in this lawe, &c. 1.7.5
- 11 The commandement that I doe commaund thee this day, is not about thee, neither a fare off. 2.5.12
- 13 Neither is it set beyonde the sea, that thou shouldest say: who of vs shall goe ouer the sea and fetch it vs, that wee may heare it? 2.5.12
- 14 But the worde is very neere vnto thee, in thy mouth and hart, that thou maiest doe it. 2.5.12. & 3.24.3
- 15 Consider that this day I haue put before thy sight life and good, and contrariwise, death and euill. 3.17.1
- 19 I doe call heauen and earth this day to witnesse, that I haue put before you, life and good, blessing and cursing: choose therefore life, that thou maiest liue and thy seede. 2.5.4. & 2.7.3
- 32.5 They haue corrupted themselues toward him by their vice, not being his children, but a froward and crooked generation. 1.8.6
- 8 When the almightie diuided the nations, when he separated the sonnes of *Adam*, he appointed the bounds of the people, &c. 2.11.11. & 3.21.5
- 15 The welbeloued is waxen fat: he hath kicked, being swollen vp with fat, hath forsaken God his maker, &c. 3.8.5
- 17 They haue offered vp to deuils, and not to God. 4.13.17
- 21 They haue prouoked mee with that which.

The Table.

- which was not God. 1.13.15
 35 Vengeance is mine, and I will reward,
 &c. 2.8.56. &c 4. 20.19
 49 Set your harts vpon all the words that
 I testifie vnto you this day, that you may
 commaunde them vnto your children,
 that they may obserue and doe all the
 words of the law. 2.7.13
 33.3 All holy men be in his hand. 2.10.9
 29 Blessed art thou O *Israel*, who is like
 thee O people which art saued in the
 Lord, &c. 2.10.8
 34.5 And *Moses* the seruant of the Lorde
 died in the lande of *Moab*, the Lord com-
 maunding. 4.6.11

I O S V A H.

- 1.7. **S**warue not from it, neither to the
 right hand nor to the left, that thou
 maiest vnderstande all things that thou
 doest. 4.9.12
 8 The volume of this law shall not depart
 from thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate
 thereon day and night, &c. 4.9.12
 2.1 Who going forth, entred the house
 of a woman harlot, named *Rahab*, &c.
 3.24.11
 9 I haue knowen that the Lorde hath de-
 liuered vnto you the lande, for why, the
 feare of you hath fallen vpon vs, and all
 the inhabitants of the land hath fainted,
 2.4.6
 11 And wee hearing these things, feared
 wonderfully, and the hart of vs fainted,
 neither was there any courage left in vs
 at the entrance of you: For the Lorde
 your God, hee is God in heauen above,
 and in earth beneath. 2.4.6
 5.14 I am the cheefe of the host of the
 Lord. 1.14.5
 7.19 And *Josua* said to *Acam*, my sonne,
 giue glorie vnto the Lorde God of *Israel*,
 and confesse and shewe vnto mee what
 thou hast done. 2.8.24
 10.13 And the Sunne & Moone stood stil.
 1.16.2
 11.20 It was the iudgement of the Lorde,
 that their harts shoulde bee hardened,
 and that they shoulde fight against *Israel*.
 1.18.2
 24.2 Your fathers dwelt beyonde the
 floud, from the beginning, euen *Thare* the

- father of *Abraham*, and the father of
Nachar and they serued strange gods. 1.
 11.8. & 3.24.2
 3. I tooke your father *Abraham* from the
 borders of *Mesopotamia*, and I brought
 him into the land of *Chanaan*, &c. 3.24.2

I V D G E S.

- 2.1. **A**nd the Lord went vp from *Gulgal*
 to a place of, &c. 1.14.2
 18 And when the Lorde had raised vp
 them iudges, in those daies, he was moo-
 ued with compassion, and did heare the
 grones of their afflictions, &c. 3.3.25. &
 3.20.15
 19 Yet after the Iudge was dead, they
 were turned, and they did much woorse
 than their fathers did, following strange
 gods. 3.3.25
 3.9 And they cried vnto the Lord, which
 raised vnto them a sauour, and hee deli-
 uered them. 3.20.15. & 4.20.30
 12 And the children of *Israel* began a-
 gaine to doc euill in the sight of the Lord.
 3.20.15
 15 And afterwarde they cried vnto the
 Lord, which raised them vp a sauour, &c.
 3.20.15
 6.11 The Angell of the Lorde came and
 fate vnder the Oke. 1.14.6
 14 And the Lorde looked vpon him and
 said: go in this thy strength and thou shalt
 deliuer *Israel* from the hande of the *Me-
 dian*. 1.13.10. & 1.14.5
 24 But the spirite of the Lorde clothed
Gedion, who sounding a trumpeter, called
 together the house of *Abiezer* that it
 should follow him. 2.2.17
 27 I will put this fleece of wooll in the
 threshing place: if dew shall bee in the
 onely fleece, & drinnesse on all the ground,
 &c. 4.14.18
 8.27 And *Gedion* made thereof an Ephod,
 and put it in his citie *Ephra*, and all *Israel*
 went a whooring there after it, which
 was the destruction of *Gedion* and his
 house. 4.10.25
 9.20 But if frowardly, let fire come forth
 from *Abimelech*, and consume the inhabi-
 tants of *Sechem*, and the towne of *Mello*,
 &c. 3.20.15
 11.30 *Jephthe* vowed a vow vnto the Lord,
 saying:

The Table.

- saying : if thou shalt deliuer the sons of *Ammon* into my hands, &c. 4.13.3
- 13.10 Behold, the man appeared vnto mee which I did see before. 1.14.6
- 16 To whom the Angel answered, if thou compell me, I will not eate of thy bread, but if thou wilt make burnt offering, offer that vnto the Lord. 1.13.10
- 28 Why dost thou inquire after my name, that is maruellous? 1.13.10
- 19 Therefore *Manoah* tooke a kidde of the Goates and meate offerings, and put it vpon the ground, offering it vnto the Lorde. 4.10.25
- 22 We shall die the death, because we haue seene the Lord. 1.13.10. & 1.14.5
- 23 If the Lord would kill vs, he would not haue receiued a burnt offering & meate offerings at our hands. 1.11.10
- 16.28 O Lorde my God bee mindfull of me, and giue me nowe mine old strength, that I may reuenge mee of my enimics. 3.20.15
- 21.15 In those daies there was no king in *Israel*, but euery one did that that seemed right in his owne eyes. 4.20.9
- R V T H.
- 3.13. I F he will not haue thee, I will take thee without any doubt: The Lord liueth. 2.8.27
- I. S A M V E L.
- 1.13. B Vt *Anna* spake in her hart and onely her lips did moue, and her voice was not at all heard, wherefore *Heli* thought she was drunken. 3.20.33
- 2.6 The Lorde doth kill and quicken, hee doth lead into hell and bringeth backe againe. 3.20.52
- 9 He will keepe the feete of his saints: and the wicked shall keepe silence in darkness. 2.18.18
- 10 And he will giue rule vnto his king: and he will exalt the horne of his anointed. 2.6.2
- 25 And they heard not the voice of their father, because the Lord would kill them. 1.18.3. & 3.24.14
- 34 And this shall be a signe vnto thee, that shall come vpon thy two sons, *Ophne* and *Phinies*: they shal die both on one daie. 1.18.1
- 9.8 And you shall see, and if so it goe vp by the way of his coastes against *Bethjames*, he will did this great euill, &c. 1.16.9
- 7.3 If you do turne vnto the Lord with all your harts, put away the strange Gods from amongst you, *Baalam* and *Ascaroth*, and prepare your harts vnto the Lorde, &c. 3.3.5
- 6 And in that day they fasted, and they saide there: wee haue sinned against the Lord. 4.12.17
- 17 He built there an altar to the Lorde. 4.10.25
- 8.7 They haue not cast off thee, but me that I should not rule ouer them. 4.20.6
- 11 This shall bee the right of your king which shall rule you, hee shall take your sonnes and put them in his chariots, &c. 4.20.26
- 10.6 And the spirit of the Lord shall come vpon thee, and thou shalt prophetic with them, and thou shalt bee changed into another man. 2.2.17, & 2.3.4
- 9 Therefore when he had turned his back to go from *Samuel*, god gaue him another hart, and all these signes chanced in that day. 3.2.12
- 26 *Saul* also went home to *Gibeah*, & with him part of the army, whose hart God had touched. 2.2.17
- 11.6 Then the sprite of the Lord came vpon *Saul*, when he heard these words, &c. 2.4.6
- 15 And all the people arose in *Gilgall*, and made *Saul* their king, before the Lorde, &c. 1.8.6
- 12.22 And the Lorde will not forsake his people, for his great names sake because the Lord swore hee woulde make you his people. 3.21.5
- 14.44 And *Saul* saide, God do so, and more alio vnto me, thou shalt die the death *Ionathan*. 2.8.24
- 15.11 It repenteth me, that I haue made *Saul* king, because he hath forsaken me, & hath not done as I commanded him: and *Samuel* was sad, and cried vnto the Lord all night. 1.17.12 & 3.20.5
- 22 Whether will the Lord haue burnt sacrifice and offerings, and not rather that the voice of the Lord should be obeyed, &c. 4.10.17. & 4.18.9

The Table.

- 23 For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, & not to trust in the Lorde as the sin of idolatrie, for that thou hast cast awaie the worde of the Lorde, &c. 3.4.33. & 4.10.17
- 29 For the triumpher in *Israel* will not spare, neither will hee bee changed by repentance, neither is he man that he shuld repent. 1.17.12
- 30 But he said, I have sinned, but honor me, I pray thee, before the seniors of my people, &c. 3.3.4
- 35 But *Samuel* did bewaile *Saul*: and it repented the Lorde that hee had made *Saul* king ouer *Israel*. 3.20.15
- 16.1 And the Lorde said vnto *Samuel*, how long wilt thou bewaile *Saul*? seeing I haue cursed him, as that he shall not reign &c. 3.20.15
- 13 *Samuel* tooke therefore his horne of oyle, and annointed him in the middelt of his brethren. 1.8.7. & 2.2.17
14. And an euill spirite did vexe him from the Lorde. 1.14.17. & 2.4.5
- 18.10 And after another day, the euill spirit of God entred *Saul*. 1.14.17. & 2.4.5
- 19.9 And the euill spirite of the Lorde was vpon *Saul*, and hee sate in his house, and held a *laueline* in his hand, &c. 2.4.5
- 23.26 And *Saul* and his men went on the one side of the hil, and *Dauid* and his men on the other side. 1.16.9
27. And a messenger came vnto *Saul*, and saide: make haste and come, because the *Philistines* haue inuaded thy countrey. 1.16.9
- 24.7 The Lorde keepe me, that I do not this thing vnto my Lorde the annointed of the Lorde, that I shoulde lay my hande vpon him, which is the annointed of the Lorde. 4.20.28
11. But mine eie hath spared thee: for I said I will not stretch out my hand against my Lorde, because he is the annointed of the Lorde. 4.20.28
- 16.9 And *Dauid* said vnto *Abisai*, kill him not: for who shal stretch forth his hand against the annointed of the Lorde, and be blamelesse? 4.20.28
- 12 All of them did sleepe, because the drouisinesse of the Lorde fell vpon them. 1.18.2
- 23 The Lorde shal reward every man according to his righteousnes and faithfulness, for the Lorde hath deliuered thee into my hands, &c. 3.17.14
- 4.1.13 And they tooke their bones, and buried them in a groue at *Iabes*, and they fasted seuen daies. 4.12.17

II. SAMVEL.

- 5.8. **T** Herefore it is saide in a prouerbe the blinde and lame shall not enter into the temple. 4.16.31
- 7.14 The which if he shall doe anie thing wickedly, I will correct him with the rod of men, and in the plagues of the sons of men. 3.4.32
- 17 Because thou O Lorde God of the hostes of *Israell*, hast reuealed vnto thy seruant, saying: I will builde a house to thee, &c. 3.20.13
- 28 Now therefore, O Lorde God, thou art God, and thy wordes are true, thou hast spoké vnto thy seruant these good things, 3.20.14
- 10.12 Be thou a stout man, and let vs fight for our people, and for the citie of our God, and the Lorde will doe that seemeth good in his owne eies. 1.17.9
- 11.4 *Dauid* hauing sent messengers, brought her, who when she came vnto him, he slept with her. 4.1.24
- 15 Hee wrote in a letter: put *Vria* in the front of the battle where the greatest skirmish is, and forsake him, that being stroken he may die. Ibidem
- 12.12 Thou didst it priuily, but I will doe this in the sight of all *Israel*. 1.18.1
- 13 And *Dauid* said vnto *Nathan*, I haue sinned against the Lorde. And *Nathan* said vnto *Dauid*: the Lorde hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die. 3.3.4. & 3.4.10. & 3.4.31. & 4.1.14
14. Notwithstanding for because thou madest the enemies of the name of god blaspheme for this thing, the son that is born vnto thee shall die. 3.4.33
- 16.10 The Lorde hath commanded him that he should curse *Dauid*, and who is it that dare say, why hast thou done so? 1.17.8. & 1.18.1. & 1.18.4
- 22 Therefore they spread *Absolon* a tent vpon the top of the house, and he went in

The Table.

- in vnto the concubines of his father, before all *Israel*. 1.18.1 & 1.18.4
- 17-7. And *Chusay* saide vnto *Absolon*, it is not good counsell that *Achitophel* gaue this time. 1.17.7
- 14 The profitable counsell of *Achitophel* is scattered abroad by the becke of the *Lord*, that the *Lord* might bring vpon *Absolon* euill. 1.17.7. & 2.4.6
- 22.20 And he brought me forth into largenesse, he deliuered me because it pleased him. 3.17.5
- 21 The *Lord* hath giuen vnto mee according vnto my righteousnesse, and according vnto the cleanness of my hands. 3.17.5
- 24.1 And the wrath of the *Lord* was againe kindled against *Israel*, and he mooued *Dauid* against them in that hee saide vnto *Iacob*: goe number *Israel* and *Juda*. 1.14.18
- 19 But the hart of *Dauid* stroke him after he had numbred the people: and *Dauid* said, &c. 3.3.4
- 20 And going soorth, he worshipped the king, groueling with his face towards the earth. 1.12.3

I. KINGS.

- 1.16. **B** *Ethiobe* bowed her selfe and worshipped the king. 1.12.3
- 21 It shall come to passe, when my *Lord* the king shall sleepe with his Fathers, my sonne and I shall bee counted offenders. 3.11.3
- 2.5 Thou knewest what *Joab* the sonne of *Seruia* hath done vnto me, and what hee hath done to the two captains of the host of *Israel*. 4.20.10
- 6 Thou shalt doe therefore according to thy wisdome, and thou shalt not bring his gray haire peaceably vnto the grane. 4.20.10
- 8 Thou hast also with thee *Semei* the sonne of *Gera* the sonne of *Gemini*, of *Baburim*, which cursed mee with an euill curse, &c. 4.20.10
- 8.23 Which keepest couenants and mercies with thy seruants, which walke before thee with all their harts. 3.17.5
- 46 If they sinne against thee (for there is not a man that sinneth not) and being angrie thou shalt deliuer them vnto their enemies, &c. 2.7.5. & 3.14.9. & 4.1.15
- 47 And if they shall repent them with all their harts in the place of their captiuitie, &c. 4.1.25
- 58 That he may bow our harts vnto him, that wee may walke in all his waies, and that we may keepe his commandements and ceremonies, &c. 2.3.9
- 11.12 Notwithstanding, in thy daies I will not doe it for *Dauid* thy fathers sake, But I will rent it out of the hande of thy sonne. 2.6.2
- 23 God stirred him vp an aduersarie, &c. 1.18.1
- 31 I will rent the kingdome out of *Salomons* hands, and I will giue vnto thee ten tribes. 1.18.1
- 34 Neither will I take the whole kingdome out of his hande, but I will ordaine him a captaine all the daies of his life for *Dauids* sake, &c. 2.6.2
- 39 And I will for this, afflict the seede of *Dauid*, but not for euer. 2.6.2
- 12.10 And the yoong men saide vnto him which were brought vp together with him, speake thus vnto this people, &c. 1.17.7
- 15 And the king haikened not vnto the people, before the *Lord* was aduersarie vnto him, &c. 1.17.7. & 1.18.4. & 2.4.6
- 20 Neither did any followe the house of *Dauid*, but the tribe of *Juda* onely, &c. 1.18.4
- 28 Counsel being taken, he made two golden calues, and said vnto them: goe not further vp to *Jerusalem*, behold thy gods *Israel* which brought thee, &c. 4.2.8
- 30 And this thing turned to sinne, for the people went to worship euen to day. 4.20.32
- 31 And hee made a house in high places, and priestes of the rascals of the people which were not of the sonnes of *Leui*. 4.2.8
- 15.4 But for *Dauids* sake the *Lord* his God gaue him a light in *Jerusalem*, that hee should raise vp his sonne after him, and that hee should establish *Jerusalem*. 2.6.2
- 18.10 The *Lord* thy God lueth, there is no nation or kingdome into the which my *Lord* hath not sent, &c. 2.8.27
- 4: And

The Table.

- 41 And *Elias* said to *Ahab*: come vp and eate and drinke, because there is a founde of much raine. 2.20.3
- 42 But *Elias* came vp vnto the top of *Carmel*, and he put his face groueling on the earth betweene his knees. 2.20.3
- 43 And he saide vnto his boy, goe vp and looke towards the sea: who when hee went and saw and had beholden, he said, there is nothing: and he saide vnto him againe returne seuen times. 2.20.3
- 19.8 And hee walked in the strength of that meate forty daies and forty nightes, euen vntill the hill of God *Horeb*. 4.12.20
- 18 I haue left vnto my selfe in *Israel* seuen thousande men, whose knees haue not bowed before *Bale*. 4.1.2
- 21.12 They proclaimed a fast, and set *Naaboth* amongst the cheefe of the people. 4.12.17
- 28 And the worde of the Lord came vnto *Elias* the Thesbite, saying. 3.3.25
- 29 Hast thou not seene *Ahab* humbled before me? because he was humbled before of me, I will not bring the cuill in his daies, &c. 3.3.25. & 3.20.15
- 22.6 The king of *Israel* gathered therefore about forty Prophets. 4.9.6
- 21 A spirite went forth and stood before the Lord and said, I will deceiue. 1.14.17 & 1.17.7. & 1.18.1
- 22 And he said, I will goe out and I wil be a lying spirite in the mouth of all his Prophets. 4.9.6
- 27 Thus saith the king, send this man into prison, and maintaine him with the bread of tribulation, & with the water of greefe, vntill I returne in peace. 4.9.6
- peace, he went therefore from thence a furlong of ground. 3.2.3.2
- 6.15 Out alas maister, what shall we doe? 1.14.11
- 16 There be moe with vs than with them 1.14.12
- 17 Lord open the eies of this boy, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eies of the lad, & he saw, and behold, a mountaine full of horses and chariots of fire round about *Elizei*. 1.14.7.8.11
- 31 The Lord doe so, and so vnto me, if the head of *Elizei* the sonne of *Saphat* shall stand vpon him this day. 2.8.24
- 10.7 And when letters came vnto them they tooke the sonnes of the king, and slue seuentie men, &c. 1.18.4
- 10 Knowe now that there shall fall vnto the earth nothing of the worde of the Lorde the which the Lorde hath spoken, &c. 1.18.4
- 16.10 And when hee had seene the altar that was at *Damascus*, hee sent to *Vria* the priest the paterne thereof, and the likenesse, according to the worke thereof. 4.10.23
- 17.24 The king of *Affyria* brought me frō *Babylon* and from *Cutha*, &c. 4.10.23
- 25 And when they began to dwell there, they feared not the Lorde, and the Lorde sent Lions vnto them that they might kill them. 4.10.23
- 32 Thus they feared the Lorde, and appointed out priestes out of themselves for the high places, &c. 3.2.13. & 4.10.23 & 4.15.2.2
- 33 And when they feared the Lorde they did serue also their Gods, according to the manner of the people from whence they were brought, &c. 3.2.12
- 34 Euen vnto this present day they followe the ancient custome, they feare not the Lorde, neither keepe his ceremonies, &c. 3.2.13
- 19.4 And make prairer for the rest that be found. 3.20.14
- 35 It came to passe in that night, the Angel of the Lord came and stroke in the campe of the *Affyrians* one hundredth fourescore and siue thousand. 1.14.6
- 20.1 Set thy house in an order, for thou shalt die and not lue. 1.17.12

II. KINGS.

- 5.17. **A**Nd *Naaman* saide, as thou wilt: but I pray thee graunt vnto mee thy seruant, that I take the burden of two Asses of earth: for hereafter thy seruant will offer no burnt offering nor sacrifice to strange gods, but vnto the Lorde. 3.2.32
- 18 This is the onely thing that thou shalt pray vnto the Lorde for thy seruant, when my Lorde shall goe into the Temple, &c. 3.2.32
- 19 And hee saide vnto him, depart in

The Table.

- 2 Then *Ezechias* turned his face to the wall, and he praied to the Lord. 3.3.4
- 3 I beseech thee, Lord remember I pray thee, how I haue walked before thee in truth and in a perfect hart, and haue done the thing that thou likest of. 3.14.19 & 3.20.10
- 5 Behold, I haue healed thee, the third day thou shalt goe vp to the Temple of the Lord. 1.17.12
- 9 Wilt thou that the shadow goe forwards two degrees, or that it goe backward so many. 4.14.18
- 11 And *Isaias* called vpon the Lord and he brought backe the shadowe by the lines by the which it went down into the clocke of *Achar*. 1.16.2
- 21.4 And he built Altars in the house of the Lord, of the which the Lord spake, I will put my name in *Ierusalem*. 4.10.23
- 16 Moreover *Manasses* shedde innocent blood ouermuch, till he filled vp *Ierusalem* vnto the mouth, &c. 3.24.11
- 22.2 And he did the thing that pleased the Lord, and he walked in all the waies of his Father *Dauid*, and declined not neither on the right hande, nor left. 4.10.23
- 8 And *Heclias* the high Priest saide vnto *Saphan* the Scribe, I haue found the book of the Law in the house of the Lord, and *Heclias* gaue it to *Saphan* the Scribe, and he read in it. 1.8.8

1. CHRONICLES.

- 28.2 **A**nd the footestoole of the Lord our God. 4.1.5

2. CHRONICLES.

- 19.6 **S**ee what you doe, said he: you doe not execute the iudgement of man but of the Lord. 4.20.4. & 4.20.6

The 2. of *Esdra*s, otherwise called
NEHEMIAH.

- 14 **A**nd after that I had heard these things, I sate downe and wept and I bewailed many daies, and did fast and pray before the face of the God of heauen. 4.12.16
- 5 I pray the Lord God of heauen, mighty, great, and terrible, which keepeth co-

- uenant and mercie with them that loue thee, &c. 3.17.5
- 7 We haue bene carried away by vanitie, and haue not kept thy Commandementes, ceremonies, and iudgements, which thou commaundest vnto thy seruants *Moses*. 3.4.11
- 9.14 And declarest vnto them thy *Sabaoth* to be sanctified. 2.8.29

IOB.

- 1.6 **N**ow on a day when the children of God came before the Lord, *Sathan* was also amongst them. 1.14.17. & 1.14.19. & 1.18.1. & 2.4.5
- 12 The Lord said therefore to *Sathan*, behold, all things that he hath be in thy handes, onely stretch not out thy hand vpon him. 1.17.7
- 17 And he speaking, there came an other and said the Chaldees made three bands and inuaded thy Camels, and carried them away, and killed the boyes with the sword, and I onely haue fled that I may tell it thee. 2.4.2
- 21 The Lord hath giuen, the Lord hath taken away, the name of the Lord be blessed. 1.17.8. & 1.18.1. & 1.18.3. & 2.4.2
- 21 And *Sathan* came amongst them that he might stand in the sight of the Lord. 1.14.17. & 1.14.19. & 1.18.1
- 4.17 Whether shall a man be iustified in comparison of God, or shall a man be purer than his maker? 3.1.2.1
- 18 Behold, they which serue him be not steadfast: And he found wickednes in his Angels. 3.12.1. & 3.17.9
- 19 How much more, they which dwell in houses of clay, which haue an earthlie foundation, shall be consumed euen as a moth. 1.15.1. & 1.15.2. & 3.12.1
- 17 Blessed is the man that is corrected of the Lord: reprocue not therefore the correction of the Lord. 3.4.32
- 9.2 I know for a truth that it is so: And that man shall not be iustified in comparison of God. 3.12.2
- 20 If I would iustifie my selfe, my mouth shall condemne me: If I would shew my selfe innocent, he should make me manifest to be wicked. 3.12.5
- 10.15 And if I shall be wicked, it is woe with

The Table.

- me : and if I be iust, I will not lift vp my head, being filled with affliction and miserie. 3.14.16
- 12.18 He looseth the collar of Kings, and he girdeth their raines with a corde. 4.20.28
- 20 He changeth the speech of the faithfull, and taketh away the learning of the auncient. 2.4.4
- 13.15 Although he shall kill me, I will trust in him 2.10.19. & 3.2.21
- 14.4 Who can make cleane of vneleane? not thou onely which art alone. 2.1.5. & 3.12.5
- 5 Short be the daies of men, the number of his monthes is with thee: thou hast ordained the limites thereof, which cannot be passed. 1.16.9
- 17 Thou hast sealed vp my wickednes as in a bagge, and thou hast had care of my iniquitie. 3.4.29
- 15.15 Behold amongst his Saintes, there is none immutable, and the heauens be not cleane in his sight. 3.12.1
- 16 How much more abhominable and vnprofitable is man, which drinketh iniquitie as water. 3.12.1,5
- 19.25 I know that my Redeemer liueth and that I shall rise out of the earth in the latter day. 2.11.19. & 3.25.4
- 26 And I shall be compassed about againe with my skinned, and I shall see God againe in my flesh. 2.10.19
- 27 Whom I my selfe shall see, & my eyes shall behold and none other, &c. 2.10.19
- 21.13 They leade their daies in happines, and in a moment they goe downe to the graue. 2.10.17
- 25 Beholde the Moone doth not shine in his sight, and the Starres be not cleane. 3.21.1
- 26.14 Lo, these be part of his waies: but how little a portion heare we of him? and who can vnderstande his fearefull power? 1.17.2
- 28.12 Where is wisdome founde, and what place is there of vnderstanding? 1.17.2
- 21 It is hid from the eies of all liuing, from the foules of the aue it is also kept close. Ibidem.
- 23 But God vnderstandeth the way ther-

- of, and hee knoweth the way thereof. Ibidem.
- 28 And he saide vnto man, behold, the feare of the Lord is wisdome, and to depart from euill is vnderstanding. 1.17.2. & 3.2.26
- 34.30 Who causeth an hypocrite to raigne for the sinnes of the people. 4.20.25
- 36.27 Who restraineth the drops of raine, and powreth downe showers in manner of streames. 1.5.5
- 41.2 And who gaue me first that I should giue him againe? all that is vnder the heauen be mine. 3.14.5

PSALMES.

- 1.1 **T**He man is blest that hath not led his life according to the counsell of the wicked, neither that hath abidden in the way of sinners. 3.17.10
- 2 But his will is in the law of God, and in his law will he meditate day and night. 2.7.13
- 2.2 The Kinges of the earth stood together, and the Princes assembled in one, against the Lord, and against his annoyned. 2.16.3
- 3 Let vs breake the bandes a sunder & let vs throw from vs their yoke, Ibidem.
- 4 He that dwelleth in heauen shall laugh them to scorne, the Lord shall haue them in derision. 1.5.1. & 2.16.3
- 8 Aske of me & I will giue thee the Gentiles for an inheritance, and for thy possessions the ends of the earth. 2.11.11
- 9 Thou shalt rule them with an iron rod, and thou shalt breake them as an earthen vessel. 2.15.5. & 4.1.19
- 12 Lay hold of discipline, least that the Lord be angry, and you perish from the right way. 2.6.2. & 4.20.5. & 4.20.29
- 3.5 I slept and slumbred, & rose vp againe, because the Lord tooke vpon him to keep me. 3.2.37
- 4.7 The light of thy countenance hath bene sealed vpon vs. 1.11.14
- 5.4 I will be early present before thee and I will waite: for thou art a God that loueth not iniquitie. 3.20.12
- 8 I will enter into thy house in the multitude of thy mercie, and I will worship at

The Table.

- at thy holy temple in thy feare. 3.2.23.&
3.20.11
- 6.1 O Lord reprove me not in thy furie,
and correct me not in thine anger. 3.3
3.2
- 7.6 Arise O Lord in thine anger, and be
thou exalted in the quarters of my ene-
mies, &c. 3.20.15
- 9 Judge me O Lord according to my righte-
ousnes, and according to the innocency
of my cause. 3.17.14
- 8.3 Thou hast made perfect thy praise by
the mouth of Infants and sucklings. 1.
16.8
- 5 What is man that thou art mindfull of
him? or the sonne of man that thou doest
visite him? 1.5.3.& 2.13.2
- 9.10 And they may trust in thee, that haue
known thy name. 3.2.31
- 10.13 He said in his heart, God hath for-
gotten, he hath turned away his face that
he should not see at the end. 1.4.2
- 11.4 The Lord in his holy temple. 1.5.1
- 12.2 They haue spoken vaine things every
man to his neighbour: deceitfull lips, &c.
4.14.8
- 7 The words of the Lord, are pure words:
as siluer tried in a furnace of earth fined
seuen fold. 3.2.15
- 14.1 The foolish man saide in his heart,
there is no God. 1.4.2
- 3 The Lord looked from heauen vpon the
children of men, to see if there were any
that vnderstood or sought after God. 3.
14.1
- 4 There is not that doth good, no uoet one.
2.3.2
- 15.1 Lord who shall dwell in thy taber-
nacle? or who shall rest in thy holy hill?
3.17.6 & 3.24.8
- 2 He that walketh without spot, and wor-
keth righteousness, which speaketh the
truch in his heart. 3.6.2
- 16.2 Thou art my God and hast not need
of my goods. 2.8.53
- 3 To thy santes that bee in earth: all my
delight is in them. 1.11.14. and 2.8.53. &
3.7.5
- 5 The Lord is the portion of my inheri-
tance and cup, thou art hee that dost re-
store vnto me my inheritance. 2.11.2. &
3.25.10
- 10 Thou shalt not leaue my soule in hell,
neither shalt thou suffer thy holy one to
see corruption. 3.25.3
- 17.1 Hear O Lord righteousness: giue
care vnto my praier. 1.17.14
- 3 Thou hast proued my heart and visited it
by night, thou hast tried mee by fire, and
hast not found in me iniquitie. Ibidem.
- 15 I will appeare in righteousness before
thy presence, I shall be satisfied when thy
glorie shall appeare. 2.10.17. & 3.25.10
- 18.1 I will loue thee O Lord my fortitude
3.20.28
- 20 And he brought me into largenes: he
made me safe, because he would. 3.17.5
21. And the Lord shall giue vnto me ac-
cording to my righteousness, and accord-
ing to the purenes of my hand shall hee
giue vnto me. 2.17.5. & 3.17.
14
- 28 Because thou dost saue the humble and
thou shalt bring low the eyes of the proud.
3.12.6
- 31 The word of the Lord is tried by fire,
he is a defender of all that trust in him. 3.
2.15
- 19.1 The heauens shew foorth the glorie
of God. 1.5.1. & 1.6.4
- 8 The law of the Lord is pure conuerting
soules: the testimonie of the Lord is faith-
full, giuing wisdom to the simple. 2.7.
12. & 4.8.6
- 13 Who vnderstandeth his faults, cleanse
me from my secret sins? 3.4.16. & 3.4.18.
& 3.17.2
- 20.3 Let him remember all thy offerings
and let him make thy burnt offerings fat.
3.20.18
- 10 Lord saue the king, and heare vs when
we call vpon thee. 2.6.2
- 22.1 O God my God, why hast thou for-
saken me? 2.19.11
- 5 Our fathers trusted in thee: they tru-
sted and thou didst deliuer them. 3.20.26
- 26 I will pay my vowes in the sight of them
that feare him. 4.3.4
- 23.4 For although I shal walke in the mid-
dest of the shadowe of death, I will feare
no euill because thou art with me. 1.17.11.
& 3.2.21. & 3.2.28
- 6 And thy mercies shall follow me all the
daies of my life. 2.3.12

The Table.

- 24.3 Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place? 3.6.2
- 4 Who hath innocent hands and a cleane heart, who hath not lift vp his mind vnto vanitie, nor hath not sworne to the deceit of his neighbour. 3.6.2
- 6 This is the generation of them that seek him. 3.24.8
- 25.1 Vnto thee, O Lorde, haue I lifte vp my soule. 3.20.5
- 6 Remember O Lord thy tender mercies and louing kindnes which be for euer. 3.20.9
- 7 Remember not the faults and ignorances of my youth, but according to thy kindnes remember thou me. 3.3.18. & 3.20.9
- 10 All the waies of the Lord are mercie and truth to them that seeke after his will, &c. 3.20.7. & 3.17.2
- 11 For thy name sake, O Lord, thou shalt be mercifull vnto my sin, for it is great. 3.17.2
- 18 Looke vpon my affliction and trauell, & forgiue all my sins. 3.20.9
- 26.1 Iudge me O Lord, for I haue walked in my innocencie: & trusting in the Lord, I shall not slide. 3.17.14
- 2 Proue me Lord, & trie me, examine my raiues and heart. 3.21.46
- 5 I haue hated the congregation of the wicked, & I will not sit with the vngodly. 3.17.14
- 8 O Lord I haue loued the beautie of thy house, and the place of the habitation of thy glorie. 1.11.14
- 9 Destroy not my soule with the wicked, and with men of, &c. 3.17.14
- 27.1 The Lord is my light and my health whom shall I feare? 1.17.11
- 3 If camps shall stand against me, my hart shall not feare. 1.17.11
- 10 My father and mother hath forsaken me but the Lord hath take me vp. 3.20.36
- 14 Hope in the Lord and be strong and he will comfort thy hart, & true is the Lord. 3.2.17
- 28.8 The Lord is the strength of his people, and the strength of the saluation of his annointed. 2.6.2. & 2.6.3
- 29.3 The voice of the Lord is vpon the waters, the God of maiestie hath thundred, the Lord (is) vpon great waters. 1.6.4
- 30.6 Weeping may abide at euening, but ioy commeth in the morning. 1.10.8
- 7 And in my prosperitie, I said, I shall neuer be moued:
- 8 For thou O Lord of thy goodnes didst giue strength vnto my beautie, thou turnedst thy face from me, and I was troubled. 3.8.2
- 31.1 I haue trusted in thee O Lord, I shall not be confounded for euer: deliuer me in thy righteousnes. 3.11.1.2
- 6 I commend my spirite into thy handes, thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. 3.20.26
- 16 My lots are in thy hands. 1.17.11
- 23 I said in the heate of my minde, I am cast out from the face of thine eyes. 3.1.4
- 32.1 Blessed are they whose iniquities bee remitted, and whose sins are couered. 3.4.29.3.1.11. & 3.14.11. & 3.17.10
- 5 I haue made my fault known vnto thee, and I haue not hid mine vnrighteousnes. I haue said, I will confesse against my selfe vnto the Lorde mine iniquities, &c. 3.4.9
- 6 For this shall euerie one that is holy in time conuenient, &c. 3.20.7. & 3.20.26
- 33.6 The heauens were established by the word of the Lord, and by the spirite of his mouth all the powers of them. 1.13.15 & 1.16.1
- 12 Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord, a people whom he hath chosen for an inheritance vnto himselfe. 2.10.8. & 3.2.28. & 3.2.15
13. The Lord looked from heauen & saw all the children of men. 1.16.1
- 18 Behold, the eyes of the Lord bee vpon them that feare him, and vpon them that trust on his mercie. 3.20.40
- 22 O Lord let thy mercie bee vpon vs as we trust in thee. 3.20.12
- 34.7 This poore man cried, and the Lord heard him, and he saued him from all his tribulations. 3.20.26
- 8 The Angell of the Lord pitcheth round about them that feare him, & he shall deliuer them. 1.14.6. & 1.14.8. & 3.20.23
- 15 Depart

The Table.

- 15 Depart from euill and doe good. 3.3.8
 16 The eyes of the Lord be vpon the iust,
 and his eares to their prayers. 1.16.7.& 3.
 20.3.& 3.20.10
 17 The countenance of the Lord is vpon
 them that doe euill, that he may roote
 from the earth their memorie. 1.16.17
 22 The death of the wicked is euill. 2.10.
 14.& 2.10.18
 23 The Lord redeemeth the soules of his
 seruantes. 2.10.16
 36.1 The wicked man saide to himselfe
 that he might doe euill: there is no feare
 of God before their eies. 1.4.2
 2 For he hath done deceitfully in his owne
 sight, that his iniquitie may be found to
 hatred. 1.4.2
 6 Thy mercie O Lord, reacheth vnto the
 heauens, and thy truth vnto the cloudes.
 3.2.7
 7 Thy iudgementes are wonderous deep.
 1.17.2.& 3.23.5
 10 With thee is the fountaine of life, and
 in thy light we shall see light. 2.2.20
 37.7 Be subiect to the Lord and entreate
 him. 3.2.37
 22 For because those that bee blessed of
 him, shall possesse the earth: but they that
 be cursed of him, shall perish. 2.1.3
 38.1 O Lord in thy wrath reprocue me
 not, neither in thy anger correct me. 3.
 4.32
 5 Mine iniquities haue gone ouer my
 head, and as a heauie burden they haue
 weighed vpon me. 3.4.16
 39.10 I was dumme and opened not my
 mouth, because thou diddest it. 1.17.8
 13 I am a stranger and a pilgrime with
 thee, as all my Fathers were. 2.10.15
 14 Let me pause, that I may come to my
 selfe before I depart, and be no more.
 3.20.16
 40.4 And he put in my mouth a new song,
 a verse to our God: many shall see and
 feare, and they shall trust in the Lord. 3.
 20.26.& 3.20.28
 6 Many hast thou made, O Lord, thy
 maruellous works, & there is none that is
 like to thee in thoughtes. 1.5.9 & 1.17.1
 7 Thou wouldest not sacrifice and offer-
 ing, but thou madest vnto me eares. 3.
 22.10
 8 Then I said, behold, I come: it is writ-
 ten of me in the Chapter of the Booke.
 2.16.5
 9 I desired to doe thy good will, O my
 God, and thy law is in the midst of
 my hart. 2.16.5
 11 I haue shewed foorth thy truth and
 saluation, I haue not hid thy louing kind-
 nesse and truth from the great congrega-
 tion. 3.2.7
 12 Thy louing kindnesse and truth haue
 alwaies preferred me. 3.2.7
 41.5 Heale my Soule, for I haue sinned a-
 gainst thee. 3.10.12
 42.3 My Soule thirsted after the strong
 God, euen the liuing God: when shall I
 come and appeare before the face of
 God? 4.17.21
 5 I passed to the house of God with the
 voice of mirth and praise, &c. 3.4.9
 6 Why art thou sadde my Soule? and
 why doest thou trouble me? trust in the
 Lord. 3.2.16
 43.5 Why art thou sadde, O my Soule?
 and why doest thou trouble me? trust in
 the Lord. 3.2.16
 44.4 Neither did they possesse the lande
 by their owne sword, and their owne
 arme did not saue them, but thy right
 hande and thy arme, and the light of thy
 countenance, because thou diddest fauor
 them. 3.21.5
 21 If we haue forgot the name of our God,
 and haue stretched foorth our hands vn-
 to a strange God. 3.20.27
 22 Shall not God search this out? For he
 knoweth the secrets of the hart. 3.20.27
 13 For thy sake be we slaine all the daie
 long, we be esteemed as sleepe for the
 slaughter. 3.25.3
 45.7 Thy seate, O God, endureth for
 euer, the iod of thy kingdome is a rod of
 direction. 1.13.9
 8 Thou hast loued righteousnesse and hat-
 ted iniquitie, therefore God thy God
 hath annointed thee with the oyle of
 gladnesse about thy companions. 2.15.5.
 & 4.19.18. & 4.20.10
 18 And all the daughters of Tyrus with
 the rich of the people, shall doe homage
 before thy face with gifts. 1.11.15
 46.2 God is our refuge and strength, our
 helper

The Table.

- helper in time of tribulation. 3.2.37
 3 For all that we will not feare, whilest
 the earth is troubled, and the mountaines
 be carried into the hart of the Sea. 3.
 2.37
 6 God is in the middest thereof, it shall
 not be moued. 4.1.3
 47.3 The Lord is high & terrible, a great
 King about all the earth. 1.13.24
 5 He hath chosē vs vnto his inheritance,
 the beautie of *Iacob* whom he hath lo-
 ued, 3.21.5
 48.9 As we haue heard, so we haue seene
 in the Citie of the Lord of power, in the
 Citie of our God: God hath built it for
 euer. 1.11.14
 11 According vnto thy name O God, such
 is thy praise throughout the earth, thy
 right hand is full of righteousnesse. 3.20.
 41. & 4.16.32
 49.7 They that trust in their own strength,
 and glory in the multitude of their riches.
 2.10.17
 8 He can by no meanes redeeme his bro-
 ther, he shall not pay his ransom to
 God. 2.10.17
 11 When he shall see wise men die, & ig-
 norant persons and fooles perish. 2.10.17
 12 The building of them from generati-
 ons to generations, they called their
 names by their Lands. 2.10.17
 13 And Man when he was in honor, knew
 not thereof: he was compared vnto foo-
 lish beastes, and he was made like vnto
 them. 2.10.17
 14 This way vnto them is the stumbling
 blocke of them, and afterwards they de-
 light themselues in the honor thereof. 2.
 10.17
 15 As Sheepe they be put into hell: death
 feedeth vpon them: and the righteous
 shall rule ouer them in the morn'g. 2.
 10.17
 50.15 And call vpon me in the day of
 trouble: and I will deliuer thee, and thou
 shalt honor me. 3.20.13, 28. & 4.17.37
 23 He that offereth vp praises, hee doth
 glorifie me: and this is the way by the
 which I will shew him the saluation of
 God. 4.18.17
 51.3 Haue mercie vpon me, O God, for
 thy goodnes sake, &c. 3.4.9
 6 That thou maist be acknowledged pure,
 when thou hast iudged. 1.18.3. & 3.1.11.1.
 & 3.23.2
 7 Behold, I was fashioned in iniquitie, and
 my Mother conceived me in sinne. 2.1.5.
 & 3.3.18. & 3.20.9 & 4.16.17
 12 Create in me O God, a cleane hart,
 and renue a right Spirit within me. 2.2.
 25, 27. & 2.3.9
 17 Open thou my lippes, O Lord, and my
 mouth shall shew foorth thy praise. 3.
 20.28
 19 The sacrifice to God is a broken Spi-
 rite, a contrite and broken hart, O God,
 thou wilt not despise. 3.20.16
 21 Then thou shalt be delighted with of-
 ferings, with the sacrifice and burnt offer-
 ring of righteousnes, then they shall lay
 Calues vpon thine Altar. 4.18.17
 52.10 But I will be like the greene Oliue
 tree in the house of the Lord. 2.20.17
 53.4 There is not one that doth that
 which is good. 2.3.2
 55.23 Cast thy burden vpon the Lord,
 and he shall vphold thee: he will not suf-
 fer the righteous to fall for euer. 1.17.
 6. & 2.10.17
 24 Thou in the meane time O God, shalt
 throw downe these blood thirsty and de-
 ceitfull ones, into the pit of destruction.
 2.10.17
 56.5 I haue trusted in God, I feare no-
 thing that flesh may do vnto me. 1.17.11
 10 So often as I call vpon thee, mine e-
 nemies giue backe: in this I am assured,
 that thou art my God. 3.20.11
 12 I will make vowes vnto thee, O God:
 I will shew foorth thy praise. 4.13.4
 59.11 Thy goodnesse O Lord may pre-
 uent me, bring it to passe O God, that I
 may see thy woikes on mine enemies.
 2.3.12
 60.14 In God we shall doe valiantlie, and
 he shall treade downe our enemies. 3.
 20.46
 62.9 Power out your hartes before him,
 for God is our refuge. 3.20.5
 10 The Sons of men be vaine, the sonnes
 of men be liers: if they were put in a pairc
 of ballance, they would be lighter than
 vanitie it selfe, 2.3.1
 63.4 Thy louing kindnesse is more to
 be

- be wished for than life it selfe. 3.2.28.&
3.17.14
- 65.1 Vnto thee, O God, is praise in Sion,
vnto thee shall the voue be paid. 3.20.29
- 3 Thou hearest praier, because of this
shall all flesh come vnto thee. 3.20.13
- 5 Blessed is he whom thou choosest, he shall
dwell in thy courts, &c. 3.21.5
- 68.19 Thou art gone vp on high, and hast
led captiuitie, &c. 1.13.11
- 21 Vnto the Lord God belong the issues
of death. 3.25.4
- 36 Thou art terrible O God out of the ho-
ly places: the God of *Israell* hee giueth
strength, to the people. 1.11.14
- 69.3 I am sunke downe into a deepe mire,
in the which there is no bottome, &c. 4.7.
13
- 5 That I am constrained to repay that I
tooke not. 2.16.5
- 22 For they gaue me in my meat gall: and
when I thirsted they gaue mee vineger to
drinke. 4.17.15
- 29 Let them be wiped out of the booke of
the liuing, and let them not bee written
amongst the iust. 2.10.18. & 3.24.9
- 71.2 For thy righteousnes sake rescue me,
and deliuer me. 3.11.12
- 72.8 He shall rule from sea to sea, and from
the fluds vnto the endes of the earth. 2.
11.1
- 11 And all kings shall worship him and all
nations shall serue him. 4.5.17
- 73.2 It wanted but a little but my feet were
readie to fall, my steps had almost slidden.
2.10.16. & 3.9.6
- 17 Vntil I entred the secret places of god,
and I vnderstood what shoulde become
of them at the last. 2.10.16. & 3.9.6
- 26 My flesh & heart is consumed, but God
is the rocke of my heart, and my portion
for euer. 2.11.2
- 74.2 Be mindfull of thy flocke which thou
didst purchase long agone: and of thine
alotted inheritance which thou hast re-
deemed: the mount Sion in which thou
wast wont to dwell. 3.20.14
- 9 We see not our signes, there is not one
propher more, nor any with vs that know-
eth how long. 2.15.1
- 75.7 For neither from the East, nor from
the West, nor from the South doth pre-
ferment come. 1.16.6
- 77.10 Whether or not hath God forgot-
ten to be mercifull? will hee shutte vp his
mercies in displeasure? 3.2.17
- 11 At last I thought, this is my infirmite,
the right hand will change the course of
the most high. 3.2.31
- 78.8 And let them not be as their fathers, a
disobedient and rebellious nation, a gene-
ration that set not their hearts aright, and
whose spirits neuer beleueed God truly.
2.5.11
- 36 They flattered him with their counte-
nances, but they lyed vnto him with their
toongs. 3.3.25
- 37 Their heart was not right toward him,
neither were they faithfull in his couenant
3.3.25
- 49 He cast vpon them the fiercenes of his
anger, violence, indignation, and vexati-
on, by the sending out of euill spirits. 1.
14.7
- 60 That hee might leaue the Tabernacle
Silo, the Tabernacle where hee dwelt a-
mongst men. 2.6.2
- 67 And hee put away the Tabernacle of
Ioseph, and chose not the tribe of *Ephraim*:
2.6.2. & 3.21.6
- 70 And he chose *Dauid* his seruant, from
the folds of sheepe tooke he him. 2.6.2
- 79.9 Helpe vs, O God of our saluation, for
the glorie of thy name, and deliuer vs, and
be mercifull vnto our sins, for thy names
sake. 3.20.14
- 13 And wee thy people and sheepe of thy
pasture shall praise thee for euer: and from
generation to generation wil set forth thy
praise. 3.7.10
- 80.2 Thou which sittest betweene the Che-
rubins shew thy brightnes. 1.13.24. & 2.8.
15. & 4.1.5
- 4 Turne vs againe O God, and cause thy
face to shine that we may be saued. 3.2.
28
- 5 O Lord God of hostes, how long wilt
thou bee angrie against the praier of the
people? 3.20.16
- 18 Let thy hand be with the man of thy
right hand, with the tonne of man, whom
thou hast made strong for thy selfe. 2.
6.2
- 81.11 I am the Lord thy God which haue
brought

The Table.

- brought thee out of the land of Ægypt. 3.
2.31
- 82.1 God standeth in the assembly of gods,
hee plaicth the iudge in the midst of
gods. 4.20.4.& 4.20.6.& 4.20.29
- 3 Reuenge the poore & fatherles, let loose
the miserable and afflicted. 4.20.9
- 4 Deliuer the feeble and needie from the
hands of the wicked. 4.20.9
- 6 I haue said, you are gods, and you are all
sonnes of the most high. 1.14.5.& 4.
20.4
- 84.2 O Lord of hostes, how amiable are
thy Tabernacles. 4.1.5
- 3 My souie longeth and fainteth for the
courts of the Lord, my heart and flesh cry
vnto the liuing God. 2.11.2
- 8 They shall go from strength to strength,
ech of them shall appeare before God in
Sion. 4.7.21
- 86.2 Keepe my life because I am one that
doth good to other: O God keepe thou
thy seruant. 3.20.10
- 5 For thou O Lord, art good and merci-
full, of great kindnes vnto all that cal vpon
thee. 3.2.29
- 11 Direct me O Lord in thy waies, then
shal I walke in thy truth; constraime my
heart that it may feare thy name. 2.2.27.&
2.3.9
- 88.17 Thy furies hath passed ouer mee,
and thy terrours haue destroyed mee. 3.4.
34
- 89.4 I haue made a couenant with my cho-
sen, I haue sworne to *Dauid* my seruant. 4.
1.17
- 5 Thy seede I will establish for euer, and
will set vp thy throne from generation to
generation. 4.1.17
- 31 If his children forsake my law, & walke
not in my iudgements. 3.4.32.& 4.1.
27
- 22 If they breake my statutes, and keepe
not my commandments. 3.4.32
- 33 I will visite their transgressions with the
rod, and their iniquities with whips. 3.4.
32.& 4.1.27
- 34 And my louing kindnes will I not take
from him, neither will I falsifie my truth.
3.4.32.& 4.1.27
- 36 I haue once sworne by my holines, I
will not faile *Dauid*, 2.15.3
- 37 His seed shall be for euer: & his throne
shall be before me as the sunne. 2.
15.3
- 38 It shall abide sure as the moone, which
is a sure witness in heauen. 2.15.3
- 90.4 A thousand yeeres is before thee as
yesterday which is past, yea as a watch in
the night. 3.2.42
- 7 For we are consumed by thine anger, and
by thy wrath are we troubled 3.4.34
- 9 For all our daies were spent, thou being
angrie we ended our yeeres sooner than
a thought. 3.25.12
- 11 Who knoweth the power of thine an-
ger? as euery man feareth thee, so is the
indignation of thy anger feare towards
them. 3.25.12
- 91.1 The man sitting in the secret of the
most high, shall abide vnder the shadowe
of the almightie. 1.17.6.& 2.8.42
- 3 For he will deliuer thee from the snare
of the hunter, and from the noisome pesti-
lence. 1.17.11
- 11 For hee will commaund his Angels for
thy sake, that they keepe thee in all thy
waies. 1.14.6.& 2.8.42.& 3.20.23
- 15 He will call vpon me, therefore I will
heare him, I will be present with him in
affliction, I will deliuer him, and will make
him glorious. 3.20.14
- 92.6 How great are thy workes O Lord,
wonderfull profounde be thy counsels. 2.
10.17
- 7 A dullard doth not know this, neither
doth a foole vnderstand it. 1.5.9
- 13 The iust shall flourish as the Palme, and
shall grow as a Cedar in *Libanus*. 2.10.17
- 14 Those that be planted in the house of
the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our
God. 2.10.17
- 93.1 The Lord is king, and is clothed
with maiesty, he hath, I say, put on strength,
& hath girded himself, the world also shall
be so established that it cannot be moved.
1.6.3
- 5 Holines becommeth thy house O Lord,
for euer. 1.6.4
- 94.11 The lord knoweth that the thoughts
of man are vaine. 2.2.25. and 3.
14.1
- 12 Happie is the man O Lorde, whome
thou hast chastened, and whom thou hast
instructed

The Table.

- instructed in thy law. 3.4.34
- 19 In the passions of many thoughts within me thy comforts recreated my soule. 3. 20.7
- 95.7 If to day you shall heare his voice. 3.2.6
- 8 Harden not your harts as in *Meribah*, and in the day of *Massa* in the wilderness. 2.5.11
- 96.10 Say amongst the nations, the Lorde reigneth, and the world shall be stablished that it shake not,&c. 1.6.3
- 97.1 The Lorde reigneth: let the earth reioice: and let the multitude of the Isles be glad. 1.6.3
- 7 Worship him all yee gods. 1.13.11
- 10 The Lorde keepeth the soules of his saintes, hee will deliuer them out of the hands of the wicked. 2.10.16
- 11 Light is sown for the righteous, and gladnesse for them that bee of an vpright hart. 2.10.16
- 99.1 The Lorde raigneth, let the people tremble: hee sitteth betweene the Cherubins, let the earth be moued. 1.6.3.&2.8.15
- 5 Exalt the Lorde God and fall downe before his footestool: for he is holy. 1. 11.15.&4.1.5
- 9 Exalt the Lorde our God and fall downe before his holy mountaine: for our Lord God is holy 1.11.15
- 100.3 Know yee that the Lorde is God: he made vs and not we our selues: we be his people and the sheepe of his pasture. 3.2. 6.&3.21.5
- 101.3 I will set no wicked thing before mine eyes, I hate them that fall away, they shall neuer cleaue vnto me. 4.20.9
- 8 Bereme will I destroy all the wicked of the land, that al wicked doers, may be cut off from the citie. 4.20.10
- 102.14 Thou wilt arise, that thou maiest haue mercy on *Sion*. 1.13.11
- 16 And all nations shall feare the name of the Lorde, and all the kings of the earth thy glory. 1.13.11
- 18 And hee shall haue consideration of the prayer of the humble and not despise their prayer 3.20.28
- 19 The which shall be written for generations to come: and the people that shall be created, shall praise the Lorde. 3.20.28
- 22 That men may celebrate the name of the Lorde in *Sion*, and his praise in *Jerusalem*. 3.20.28
- 26 For first, thou laicdest the foundations of the earth: and the heauens be the worke of thy hands. 1.13.11.&2.10.15
- 27 The which shall perish, but thou dost abide, and all things shall waxe olde as a garment, &c. 2.10.15
- 28 But thou art the same for euer, and there shall be no end of thy yeres. 2. 10.15
- 103.8 The Lorde is full of compassion and mercy, slowe to anger, and of much mercie 3.2.29
- 17 But the louing kindnes of the Lorde, endureth for euer and euer, towards them that feare him. 2.10.15
- 20 Shew forth the Lorde, yee his angels which excell in power, execute his will in obeying the voice of his words. 1.14.5. &3.20.43
- 104.2 He is clothed with light, as with a garment. 1.5.1
- 4 Which maketh his spirites his embassadors, & his ministers a flame of fire. 1.16.7
- 15 And wine that maketh the hart of man glad, and oile that maketh his face shine. 3.10.2
- 27 All things depend vpon thee, that thou maiest giue them their meate in due time. 1.16.1
28. And thou giuing, they do gather: and thou opening thy hande, they be filled with good things. 1.16.1
- 29 But if thou hide thy face, they are troubled: and if thou take their spirite from them, they die, and they bee turned into dust. 1.16.1
- 30 Againe, lining things be created, if thou send forth thy spirit, and thou dost renewe the face of the earth. 1.16.1
- 105.4 Seeke alwaies his face. 4.1.5
- 6 O yee seed of *Abraham* which loue him, yee sonnes of *Jacob* which be his elect. 3. 21.5
- 25 He turned their harts to hate his people, that they might deale craftily with his seruants. 1.18.2.&2.4.4
- 106.3 O blessed which keepe iudgement, and which do alwaies that which is right 3.17.10

The Table.

- 4 Remember me O Lord, with the fauour wherewith thou fauorest thy people, and haue regard of me, with thy fauing helth, that I may see the happines that is prepared for the elect, and that I may reioice the ioy of thy people. 4.1.4
- 13 But in continent they forgot him, neither followed they his counsell. 3.20.15
- 31 And it was imputed vnto him for righteousnes for euer. 3.17.7,8
- 37 For they killed their sonnes and daughters for sacrifices to diuels. 4.13.17
- 46 And made them be fauoured of al them lead them captiues. 2.4.6.
- 47 Saue vs O Lord our God, and gather vs from among the nations, that wee may confesse thy holy name, and celebrate thy prayers. 3.20.28
- 107.4 Which wandred in the deserts, in the solitary places thorowe pathes, who found not a citie to dwell in. 1.5.7
- 6 They cried vnto the Lorde in their perils, who deliuered them out of their anguishes. 3.20.15
- 13 Then they cried vnto the Lord in their trouble, and hee deliuered them from their distresse. 3.20.15
- 16 For he hath broken the gates of brasse, and burst the bars of iron. 2.16.9
- 19 And they cried vnto the Lorde, &c. 3.20.15
- 25 Who by his commandement doth stir vp the stormie windes, which doth lift vp on hie the waues thereof. 1.16.7
- 29 And the storme being still, hee maketh the sea calme, so that the waues cease, &c. 1.16.7
- 40 For God poureth contempt vpon princes, and maketh them to erre in desert places out of the way. 2.18.2. & 2.2.17. & 2.4.4
- 43 Whofoeuer therefore is wise will remember these things, and he will consider the louing kindnes of the Lord. 1.5.7
- 110.1 The Lord saide vnto my Lorde, sit thou on my right hand, vntill I make thy enemies thy footestoolc. 2.15.3. & 2.16.16
- 4 The Lorde sware, neither repenteth it him, that thou art an cuerlasting priest according to the order of Melchisedek. 2.11.4. & 2.15.6. & 4.18.2. & 4.19.28
- 6 Messias shall iudge among the nations, and all shall be full of dead bodies, when he shall smite the heads ouer many nations. 2.15.5
- 111.1 I will praise the Lord with my whole hart, in the assemblie and congregation of the iust. 4.14.8
- 2 Great are the works of the Lorde, which are inquired out of all them which be delighted therewith. 1.18.3
- 10 The beginning of wisdom is the feare of the Lord. 2.3.4. & 3.2.26
- 112.1 The man is blest that feareth the Lorde, and is greatly delighted with his commandemens. 3.17.10
- 6 The memorie of the righteous shall remaine vntill, &c. 2.10.16
- 9 His righteousness remaineth for euer, and his horne shall be exalted with glory. 2.10.16
- 10 The wicked shall not attaine that that they desire. 2.10.16
- 113.6 And hee doth abase himselfe to behold things in heauen and earth. 1.16.5
- 7 Who raiseth vp the feeble out of the dust, and lifeth the poore out of the dirt. 1.5.7
- 9 Which maketh the barren woman to dwell with a familie, and a ioyfull mother of children. 1.16.7
- 115.3 And our God is in heauen, who doth what he will. 1.16.3. & 1.18.1. & 1.18.3. & 3.24.15
- 3 Their Images be siluer and gold, a worke that was wrought out by the worke of man. 1.11.4
- 8 To whom they be like that make them, and so is he, whofoeuer trusteth in them. 1.11.4
- 116.1 I loue the Lord bicause he hath heard my prayer. 3.20.28
- 7 Returne O my soule vnto thy quiet place, because the Lord hath bin beneficiall vnto thee. 3.2.17
- 12 What shall I repay the Lord for all his benefites bestowed on me? 3.20.28
- 13 The cuppe being taken wherewithall thanks being giuen, I will call vpon the name of the Lord, for receiued saluation. 3.20.28
- 14 And I will pay my vowes now vnto the Lorde before all his people. 4.13.4
- 15 For

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- 15 For precious in the sight of the Lorde
is the death of his saintes. 2.10.14.and
2.10.18
- 18 I will pay my vowes now before al the
people. 4.13.4
- 117.2 For his louing kindnesse doth excell
toward vs, and the truth of the Lorde shall
continue for euer. 3.2.7
- 118.6 The Lorde standing with me, I will
not feare whatsoever man doth endeour
to bring against me. 1.17.11
- 18 The Lorde hath chastened me sore, but
he hath not suffered mee that I shoulde
die. 3.4.32
- 25 Ah Lorde, saue I pray thee: Ah Lorde
giue I pray thee prosperous successe. 2.6.2
- 26 We wish vnto him all good things that
commeth in the name of the Lorde, and
we haue wished vnto you good things
out of the house of the Lorde. 2.6.2
- 119.1 O blessed be they which in their life
walking doe keepe the streight way, ac-
cording to the law of the Lorde. 3.17.10
- 10 When I doe seeke thee with all my
hart, let me not stray from thy comman-
dements. 2.2.25. & 4.14.8
- 14 I am delighted in the way of thy testi-
monies, more than in all riches. 3.2.15
- 18 Pull the veile from my eyes, that I may
see the wonderfull wisdom that is hid
in thy lawe. 2.2.21
- 34 Teach me that I may holde thy lawe,
and that I may keepe it with all my hart.
2.2.25
- 36 Incline my hart vnto thy testimonies,
and not to countousnesse. 2.3.9 & 2.5.11
- 41 And let thy louing kindnesse come vn-
to me, and thy saluation, according to thy
word. 3.2.31
- 43 And take not altogether out of my
mouth the worde of truth, for I looke for
thy iudgements. 3.2.17
- 71 It was good vnto me that thou didst
humble me, that I might learne thy righ-
teousnesse. 3.4.32
- 76 I pray thee that thy louing kindnesse
may happen vnto mee, that it may com-
fort mee according to thy worde, that
hath giuen hope vnto thy seruant. 3.3.4.
& 3.20.14
- 80 Let my hart be wholly in thy statutes,
that I be not ashamed, 2.2.27
- 89 Thy word, O Lorde, abideth euerlasting
in heauen. 4.8.6
- 103 How sweete is thy worde vnto my
taste, truly vnto my mouth it is more
sweete than honie. 3.2.15
- 105 Thy word is a lanterne vnto my feet,
and a light vnto my waies. 1.17.2. & 2.7.
12. & 4.8.6
- 111 Thy testimonies haue bene vnto me
as an euerlasting heritage, for they be the
ioy of my hart. 3.2.15
- 112 I haue set my minde vpon thy decrees
that I might keepe them vnto the ende,
and that for euer. 2.5.11
- 127 Wherefore I haue loued thy precepts
more than golde. 3.2.15
133. Frame my steps according to thy
worde, and let no vanitie haue rule ouer
me. 2.3.9
- 121.4 Behold hee neither slumbreth nor
sleepeth that keepeth Israel. 3.20.3
- 130.1 From the depth of euils I haue cal-
led vpon thee, O Lorde. 3.20.4
- 3 If thou O Lorde wilt marke iniquities, O
Lorde who shall stande vnder it? 3.12.1.
& 3.17.14
- 4 But with thee is mercie, and therefore
thou art feared. 3.3.2. & 3.16.3
- 131.2 It were euill with me, if I haue not
compared and iudged my soule like vnto
a wayned childe with his mother, and
my soule in mee is like vnto a wayned
childe. 3.7.9
- 132.2 Be thou mindfull, O Lorde, of all
things with the which *Dauid* hath bene
afflicted. 3.20.25
- 7 Let vs goe vnto his tabernacle and
worship before the footstool of his feet.
4.1.5
- 11 Of the fruit of thy body will I set vp
thy throne. 2.13.3
- 13 The Lorde hath chosen *Sion*, and hath
taken it vnto him for a seate. 4.1.17
- 14 This is my rest for euer, heere will I
dwell because I haue chosen her. 4.1.5
- 133.3. Because the Lorde hath commaun-
ded that there shall be their blessing and
life euerlasting. 2.11.2.
- 135.15 The Idols of the Gentiles be sil-
uer and gold, a worke brought forth by
the hands of men, 1.11.4
- 138.1. I will confesse thee with all my
whole.

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- whole hart, and before the iudges will I
praise thee. 4.14.8
- 2 I will confesse thy name for thy louing
kindnes, and for thy truth. 3.2.7
- 8 Forsake not the workes of thy handes.
3.24.6
- 140.14 Surely the righteous will praise thy
name, and the vertuous will abide in thy
sight. 2.10.16
- 141.2 Let my prayer be esteemed as incense
before thee, and the lifting vp of
my hands, as the euening sacrifices. 3.20
14. & 4.18.17
- 142.6 Therefore O Lord I call vnto thee,
and say: thou art my hope and portion in
land of the liuing. 2.11.2
- 8 And I will be vnto the iust as a crowne,
because thou hast bene beneficiall vnto
me. 3.20.26
- 143.2 Deale not with thy seruant O Lorde
according to thy law, for there is none li-
uing iust before thee. 2.7.5. & 3.12.2. & 3.
14.16. & 3.17.14. & 3.20.8
- 5 Yet I remember the times past, I meditate
of all thy works. 3.2.31
- 144.15 Blessed bee the people that liue so,
yea blessed bee the people whose God is
the Lord. 2.10.8. & 3.2.28
- 145.3 Great is the Lorde and most worthe
to be praised, whose greatnes is vnsearch-
able. 1.5.8
- 5 I will talke of the comelines of the mai-
estie of thy glorie, and of thy admirable
works. 1.5.8
- 8 The Lorde is gracious and mercifull,
patient and of great goodnesse. 1.10.2.
& 3.20.9
- 9 The Lorde is good vnto all, and his
mercie excelleth all his works. 1.5.5
- 13 Thy kingdome is an euerlasting king-
dome, and thy dominion doth raigne
throughout all ages. 1.13.24
- 18 The Lord is neere to all that call vpon
him, yea to all that call vpon him in truth.
3.20.3. & 3.20.7. & 3.20.14
- 19 He doth whatsoever they woulde that
feare him, and he heareth their cries and
saueth them. 3.20.5. & 3.20.13
- 147.9 Which giueth to beasts their foode,
and to yong rauens that call vpon him.
1.16.5
- 10 Hee doth not allow of the strength of
a horse, and is not delighted with the legs
of man. 2.2.10
- 20 He hath not dealt thus with all nations,
neither hath hee declared to them his
iudgements. 3.21.6

PROVERBES.

- 1.7. **T**He feare of the Lord is the begin-
ning of knowledge. 3.2.26
- 2.21 The righteous shall inhabite the
earth, and the vpright shall liue long ther-
in. 2.11.2
- 22 But the wicked shall bee cut from the
earth, and the transgressors shall be vtter-
ly taken therefrom. 2.11.2
- 3.11 Beware thou bee not against the cha-
sticement of the Lord, my sonne, neither
do thou loath at his corrections. 3.4.32. &
3.8.6
- 12 For whom the Lorde loueth hee doth
chastice, and he is delighted with him as
a father with his childe. 3.8.6
- 8.15 By me princes raigne, and kinges de-
cree iustice. 4.20.47
- 22 The Lord possessed me in the begin-
ning of his waies, I was then before his works.
1.13.7
- 23 I was ordeined from euerlasting, and
from the beginning before the earth. 1.
13.7
- 24 As yet the depthes was not when I
was formed, as yet the fountaines did not
abound with waters. 1.13.7. & 2.14.8
- 9.10 The beginning of wisdom is the
feare of the Lord. 3.2.26
- 10.7 The memorie of the Iust is lawdable,
but the memorie of the wicked is filthie.
2.10.18. & 3.17.5
- 12 Hatred doth breed occasion of conten-
tion, and loue couereth all trespasses. 3.4.
31. & 3.4.36
- 12.14 It shall be giuen to euery man, accor-
ding to his worke. 3.18.1
- 28 In the path of righteousness is life and
the same doth not leade vnto death. 3.
3.17.15
- 13.13 He that feareth the commandement,
shall be rewarded. 3.18.1
- 14.21 He that contemneth his neighbour,
sunneth: but he that dealeth kindlye with
the afflicted, is blessed. 3.17.10
26 In

The Table.

- 26 In the feare of the Lorde is an assured strength, and it shall be a defence also for his children. 3.14.19
- 15.3 In euerie place the eyes of the Lorde doth beholde the good and the euill. 4.17.23
- 8 The Lord doth abhorre the sacrifice of the wicked, but the praiser of the righteous is most acceptable vnto him. 3.14.8
- 16.1 Man may dispoise his heart, but the answer of the toong is of the Lorde. 1.16.6
- 2 To man all his waies do seeme to bee cleane in his own eyes, but the Lord doth dispose the spinte. 3.12.5
- 4 The Lord doth worke all things for his owne sake, yea the wicked also against the day of euill. 3.23.6
- 6 By mercy and truth iniquitie shall bee forgien, and by the feare of the Lorde they depart from euill. 3.4.31. & 3.4.36
- 8 The heart of man doth deliberate of his way, but the Lorde doth direct his steps. 1.17.4
- 12 To commit wickednes ought to bee abhominable to kinges: for the throne ought to be established by iustice. 4.20.10
- 14 The anger of the king is the messenger of death, but the wise man can pacifie it. 4.20.32
- 33 The lots are cast into the lappe, but the whole disposing of them is of the Lord. 1.16.6
- 17.1 A seditious person seeketh only strife, vnto this person a cruell messenger shall be sent against him. 4.20.10
- 15 The Lorde doth alike hate as well him that doth cleare the wicked, as him that doth condemne the innocent. 4.20.10
- 18.10 The name of the Lorde is a strong tower, the righteous runneth thither and is without the casting of earth. 1.13.13. & 3.20.14
- 19.17 He doth let out vnto the Lord who-soeuer doth good vnto the poore: and it shall bee requited him, according to his deed. 3.18.6
- 20.7 The iust doth walke in his vprightness, his children bee blessed after him. 2.8.21
- 8 A King sitting in the throne of iudgement doth chase away all euill with his eyes. 4.20.10
- 9 Who will saie my hart is cleane, I am pure from sinne? 3.23.3
- 12 The hearing of the eare, and the sight of the eye, both these the Lorde made. 2.4.7
- 20 He that curseth his father or mother, his light shall be put out in obscure darknes. 2.8.36
- 24 The steps of the mightie are ruled by the Lord, how then can a man knowe his owne waies? 1.16.6
- 26 A wise king scattereth the wicked, and causeth the wheele to turne ouer them. 4.20.10
- 21.1 The hart of the king is in the hand of the Lord, as the riuers of waters: whither-soeuer he will he turneth it. 1.18.2. & 2.4.7. & 4.20.9
- 2 Euerie mans waies seemeth right vnto himselfe. 3.12.5
- 24.21 Feare the Lord my son and the king. 4.20.22
- 24 He that saith vnto the wicked, thou art righteous: him the people will curse: and the nations shall detest him. 4.20.10
- 25.2 The glory of the Lord is to concele a thing secret, but the kings honour is to search out a thing. 3.21.3
- 4 Take the drosse from the siluer, and there shall proceed a vessell for the finer, let the wicked be taken fro the sight of the king, and then his throne shall be sure through righteousness. 4.20.10
- 21 If he hunger that doth hate thee, feede him: if he thirst, giue him drink. 2.8.56
- 27 As it is not good to eate much honie, so he which doth search out glorie shall be oppressed thereof. 3.21.2
- 26.10 The excellent that formed all things, both rewardeth the foole, and the transgressors. 3.23.4
- 28.2 For the transgressions of them that inhabite the land, it commeth to passe oftentimes that others rule. 4.20.28
- 14 Blessed is the man that feareth alwaies, but he that hardeneth his heart shall fall into euill. 2.2.23
- 29.13 The poore and the vsurer meete together, and the Lord lighteneth both their eyes. 1.16.6
- 30.4 What is his name, and his sonnes name.

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name if thou do know? 2.14.7

5 Every word of God is pure, and a shield vnto them that leane vnto him. 3.2.15

6 And not vnto his words, least he reprove thee, and thou be found a lycr. 4.10.17

ECCLESIASTES.

2.11 **A**ND I turned my selfe vnto all the works that my hands had wrought, and to the labour that I had done, and beholde all was vanitie and griefe of minde. 2.2.12

3.19 The selfe same things are woont to happen vnto men and beastes, and what manner of death one hath, the same hath the other, and the selfe same spirit is in al: neither hath man any thing more excellent than beastes: for why all thing is vanitie. 3.2.38

21 Who knoweth whether the spirite of man doe ascend vpward, or the spirite of beast descend downward into the earth? 3.25.5

7.36 God made man righteous: but they being made haue followed many vaine thoughts. 2.1.10. & 2.5.18

9.1 No man knoweth other loue or hatred of all things that is before them. 3.2.38. & 3.13.4

1 All things come alike vnto all: both to the iust and wicked, &c. 1.16.9

4 A liue dogge is better than a dead lion. 3.25.5

5 They which liue, knowe they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all. 3.20.24

6 Both their loue, hatred, and enuie, is now abolished, neither haue they longer portion in the worlde, of all that is vnder the sunne. 3.20.24

12.7 And the spirite doth returne to God, which gaue it. 1.15.2. & 1.15.5

The song of Salomon.

1.14. **S**Hew me thy countenance, speake vnto me, for thy voice will be vnto me sweete, and thy countenance louely. 1.11.14

5.3 I haue put off my coate and how shall I put it on againe? and I haue washed my feete, how shall I defile them againe? 1.16.4

ESAI.

1.5 **T**O what purpose shoulde you be smitten any more? for yce fall away more and more, euery head is sicke, and euery hart is heauie. 3.4.33

10 Hearre the word of the Lord yee tyrants of *Sodome*, and thou people of *Gomorria*, heare the law of the Lord. 4.1.18

12 Whorequireth that at your handes? 3.14.15

13 Bring no more oblations in vaine, incense is an abhomination vnto mee: I cannot suffer your new Moones or Sabbathes, &c. 2.8.34. & 3.14.8

14 My soule hateth your newe Moones and appointed feasts, they make me wearie. 4.2.10

15 And when you stretch forth your handes, I will hide my cies from you, and although you multiplie your prair, I will not heare, for your handes be full of blood. 3.20.7

16 Take away all naughtines. 3.3.8

17 Learne to do well, seeke iudgement, releue the oppressed, iudge the fatherlesse, and defend the widow. 2.8.5.2. & 3.3.8

18 If your sins were as crimson, they shall be made whiter than snow: and though they were as redde as scarlet, they shoulde be made as wooll. 2.4.29

19 If you consent and obcy, you shall enjoy the good things of the earth. 2.5.10

20 But if you refuse and be rebellious: you shall be deuoured with the sword, bicause the mouth of the Lorde hath spoken it. 2.5.10

2.8 Their land was full of idols, they worshipped the works of their owne hands, & that which their fingers made. 1.11.4

3.1 Beholde the gouernour the Lorde of hostes, will take from *Ierusalem* and *Juda* the valiant and mightie: euen all the strength of bread and water. 1.16.7

3 And I will make children their princes, and effeminate persons shall rule them. 4.20.25

4.1 Only let vs be called by thy name, and take away our reproch. 3.20.25

5.8 Woe bee to them that ioyne house to house, and felde to felde, continuing till there be none left, &c. 1.18.1. & 2.4.4
26 And

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- 26 And he shall raise vp a signe to the people that be a farre off, and will hisse vnto them from the endes of the earth, &c. 3.19.9
- 6.1. I saw the Lord sit vpon a high throne and lifted vp, and his lower partes did fill thee, &c. 1.13.11. & 1.13.23
- 2 The Seraphins stood vpon it, euery one had sixe wings. 1.11.3. & 1.14.8
- 5 Woe vnto mee, for I am brought to silence, because I am a man hauing polluted lips. 4.8.3
- 6 Then flue one of the Seraphins to me, hauing in his hand a burning cole, taken from the altar with the tongs. 1.11.3
- 9 He said, goe and lay vnto this people, in hearing ye shall heare and not vnderstand, &c. 1.13.15. & 3.23.13. & 3.24.13
- 10 Make the hart of this people fat, and make their eares dull, and shut their eies, least they see with their eies, &c. 2.4.3
- 7.4 Take heede, bee still, feare not, neither be faint harted, for the two tailes of these smoking firebrands, &c. 1.17.11. & 3.2.17
- 14 Beholde, a virgine shall conceiue and beare a sonne, and thou shalt call him *Immanuel*. 2.6.3. & 2.12.1
- 18 It shall come to passe in that time that the Lord shall hisse for the fires that be at the vttermoost part of the riuer of *Egypt*, and for the Bee that is in the lande of the *Affyrians*. 2.4.4
- 8.14 Hee shall be as a sanctuarie: but a stone of offence and a rocke of ruine to the two houses of *Israel*. 1.13.11.23
- 16 Binde vp the testimonies: seale vp the laye among my disciples. 3.2.10
- 12 I will looke for the Lord who hath hid his face from the house of *Jacob*, and I will looke for him. 3.2.42
- 18 Beholde, I and the children whom the Lord hath giuen me, &c. 3.22.10
- 9.6 A boye is borne vnto vs, a sonne is giuen vnto vs, whose government is vpon his shoulder, and his name shall bee called *Wonderfull*, *Counsellor*, *God*, the mightie *Lord*, the euerlasting father, the *Prince of peace*. 1.13.9. & 2.15.1. & 2.17.6. & 3.13.4
- 12 But his hande as yet is stretched out. 4.17.23
- 10.1 Woe vnto them that decree wicked decrees. 4.20.29
- 3 O the rod of my furie, and the staffe in their handes is my indignation. 1.18.1. & 4.20.25
- 6 I will sende him to a dissembling nation, and against a people that hath deserued my wrath will I commaund him, that hee take the spoile and praie and to tread them vnder feete like the mire in the streete. 1.18.2
- 12 It will come to passe when the Lord will make perfect his whole worke in *Sion* and in *Jerusalem*, &c. 1.18.1
- 15 Shall the axe boast himselfe against him that heweth therewith? or shall the sawe exalt it selfe against him that mooueth it? as if the rod shoulde list vp it selfe against him that carieth it, or the staffe shoulde exalt it selfe as though it were no wood? 2.4.4
- 11.2 And the spirite of the Lord shall rest quietly vpon him, the spirite of wisdom and vnderstanding, the spirite of counsell and strength, the spirite of knowledge and godlinesse. 2.15.5. & 4.19.22
- 3 And he shall make him prudent in the feare of the Lord, for hee shall not iudge after the sight of his eies, neither reprobue by the hearing of his eares. 2.3.4
- 4 With the spirite of his lips, shall he kill the wicked. 1.13.15
- 9 They shall not hurt nor waste through out all the holy hill, &c. 4.20.10
- 10 And at that day the roote of *Iesse* shall stand vp for a signe vnto the people, the nations shall seeke vnto it. 1.13.13
- 12.1 I wil praise thee O Lord, because thou art angrie with mee, thy wrath is turned away, and thou comfortest me. 3.4.32
- 14.1 The Lord shall haue compassion on *Jacob*, and yet will choose *Israel*. 3.2.15
- 27 The Lord of host determining it who shall disanull it? and when he hath stretched out his hande, who shall turne it away? 1.17.14
- 19.18. In that day, there shall bee siue Cities in the countrie of *Egypt*, speaking the language of the *Canaanites*, and shall sweare by the Lord of hostes, &c. 2.8.23
- 19 In that day, the altar of the Lord shall be

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- be in the middest of the lande of Egypt. 4.18.4
- 21 The Lord shal be knowen of the Egyptians, and the Egyptians shall knowe the Lorde in that day and doe sacrifice and oblations, and shall vow vowes vnto the Lord and performe them. 4.18.4
- 25 Whom the Lord of host hath blessed, saying: blessed be my people of *Egypt* and *Assur*, the works of my hands. 1.18.1
- 25.1 Thou hast done woonderfull things, according to thy counsell of olde, with a stable truth. 3.24.4
- 8 He will destroy death for euer, and the Lorde will wipe teares from euery face, &c. 3.9.6
- 9 Loe this is our God, we haue waited for him, and he wil saue vs. 1.13.10. & 1.13.24
- 26.1 We haue a strong Citie, saluation shal God set for wals and bulworks. 1.17.6
- 19 The dead shall liue, and as my bodie shall they rise: awake and sing yee that dwell in dust, &c. 2.10.21. & 3.25.4
- 21 Beholde, the Lord commeth out of his place, to visite the iniquities of the inhabitants of the earth, and the earth shall shew foorth her bloud, and shall no more hide her slaine. 3.25.8
- 28.16 He which beleueth shall not make haste. 3.13.13
- 29.13 Because this people come nere me with their mouth, and doe honour mee with their lips, but their hart is far from me, & their feare towards me was taught by the preceptes of men, &c. 3.20.7, 3.1. & 4.10.15, 16, 23
- 14 Therefore behold, I will also adde hereto that I may worke maruellously with this people, euen maruell and woonders, that is, the wisdome of their wise men shal perish, and the vnderstanding of their prudent men shall hide it selfe. 4.10.6
- 30.1 Woe vnto their rebellious children, saith the Lord, which dare take counsell but not of me, &c. 3.20.28
- 15 In being quiet and keeping silence shal be your strength. 3.2.37
- 33 *Tophet* is prepared moreover long ago: this is also prepared for the king: O how deepe and wide he hath made it, his inwarde part is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lorde like a riuer of brimstone doth kindle it. 3.25.12
- 31.1 Woe vnto them that goe downe to *Egypt* for aide, and stay on horses, and haue trust in chariots, because they bee many. 3.20.28
- 7 For in that day euery man shall cast away his images of siluer, and his images of golde, which your wicked hande did make vnto you. 1.11.4
- 33.14 The sinners in *Sion* shall be afraide, feare shall possesse the hypocrites, they shall say, which of vs shall abide with the consuming fire? who amongst vs shall dwell with the euerlasting burning? 3.12. 1. & 3.17.6
- 22 The Lord is our iudge, the Lord is our lawe giuer, the Lord is our king, hee shall saue vs. 2.10.8. & 2.15.5
- 24 The people that dwell therein shall haue their iniquitie forgiven them. 4.1.20
- 35.8 And there shal be a path, and a way, and it shall bee called the holy way and the polluted shall not passe thereby. 2.6.2. & 4.1.17
- 37.4 Thou therefore shalt lift vp thy praier for the remnant that are left. 3.20.5
- 16 O Lord of hostes, God of *Israel*, which dwelleft betweene the Cherubins, thou art onely God ouer all the kingdomes of the earth. 2.8.15
- 32 Because a remnant shall goe foorth of *Jerusalem*, and the saued out of mount *Sion*. 4.1.4
- 35 For I will defende this citie, that I may saue it for mine owne sake, and for my seruant *Dauids* sake. 2.17.5
- 36 Wherefore the Angell of the Lorde went out, and smote in the campe of the Assyrians one hundred foure score and siue thousand. 1.14.6
- 38.1 Thus saith the Lord, put thy house in a readinesse, for thou shalt die and not liue. 1.17.12. & 3.3.4
- 3 O my Lord, remember I pray thee that I walked before thee in faith, and with an vpright hart, and that I haue done those things that please thee. 3.20.10
- 5 Beholde, I doe adde vnto thy daies fiftene yeeres. 1.17.12
- 8 Behold, I will bring againe the shadow the degrees whereby it is gone downe in the diall of *Acha*. 4.14.18
- 20 The

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- 20 The Lord was ready to saue me, and we will celebrate my song all the daies of our life in the house of the Lord. 3. 20. 28
- 39.6 Behold, the daies come that all that is in thy house, and which thy Fathers haue laid vp in store vntill this day shall be carried to *Babylon*, nothing shall be left saith the Lord. 1. 8. 7
- 7 And of thy sonnes that shall proceede out of thee, and which thou shalt beget, shall be carried away, and they shall be Eunuches in the place of the King of *Babylon*. 2. 8. 19
- 40.3 The voice of a crier in the Wilderness, prepare yee the way of the Lorde make straight in the desert a path for our God. 3. 3. 2
- 6 A voice did say, Cry: and I said, what shall I cry, &c. 2. 9. 5. & 2. 10. 7
- 11 He shall feede his flocke as a Shepheard. 4. 19. 34
- 12 Who hath measured the waters with his fist, and counted heauen with his span, and comprehended the dust of the earth with his three fingers? 3. 2. 31
- 13 Who hath instructed the spirit of the Lord? or who was of his counsell and hath taught him? 4. 18. 19. & 4. 19. 2
- 17 All people before him be as nothing, and they are counted to him lesse than nothing and vanitie. 3. 2. 25
- 18 To whom therefore will you make God like? or what image will you set vs like him? 1. 11. 2, 12
- 21 Hath not this beene shewed you from the beginning of things? haue you not beene taught by the foundations of the earth? 1. 11. 4. & 1. 14. 1
- 22 Who sitteth vpon the circle of the earth, &c. 1. 5. 5
- 29 He giueth rather strength to the weakie, and vnto him that might faileth, he doth increase power. 2. 2. 10
- 41.7 So the workeman comforted the founder, and he that smote with the hammer him that smote by course saying. It is ready for the sodering: and he fastened this image with nailes that it should not be moued out of his place. 1. 11. 2
- 9 I haue chosen thee and not cast thee away. 3. 21. 5
- 29 Beholde they are all vaine, and their works be nothing, their images are winde and confusion. 1. 11. 2
- 42.1 Behold my seruant: I will stay vpon him, &c. 2. 14. 2
- 8 I will not giue my glorie to an other nor my praises to carued images. 1. 13. 9
- 9 Behold, the former things haue come to passe, and I shew new things the which I declared vnto you before they happened. 1. 8. 7
- 10 Sing vnto the Lord a newe song, sing foorth his praise euen vnto the outmost partes of the earth. 3. 20. 28.
- 13 The Lord shall goe foorth as a Giant he shall stir vp his courage like a man of warre. 4. 19. 34
- 43.1. Feare not, for I haue redeemed thee, I haue called thee by thy name, thou art mine. 3. 2. 31
- 10 You are my witnessess, saith the Lord and my seruant, whom I haue chosen: therefore ye shall know and beleue me, and ye shall vnderstand that I am: before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me. 1. 7. 5
- 11 I, I say I am the Lord, and besides me there is no Saviour. 3. 4. 15
- 25 I, my selfe am euen he which doe blot out thy transgressions, and that for mine owne sake, and I will not be mindfull of thy sinnes. 1. 13. 12. & 3. 4. 15, 25. & 3. 20. 45
- 44.3 I wil poure out waters vpon the thirstie, and floudes vpon the drie ground, that is, I will poure out my Spirit vpon thy seede, and my blessing vpon thy buds. 2. 2. 10. & 3. 1. 3. & 3. 2. 39
- 6 I am the first and I am the last, and besides me there is no God. 1. 13. 23, 24
- 12 The Smith taketh an instrument and worketh in the coales, and fashioneth it with hammers, and worketh it with the strength of his arme: but he hungreth in the meane time, so that his strength faileth, neither drinketh he water, so that he falleth downe wearie. 1. 11. 4
- 22 I haue put away thy transgressions as mistes, and thy sinnes as a cloude, returne therefore vnto me, because I haue redeemed thee. 3. 4. 29
- 45.1 Thus saith the Lord God vnto *Cyrus* his anointed, whose right hand I haue holden, that I might subdue nations be-

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- fore him: Therefore will I weaken the loines of Kings, & open the dores before him, and the gates shall not be shut. 1.8.7
- 7 Making light and creating darknes, making peace, and creating euill: I the Lord doe all these. 1.17.8. & 1.18.3
- 9 Woe be to him that striueth with his maker, the potsheard with the potsheards of the earth, shall the clay say vnto him that fashioneth it, what makest thou? or thy worke, it hath no hands? 1.11.2
- 23 Every knee shall bowe vnto me, and euery roong shall sweare by my name. 1.13.11. & 1.13.23. & 3.5.8. & 3.2.5.7
- 25 The whole seede of *Israel* shall be iustified and glorified in the Lord. 1.13.2. & 3.14.16
- 46.5 To whom will you make me like or equall me, or compare me, that I should be like vnto him? 1.11.2
- 47.6 I truly was angry with my people, that I did prophane my inheritance. 3.4.32
- 48.10 Behold, I haue chosen thee, but not as sluier: I haue fined thee approued in the fornaice of affliction. 3.4.32
- 16 The Lord God and his Spirit sent me. 1.13.14
- 49.15 Doth the Mother forget hir infant, that she should not haue compassion on the sonne of hir wombe? &c. 1.17.6. & 3.20.36
- 23 And Kings shall be thy nurse Father, and Quenes thy nurses, &c. 4.20.5
- 51.6 The heauens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall waxe olde like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall in like manner perish, but my saluation shall continue for euer, and my righteousness shall not faile. 2.10.15
- 52.1 Arise: arise: put on thy strength O *Sion*: put on the garment of comelincesse O *Ierusalem*, the holy Citie: for henceforth there shall not come into thee the vncircumcised and vncleane. 4.1.17. & 4.5.17
- 3 You were sold for nought, & therefore you shalbe redeemed without money. 3.4.25
- 7 O how beautifull vpon the mountaines be the feete of them that declare & publish peace. 4.3.3
- 53.1 Who hath beleued our preaching? and the arme of the Lord vnto whom hath it bene reueiled. 1.7.5. & 3.22.10
- 4 Where as notwithstanding he bore our infirmities, and caried our griefes, but we esteemed him plagued with the striking of God, and afflicted. 2.12.4. & 3.4.27. & 4.17.17
- 5 But he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities, the paine of our correction was put vpon him, and by his woundes health is vnto vs. 2.12.4. & 2.16.5. & 2.16.9. & 2.17.4. & 3.4.30
- 6 All we like sheepe haue strayed, euerie one hath followed his owne waies, and the Lord hath laid vpon him the iniquitie of vs all. 2.16.6. & 3.4.27. & 3.12.5. & 3.24.11
- 7 He was punished and afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth, he was led as a sheepe vnto the slaughter, and he was still as a Lambe before the sheerers, and opened not his mouthe. 2.16.5
- 8 Without delay and without iudgement was he taken, and who shall shew his generation? for he was cut out of the land of the liuing, &c. 2.15.3
- 10 Yet the Lorde would breake him in weakening him, that when hee should make his Soule an offering for sinne, he might see his seede, &c. 2.7.2
- 12 For he shall beare their iniquities. 2.16.5. & 3.11.8
- 12 And hee was reckened among the transgressors. 2.16.5
- 54.13 And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and much peace shall be to thy children. 1.7.5. & 2.2.20 & 3.20.10 & 3.24.14
- 55.1 O, all you that thirst, come to the waters, and you that haue no money come, byc meate and eate, &c. 2.2.10. & 3.13. & 3.15.4
- 2 Wherefore doe you lay out your money, and not for that which is meate and your labor for that that doth not satisfie? 3.14.15. & 4.10.15
- 3 Encline your eares and come vnto me, harken and your Soule shall liue, and I will strike an euerlasting couenant with you, euen the sure mercies of *Dauid*. 2.6.3. & 3.2.6
- 4 Behold,

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- 4 Behold, I gaue him for a witnes to the people, for a prince and master vnto the people. 2.6.3.& 2.15 1
- 6 Seeke the Lord whilst he may be found, call ye vpon him whilest he is neere. 3.3. 20
- 56.1 Keepe iudgement and do iustice, for my saluation is at hand to come and my righteousnes to be reueiled. 3.3.20
- 2 Blessed is the man that doth this & the son of man that laieth hold of it, that is to say, keeping the Sabbath that hee pollute it not, &c. 2.8.29
- 7 Those will I bring to my holy mountaine, and make them ioyfull in my house of praier, their sacrifice and burnt offerings shall be acceptable on my altar, because my house shall be called the house of praier for all people. 3.10.29
- 10 Their watchmen are all blind, they haue no knowledge, they be dumme dogs, &c. 4.9.3
- 57.15 Thus saith the high and excellent, he that inhabiteth the eternitie, and whose name is holy, &c. 3.12.6
- 58.5 It is such a fast that I haue chosen, that a man should afflict his soule for a day, or that he should bow his head? &c. 4.12. 19
- 6 And do not I chose rather this fast, to loose the bands of iniquitie, &c. 3.3.6
- 7 And hide not thy selfe from thine owne flesh. 3.7.6
- 9 Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall heare: thou shalt crie, and he shall say, here I am. 3.20.14
- 13 If thou turne away thy foote from the Sabbath, so that thou doe not thy owne will on my holy day, &c. 2.8.3 1.& 2 8.34
- 59.1 Behold, the Lords hand is not shortened, that he cannot saue, neither is his eare heauie that it can not heare. 3.11. 21
- 2 But your iniquities haue separated between you and your God, and your sinnes hath hid his face from you that hee will not heare. 2.12.1.& 3.11 21
- 7 Their feet do run to euill, and they make haste to shed innocent blood: the thoughts of them are vaine thoughts, desolation and destruction is in their pathes. 2. 3.2
- 36 And when the Lord did see (and thaj being abashed and woondred) that there was none, that there was none I say, that would offer himselfe, hee made his arme the safegard thereof, and his righteousnes did sustaine it. 3.14.6
- 17 Hee put on righteousnes for a breastplate, and the helmet of saluation on his head, &c. 1.11.12
- 20 And the rede[m]ptor shall come to *Sion*, and vnto them that turne from their wickednes in *Jacob*. 3.3.20.21
- 21 My spirit which is vpon thee, and my my word which I haue put in thy mouth, shall neuer depart out of thy mouth, neither out of the mouth of thy seed, &c. 1.7. 4.& 1.9.1.& 4.1.5
- 60.2 Beholde, darkenes shall couer the earth and a mist the people, but the Lord shall rise vpon thee, and his glorie shall appeare vpon thee. 2.3.1
- 6 All they of *Saba* shall come, bringing gold and incense, & they shall shew forth the praises of God. 4.5.17
- 7 All the sheepe of *Cedar* shall be gathered vnto thee. 4.5.17
- 19 The Sunne shal serue thee no more for day light, & the brightnes of the moone shall not shew to thee, &c. 2.2.10
- 61.1 The spirite of the Lord God is vpon me, for because the Lord annointed me, and sent me that I should shew glad things vnto the weake, &c. 2. 15.2.& 3.3.20.& 3. 4.3.& 3.12.7
- 3 And they shall be called trees of righteousness, and the planting of the Lord that he might be glorified. 3.14.16
- 63.10 But they did rebel and vexed his holy spirit. 1.13.15
- 16 For thou art our father, though *Abraham* be ignorant of vs, and *Israel* knoweth vs not, thou Lord art our father, our redeemer. 3.20.25,36
- 7 O Lord, why hast thou made vs to erre from thy waies? why hast thou hardened our hearts that we should not feare thee? 2.4.4.& 3.3.21
- 64.5 Beholde thou art angrie because wee haue sinned. 3.20.8
- 6 We haue bin all as an vnclean thing, and alour righteousnes is as a filthy cloth, and we all do fade like a leafe, &c. 3.1.25

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- 65.1 I haue beene sought of them that asked not: I was found of them that sought me not, &c. 3.24.2
- 2 I haue stretched out my handes all the day to a rebellious people which goe not in a good way. 3.24.16
- 16 He that will blesse himselfe in the earth, shall blesse himselfe in the true God: and he that will sweare, shall sweare by the true God, &c. 2.8.23
- 24 It shall come to passe, that before they call, I will answer: and as yet they speaking, I will heare. 3.20.14
- 25 They shall no more hurt nor destroy in my holy mountaine, &c. 4.10.10
- 66.1 Heauen is my throne, and the earth my footstool: where is that house therefore that you build for me? and where is that place of my rest? 3.20.30. & 4.17. 24
- 2 But to whom shall I haue regard, but vnto him that is humble & of a broken spirit, and who doth tremble at my word? 3.12.6
- 22 For as the new heauen and the newe earth that I will make shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seede and name continue. 2.10.22
- 23 And there shall be continuall newe Moones and continuall Sabbaoths, and all flesh shall come that it may worshipping before me. 2.8.30
- 24 Their wormes shall not die, and their fire shall not be put out, and they shall bee lothsome vnto all flesh. 3.25.12

I E R E M I E.

- 1.6 **O** Lorde God, beholde, I cannot speake, for I am a child. 4.8.3
- 9 Beholde, I haue put my worde into thy mouth. 4.8.3
- 10 Behold this day haue I set thee ouer the nations and ouer kingdoms, to plucke vp and to roote out, and to destroy and scatter, that thou maist builde and plant. 4. 8.3
- 2.13 For my people haue committed two euils, they haue forsaken me the fountain of liuing waters, to digge them pits, euen broken pits that can hold no waters. 3.20. 14
- 3.1 They say, if a man put away his wife,

and she go from him, & become an other mans, &c. 2.8.18. & 4.1.25

2 Lift vp thy eies vnto the high places, & beholde where thou hast not plained the harlot, &c. 2.8.18

12 Go and crie these words towardes the North, and say: thou disobedient *Israell*, returne saith the Lord, and I will not let my wrath fall vpon you, for I am mercifull, &c. 4.1.25

4.1 **O** *Israell*, if thou returne, returne vnto me, saith the Lord: and if thou put away thine abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou not remouee. 2.5.10 & 3.3.6

4 Breake vp your fallow ground, and sowe not among the thornes: bee circumcised to the Lord, and take away the foreskins of your hearts, ye men of *Iudah*, and inhabitants of *Ierusalem*, &c. 2.5.8, & 3.3.6, 7, & 4.16.21

9 And in that day, saith the Lord, the heart of the king shall perish, & the heart of the princes, and the priest shall be astonished, and the prophetes shall woonder. 4. 9.6

11 At that time shall it be said to this people, and to *Ierusalem*, a drie winde in the high places of the wilderness, commeth toward the daughter of my people, &c. 1. 16.7

14 **O** *Ierusalem*, wash thine heart from wickednes, &c. 2.5.8

5.3 **O** Lord, are not thy eies vpon the truth? thou hast stricken them but they haue not sorrowed: thou hast consumed them, but they haue refused to receiue correction: they haue made their faces harder than a stone, and haue refused to turne. 3.4.3.5. & 3.14.8

7 How should I spare thee for this? thy children haue forsaken me, and sworne by them that are no Gods, &c. 2.8.23

14 Because ye spake such words, behold, I will put my word into thy mouth, like a fire, and thus people shall be as wood, and it shall deuoure them. 3.24.13

6.13 For from the least of them, euen to the greatest of them, every one is giuen to conuouersnes: and from the Prophet euen to the Priest, they shall deale falsly. 4.9.3

7.4 Trust

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- 7.4 Trust not in lying words, saying, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord: this is the Temple of the Lord. 4.2.3
- 5 For if you amende and redresse your waies, and your workes, if you execute iudgement betweene a man & his neighbour, &c. 3.17.1
- 13 Therefore now, because ye haue done all these workes, saith the Lord, and I rose vp early and spake vnto you: but when I spake you would not heare me, neither when I called would yee answer. 2. 5.11
- 14 I will doe vnto this house, whereupon my name is called, &c. as I haue done vnto *Shilo*. 2.5.11
- 22 For I spake not vnto your Fathers, nor commanded them, when I brought them out of the Lande of *Egypt*, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices. 4.10.15
- 23 But this thing commanded I them, saying, obey my voice, so I will be your God, &c. 4.10.15,17
- 27 Therefore shalt thou speake all these wordes vnto them, but they will not heare thee: thou shalt also cry vnto them, but they will not answer thee. 2.5.11
- 28 This is a nation that heareth not the voice of the Lord their God, nor receiueth discipline. 2.5.11
- 9.32. Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the strong man glorie in his strength, neither the rich man glorie in his riches. 3.13.1
- 24 But let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he vnderstandeth and knoweth me, for I am the Lord which sheweth mercie and iudgement, and righteousness in the earth, &c. 1.10.2
- 10.2 Be not afraide for the signes of heauen, though the heathen be afraide of such. 2.16.3
- 8 But altogether they dote and are foolish, for the stone is a doctrine of vanity. 1.11.5
- 11 The Gods that haue not made the heauens and the earth, shall perith from the earth, and from vnder these heauens. 1.13.23
- 23 O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himselfe, neither is it in man to walke and so direct his steps. 2.16.6
- 24 O Lord correct me, but with iudgement, not in thine anger, least thou bring me to nothing. 3.4.3.2
- 11.7 For I haue protested vnto your Fathers, when I brought them vp out of the land of *Egypt*, vnto this day, rising carely, and protesting, saying: obey my voice. 3. 20.7. & 4.10.17
- 8 Neuerthelesse they would not obey, nor encline their eare, &c. therefore I will bring vpon them all the wordes of this couenant, which I command them to doe, &c. 3.20.7
- 11 Behold, I will bring a plague among them, which they shall not be able to escape, and though they cry vnto me, I will not heare them. 3.20.7
- 19 Let vs destroy the tree with the fruite thereof, and cut him out of the land of the liuing, &c. 4.17.15
- 12.16 And if they will learne the waies of my people, to sweare by my name, the Lord lueth, as they taught my people to sweare by *Baal*, &c. 2.8.23
- 14.7 O Lord, though our iniquities testifie against vs, deale with vs according to thy name: for our rebellions are many: we sinned against thee. 3.20.8
- 14 The Prophetes prophetic lyes in my name, I haue not sent them, neither did I command them, &c. 4.9.3
- 15.1 Though *Moses* and *Samuel* stood before me, yet mine affection could not be toward this people: cast them out of my sight, and let them depart. 3.20.23
- 17.1 The sinne of *Judah* is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a Diamond, and grauen vpon the table of your hart, and vpon the hornes of your Altars. 3.4.29
- 5 Thus saith the Lord, cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arme, and withdraweth his hart from the Lord. 2.2.10
- 9 The hart is deceitfull and wicked aboue all things, who can know it. 2.3.2
- 21 Take heede to your Soules, and beare no burden on the Sabbath day, nor bring it in by the gates of *Ierusalem*. 2.8.29
- 22 Neither cary fourth burdens out of your houses on the Sabbath day, neither

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- you any worke, but sanctifie the Sabbath, &c. 2.8.29
- 27 But if you will not heare me to sanctifie the Sabbath day, and not to beare a burden, nor to goe through the gates, &c. 2.8.29
- 18.8 But if this nation, against whom I haue pronounced, turne from their wickednesse, I will repent of the plague that I thought to bring vpon them. 1.17.12
- 18 Come and let vs imagine some deuise against *Jeremias*: for the law shall not perish from the Priest, nor counsell from the wife, nor the worde from the Prophet. 4.9.5
- 20.2 Then *Passur* smote *Jeremias* the Prophet, & put him in the stocks that were in the high gate of *Beniamin*, which was by the house of the Lord. 4.9.6
- 21.12 Execute iudgement in the morning, and deliuer the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor, &c. 4.20.9
- 22.3 Execute yea iudgement and righteousness, and deliuer the oppressed from the hand of the oppressor, &c. 4.20.9
- 23.1 Woe be vnto the Pastors that destroy & scatter the sheepe of my pasture, saith the Lord. 4.9.3
- 5 Behold, the daies come saith the Lord, that I will raise vnto *Dauid* a righteous branch, and a King shall raigne and prosper, and shall execute iudgement and iustice in the earth. 2.6.3
- 6 And this is the name whereby they shall call him, the Lord our righteousness. 1.13.9. & 3.11.8
- 16 Heare not the words of the Prophetes that prophetic vnto you and teach you vanitie, &c. 4.9.2
- 24 Doe not I fill heauen and earth, saith the Lord? 4.1.5
- 28 The Prophet that hath a dreame, let him tell a dreame, and he that hath my word, let him speake my word faithfully. 4.8.3
- 24.7 And I wil giue them an hart to know me, that I am the Lord, and they shall be my people, and I will be their God, for they shall returne vnto mee with their whole hart. 2.2.20
- 25.11 And this whole land shall be desolate, and astonished, and these nations shall serue the King of *Babell* scuentie yeares. 1.8.7
- 12 And when the scuentie yeares are accomplished, I will visite the King of *Babell*, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquitie, &c. 1.8.7
- 29 For loe, I beginne to plague the Citie, where my name is called vpon, & should you goe free? &c. 3.4.34
- 27.5 I haue made the earth, the man and the beast that are vpon the ground, &c. 4.20.27
- 6 But now I haue giuen al these lands vnto the hand of *Nabuchadonozor* the King of *Babylon* my seruant, &c. 4.20.27, 28
- 7 And all nations shall serue him, and his sonne and his sonnes sonne vntil the very time of his land come also, &c. 4.20.27
- 8 And the nation and kingdome which will not serue the same *Nabuchadonozor* King of *Babell*, and that will not put their necke vnder the yoke of the King of *Babell*, &c. 4.20.27
- 9 Therefore heare not your Prophetes, nor your Soothsaiers, nor your dreamers, nor your Inchanters, nor your Sorcerers which say vnto you thus, ye shall not serue the King of *Babell*, &c. 4.9.3
- 14 Therefore heare not the words of the Prophetes that spake vnto you, saying, ye shall not serue the King of *Babell*, &c. 4.9.3
- 17 Heare them not, but serue the King of *Babell*, that ye may liue, &c. 4.20.28
- 29.7 And seeke the prosperitie of the Citie, whether I haue caused you to be carried away captiues, and pray vnto the Lord for it, for, &c. 4.20.28
- 31.18 I haue hearde *Ephraim* lamenting thus, thou hast corrected me, and I was chastised as an vntamed Calfe: conuert thou me and I shall be conuerted: for thou art the Lord my God. 2.3.5. & 3.5.8. & 3.24.15
- 19 Surely after that I conuerted, I repented, & after that I was instructed, I smote vpon my thigh, &c. 2.5.8
- 31 Behold, the daies come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new couenant with the house of *Israel*, and with the house of *Judab*. 2.11.7. & 3.4.29
- 32 Not according to the couenant that

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- I made with their fathers, when I tooke them by the hande, to bring them out of the lande of *Egypt*, the which my covenant they brake, &c. 2.5.9. & 2.11.7
- 33 After those daies saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, & write it in their hearts, and will be their God, & they shall be my people. 2.8.14. & 3.20. 45
- 34 For I wil forgieue their iniquitie, and will remember their sins no more. 3.4.29. & 3.20.45
- 35 Thus saith the Lord, which giueth the Sunne for a light to the day, and the courses of the Moone and of the Starres, for a light to the night, &c. 4.17.17
- 32.16 Now when I had deliuered the book of the profession vnto *Baruch*, the sonne of *Neriah*, I praied vnto the Lord, saying. 3.20.15
- 18 Thou shewest mercie vnto thousands, and recompenseth the iniquitie of the fathers into the bosome of their children after them, &c. 2.8.19
- 23 But they obeyed not thy voice, neither walked in thy lawes all that thou commandedst them to do, they haue not done, therefore thou hast caused this whole plague to come vpon them, &c. 2.5.11
- 39 And I will giue them one heart & one way, that they may feare me for euer, for the wealth of thee, and of their children after them, &c. 2.3.8
- 33.8 And I will cleanse them from all their iniquity, wherby they haue sinned against me: yea I will pardon all their iniquities, wherby they haue sinned against me, &c. 3.20.45. & 4.1.20
- 16 And in those daies shal *Iudah* be saued, and *Ierusalem* shal dwell safely, and he that shall call her is the Lord our righteoufnes, &c. 1.13.9
- 42.2 Heare our praiere, we beseeche thee, & pray for vs vnto the Lord thy God, &c. 3.20.14
- 9 Thus saith the Lord God of *Israell* vnto whom ye sent me to present your praieres before him, &c. 3.20.14
- 43.10 Cursed be he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently, &c. 4.20.6
- 50.20 In those daies, and at that time, saith the Lord, the iniquitie of *Israell*, shall bee

- sought for, and there shall be none: and the sins of *Iudah*, and they shall not bee found, &c. 3.4.29
- 23 How is the hammer of the whole world, destroyed and broken? how is *Babel* become desolate among the nations, &c. 2.4.4
- 25 The Lord hath opened his treasure and hath brought the weapons of his wrath, for this is the worke of the Lord God of hostes, in the land of the *Chaldeans*, &c. 1.18.1

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- 3.8. A lso when I cry and shout, hee shutteth out my praiere, &c. 3.20.16
- 38 Out of the mouth of the most high proceedeth not euill and good? 1.17.8
- 4.20 The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lorde was taken in their nets, of whom we said, vnder his shadowe wee shall bee preserued aliuie among the heathen, &c. 2.6.2

EZECHIEL.

- 1.20 W Hither their spirit lead them they went, and thither did the spirit of the wheels lead them, & the wheels were lifted vp besides them, for the spirit of the beasts, &c. 4.19.2
- 2.3 Son of man, I send thee to the children of *Israell*, to a rebellious nation that hath rebelled against me: for they and their fathers haue rebelled against me: euen vnto this very day. 3.24.13
- 4 They are impudent children, and stiffe hearted: I do send thee vnto them, &c. 3.24.12
- 3.17 Son of man, I haue made thee a watch man vnto the house of *Israell*: therefore hear the word at my mouth, & giue them warning from me, &c. 4.8.3
- 18 The same wicked man shall die in his iniquitie: but his blood will I require at thine hand, &c. 4.2.5. & 4.3.6
- 7.26 Calamitie, shall come vpon rumor: then shall they seeke a vision of the prophet: but the law shall perish from the priest, & counsell from the auncient, &c. 1.18.2. & 49.6
- 10.4 Then the glorie of the Lord went vp

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- from the Cherub, and stood ouer the doore of the house, &c. 4.2.3
- 8 And the sound of the Cherubins wings was heard into the outer court, &c. 14.8
- 11.19 And I will giue them one heart and I will put a new spirit within their bowels: and I will take the stony heart out of their bodies, and wil giue them an hart of flesh, &c. 1.13.10. & 2.3.8. & 2.5.5. & 3.24.1
- 20 That they may walke in my statutes & keepe my iudgements, and execute them: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God, &c. 2.5.5
- 12.2 They are a rebellious house, &c. 3.24. 13
- 13 My net also will I spread vpon him, and he shall be taken in my net, and I will bring him to *Babel*, to the land of the Caldeans, yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there, &c. 2.4.4
- 13.9 They shall not be in the assembly of my people, neither shall they be written in the writing of the house of *Israell*, &c. 2. 24.9 & 4.1.4
- 14.9 And if the Prophet bee deceiued when hee hath spoken a thing, I the Lorde haue deceiued that Prophet, &c. 1.18.2
- 14 Though these three men *Nah*, *Daniel*, and *Iob* were among them they shoulde deliuer but their own soules by their righteousness, &c. 1.20.13
- 16.29 Moreover thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast borne vnto me, & these hast thou sacrificed vnto them to be deuoured, &c. 2.2.11. & 4. 16.24
- 17.20 And I will spread my nette vpon him, and he shal be taken in my net, and I will bring him to *Babel*, and will enter into iudgement with him, therefore his trespass, that he hath committed against me, &c. 2.4.4
- 18.4 The soule that sinneth shall die, &c. 2.8.4. & 3.4.28
- 9 He that hath walked in my statutes, and kept my iudgements to deale truely, he is iust, he shal surely liue, saith the Lord God, &c. 3.17.15
- 20 The same soule which sinneth shal dy: the son shall not beare the iniquitie of the father, neither shall the father beare the iniquitie of the sonne, &c. 2.8.9. & 2.8. 19. & 2.8.20. & 2.8.59. & 3.3.24
- 21 But if the wicked will returne from all his sins, that he hath committed, & keepe all my statutes and do that which is lawfull and right, he shall surely liue and not die. 1.3.24 & 3.4.18. & 3.17.15
- 23 Haue I any desire that the wicked should die, saith the Lord God? or shall hee not liue, if he returne from his waies? 4.1.2.5
- 24 But if the righteous returne from his righteousness, and commit iniquitie, & do according to all the abhominations that the wicked man doth, &c. 3.4.29. & 3. 14.10
- 27 Agains when the wicked turneth away from his wickednes that he hath committed, and doth that which is lawfull and right, hee shall saue his soule aliuie, &c. 3.4.29
- 31 Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby you haue transgressed, and make you a new heart, and a new spirit, &c. 3.3.6
- 32 For I desire not the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God: cause therefore one an other to returne, and liue ye. 4.1.25
- 19.12 And the East winde dried vpher fruit, &c. 1.16.7
- 20.11 And I gaue them my statutes, and declared my iudgments vnto them, which if a man doe, hee shall liue in them, &c. 3.17.3
- 12 Moreover I gaue them also my sabbathes, to bee a signe betweene mee and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctifieth them, &c. 2.8.29
- 42 And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall bring you into the lande of *Israell*, into the land, &c. 3.13.1
- 43 And there shall you remember your waies, and all your works wherein ye haue been defiled, &c. 3.13.1
- 22.8 Thou hast despised my holy things, and hast polluted my Sabbaths. 2.8.29
- 25 There is a conspiracie of her prophets in the midst thereof like a roaring Lion, rauening the pray: they haue deuoured soules, &c. 4.9.3
- 26 Her priestes haue broken my law: and haue

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- haue defiled my holy things, they haue put no difference betweene the holy, and prophane, &c. 4.9.3
- 23.37 And haue also caused their sonnes whom they bare vnto mee, to passe by the fire to be their meate. 4.16.24
- 38 They haue defiled my sanctuary in the same day, and haue prophaned my Sabbathes. 2.8.29
- 23.10 Thou shalt die the death of the vncircumcised, by the handes of strangers: for I haue spoken it saith the Lorde God. 2.10.18
- 29.4 But I will put hookes in thy chawes, and I will cause the fish of thy riuers to stick vnto thy scales, &c. 1.17.11
- 19 Behold, I will giue the land of *Egypt* vnto *Nebuchadnezar* the king of *Babell*, and he shall take her multitude, and spoile her spoile, and take her pray, and it shall bee the wifes of his armie. 4.20.26
- 20 I haue giuen him the land of *Egypt* for his labor, that he serued against it, because they wrought for me. 4.20.26
- 31.18 Thou shalt sleepe in the midst of the vncircumcised, with them that be slaine by the sworde: this is *Pharao*, and all his multitude, &c. 2.10.18
- 33.8 He shall die for his iniquitie: but his bloud wil I require at thy hand, &c. 4.12.5
- 11 I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turne from his way and liue, &c. 3.24.15
- 14 If he returne from his sin, and doe that which is lawfull and right, &c. 3.17.15
- 34.4 But with crueltie and with rigor, haue yee ruled them, &c. 4.11.14
- 23 And I will set vp a shepherd over them, and he shall feede them, euen my seruant *Dauid*, he shall feede them, and he shall bee their shepherd. 2.6.3
- 36.21 But I fauoured mine holy name which the house of *Israell* had polluted among the heathē whether they went, &c. 3.4.30
- 22 I do not this for your sakes, O house of *Israell*, but for mine holy names sake, which yee polluted among the heathen, &c. 3.12.3. & 3.15.2
- 25 Then will I poure cleane water vpon you, and yee shall be cleane, yea from all your filthines, and from all your idols wil I cleanse you, &c. 3.1.3
- 26 A new hart will I giue you, and a newe spirite will I put within you, and I wil take away the stony hart out of your body & will giue you a hart of flesh. 2.3.6. & 2.5.8. & 3.24.1. & 3.24.15
- 27 And I will put my spirite within yours, and cause you to walke in my statutes, and yee shall keepe my iudgements and do them. 1.3.10. & 2.3.6
- 32 Be it knowen vnto you, that I do not this for your sakes, saith the Lorde God: therefore O yee house of *Israell*, be ashamed & confounded for your owne waies. 3.4.3. & 3.12.3. & 3.15.2
- 37.4 Again he saide vnto me, prophecie vpon these bones and say vnto them, O yee drie bones, heare the worde of the Lorde. 2.10.21
- 25 And my seruant *Dauid* shall bee their prince for euer. 2.6.3
- 26 Morcouer, I will make a couenant of peace with them: it shal be an euerlasting couenant with them, &c. 2.6.3
- 48.21 And the residue shal be for the prince on the one side and on the other of the oblation of the sanctuarie and of the possession of the citie, &c. 4.2.13
- 35 And the name of the citie from that day shall be, The Lorde is there. 1.13.4

DANIEL.

- 2.21 HE taketh away kings: and setteth vp kings, &c. 4.20.26
- 37 Thou art a king of all kings: the God of heauen hath giuen thee kingdome, power, and strength, and glorie. 4.20.26
- 44 And in the daies of these kings shall the God of heauen set vp a kingdome which shall neuer bee destroyed: and this kingdome shall not bee giuen to another people, but shall breake and destroy all these kingdomes, and it shall stande for euer, &c. 2.15.3
- 4.24 Wherefore, O king, let my counsell be acceptable vnto thee, and breake off thy sinnes by righteousnes, and flume iniquities by mercy towards the poore, &c. 3.4.31. & 3.4.36
- 5.18 The most high God gaue vnto *Nebuchadnezar* thy father a kingdome, and maestie, and honor, and glorie, &c. 4.20.26
- 6.22 And

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- 6.22 And vnto thee O king, I haue done
no hurt, &c. 4.20.3.2
- 7.4 The first was as a Lion, and had eagles
wings: I beheld, till the wings thereof
were plucked off, &c. 1.8.7
- 10 And ten thousand thousands stood be-
fore him: the iudgement was set and the
bookes opened. 1.14.5. & 1.14.8. & 3.2.41
- 25 And shall speake wordes against the
most high, and shall consume the faintes
of the most high, and thinke that he may
change times, and lawes, &c. 4.7.2.5
- 9.5 Wee haue sinned, and haue committed
iniquitie, and haue done wickedly, yea
we haue rebelled, & haue departed from
thy precepts, and from thy iudgements.
3.4.9
- 7 O Lorde righteousnesse belongeth vnto
thee, and vnto vs open shame, &c. 4.20.29
- 10 For wee haue not obeyed the voice of
the Lord our God, to walke in his waies,
which he had laied before vs, by the mi-
nisterie of his seruants the Prophets. 2.
5.11
- 18 For we do not present our supplications
before thee for our own righteousnes, but
for thy great tender mercies. 3.20.8. & 3.
20.14
- 14 Seuentie weekes are determined vpon
thy people, and vpon thy holy citie, to
finish thy wickednesse, and to seale vp
thy sinnes, and to reconcile thy iniquitie,
and to bring in euerlasting righteousnes,
2 &c. 2.7.2. & 2.15.1. & 2.15.6
- 7 And hee shall confirme the couenant
with many for one weeke: & in the mids
of the weeke, hee shall cause the oblation
and sacrifice to cease: and for the ouer-
spreading of the abominations, hee shall
leauie it desolate, &c. 4.2.1.2
- 10.13 But the prince of the kingdome of
Persia withstood me, &c. 1.14.7
- 20 But now I will returne to fight with the
prince of *Persia*, &c. 1.14.7
- 12.1 And at that time shall *Michael* stand
vp, the gre at prince, which standeth for
the children of the people, and there shall
be a time of trouble, &c. 1.14.7. & 1.14.
8. & 2.10.11
- 2 And manie of them that sleepe in the
dust of the earth, shall awake, and some
to euerlasting life, and some to shame and
perpetuall contempt. 3.25.7
- 3 And they that bee wise, shall shine as the
brightnes of the firmament: & they that
turne many to righteousnes, shall shine as
the stars, for euer and euer. 3.25.10

O S E A.

- 1.11 **T**hen shall the children of *Judah*,
and the children of *Israell* be ga-
thered together, and appoint themselues
one head, and they shall come vp out of
the land, &c. 2.6.3.
- 2.5 For their mother hath plaied the har-
lot, she that conceiued them, hath done
shamefully: for she said I will go after my
louers, &c. 2.8.18
- 19 And in that day I will make a coue-
nant for them with the wilde bestes, and
with the foules of the heauen, and with
them that creepe vpon the earth, &c. 4.
1.20
- 19 And I will marrie thee vnto me for euer:
yea I will marrie thee vnto me in righte-
ousnes, & in iudgement, and in mercy, &
in compassion. 3.14.6. & 4.1.20
- 23 And I will haue mercy vpon her that
was not pitied, & I will say to them which
were not my people, thou art my people:
and they shall saie, thou art my God.
3.14.6
- 8.5 Afterward shall the children of *Israell*
conuert, and seeke the Lorde their God,
and *David* their king, and shall feare the
Lord and his goodnes in the latter daies.
2.6.3. & 3.2.2.3
- 5.11 *Ephraim* is oppressed, and broken in
iudgement, bicause hee willingly walked
after the commandement. 4.20.3.2
- 15 I will go, and returne to my place, till
they acknowledge their fault, and seeke
me, &c. 2.5.13
- 6.1 Come, and let vs returne to the Lord,
for he hath spoiled, and he will heale vs:
he hath wounded vs and he wil binde vs
vp. 3.3.2
- 7.8 *Ephraim* is as a cake on the harth not
turned 3.4.35
- 8.4 They haue set vp a king, but not by me,
&c. 1.8.4
- 9.8 The watchman of *Ephraim* shoulde be
in with my God: but that prophet is the
snare of a fouler in all his waies; and
hated

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- hatred in the house of his God. 4.9.3
 12.5 Yea the Lord God of hostes, the Lord himselfe is his memoriall. 1.13.10
 13.11 I gaue thee a king in mine anger, and I tooke him away in my wrath. 1.18. 4.& 4.20.25
 12 The iniquitie of *Ephraim* is bounde vp, and his sinne is hid. 3.4.29
 14 I will redeeme them from the power of the graue: I will deliuer them from death: O death I will be thy death: O graue, I will be thy destruction, &c. 3.25.10
 14.2 Take away all iniquitie, and receiue vs graciously: so will we render the values of our lips. 3.4.30.& 3.20.28.& 4.18.17
 3 *Asshur* shall not saue vs, neither will we ride vpon horses: neither will we say any more to the worke of our hands, yee are our Gods: for in thee the fatherlesse finde mercie. 1.11.4
 4 I will heale their rebellion: I will loue them freely: for mine anger is turned away from them. 3.14.6

I O E L.

- 2.12 **T**urne you vnto mee, with all your hart, and with fasting, & with weeping, and with mourning. 2.5.8.& 3.3.17
 13 And rent your hart, & not your clothes, &c. 3.3.16.& 4.12.19
 15 Blowe the trumpet in *Sion*, sanctifie a fast, call a solemne assemblee. 4.12.14. & 4.12.17
 28 And afterwarde will I powre out my spirit vpon all flesh, and your sonnes, and your daughters shall prophesie: your old men shall dreame dreames, & your young men shall see visions. 2.15.2.& 3.1.2. and 4.18.4
 32 But whosoeuer shall call vpon the name of the Lord, shall be saued, for in mount *Zion*, and in *Jerusalem* shall be deliuerance &c. 1.13.13. & 1.13.20. & 3.20.2. & 3.20. 14.& 4.1.3. & 4.1.4
 3.17. Then shall *Jerusalem* bee holie, and there shall no strangers goe through her any more. 4.1.17

A M O S.

- 1.2 **T**he Lord shall roare from *Zion*, and utter his voice from *Jerusalem*, &c. 2.8.15

- 3.6 Or shall there be euil in a citie and the Lord hath not done it? 1.17.8. & 1.18.3
 4.7 And also I haue withholden the raine from you, when there were yet three monethes to the haruest, & I caused it to raine vpon one city, and haue not caused it to raine vpon another, &c. 3.22.10
 5.14 Seeke good and not euil, that ye may liue, &c. 2.5.10
 6.1 Woe to them that are at ease in *Zion*, &c. 3.19.9
 4 They lie vpon beddes of yuorie, and stretch themselues vpon their beds, &c. 3.19.9
 8.11 Beholde, the daies come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land, and not a famine of bread, nor thirst for water, but of hearing of the worde of the Lord. 3.22.10
 9.11 In that day will I raise vp the tabernacle of *Dauid*, that is fallen downe and close vp the breaches thereof, and I will raise vp his ruines, and I will build it as in the daies of olde. 2.6.3

A B D I A S.

- B**Vt vpon mount *Zion*, shall be deliuerance &c. 4.1.13

I O N A S.

- 1.4 **B**Vt the Lord sent out a great winde into the sea, and there was a mightie tempest in the sea, &c. 1.16.7
 2.9 But I will sacrifice vnto thee, with the voice of thanks giuing, and will pay that I haue vowed: saluation is of the Lorde. 3.20.28
 3.4 Yet for tie daies, and *Niniveth* shall be ouerthrowen. 1.17.12
 5 So the people of *Niniveth*, beleecued God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them, euen to the least of them. 3.3.4. & 4.12.17
 10 And God sawe their works that they turned from their euill waies: and God repented of the euill that hee had saide, that he would doe vnto them, and he did it not. 1.17.14

M I C H E A S.

- 2.13 **T**he breaker vp shall come vp before them: they shall breake out and.

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- and passe by the gate, and go out by it, and the Lorde shall be vpon their heades. 2.6.3
- 3.6 Therefore night shall be vnto you for a vision, and darknes shall be vnto you for a diuination, and the sunne shall go downe ouer the prophets, and the day shall bee darkc ouer them. 4.9.6
- 5.2 And thoug *Bethlem Ephratah*, art little to be among so many thousandes of *Judah*, yet out of thee shall he come foorth vnto me, that shall be the ruler in *Israel*: whose goings, &c. 2.14.7
- 13 Thine Idols also will I cut off, and thy images out of the mids of thee: and thou shalt no more worship the works of thine hands. 1.11.4
- 7.9 I will beare the wrath of the Lorde, because I haue sinned against him, vntill he plead my cause, &c. 3.4.3.2
- 19 He will subdue our iniquities, and cast all their sinnes into the bottom of the sea. 3. 4.29
- 3.11 For then I will take away out of the middes of thee, them that reioice of thy pride, and thou shalt no more be proude of mine holy mountaine. 3.12.6

H A G G E V S.

- 2.12 **A**Ske now the Priestes concerning the law, & say: if one beare holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, &c. 3.14.7

Z A C H A R I A S.

- 1.3 **T**Urne yee vnto me, saith the Lorde of hostes, and I will turne vnto you &c. 2.5.9. & 3.24.15
- 2.4 And another angell went out to meeete him, and said vnto him, run speake to this yoong man, and say *Jerusalem* shall be inhabited without wals, for the multitude of men and cattell that are therein. 1. 13.10
- 8 For hee that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eie. 1.13.10. & 1.17.6
- 11 And many nations shall be ioyned to the Lord in that day, and shall be my people: and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt knowe that the Lorde of hostes hath sent me vnto thee. 1.13.10
- 12 And the Lorde shall inherite *Judah* his portion in the holy lande, and shall chose *Jerusalem* againe. 3.2.1.5
- 3.10 In that day, saith the Lord of hostes, shall yee call every man his neighbour vnder the vine, and vnder the figge tree. 3.13.4

- ## H A B A C V C.
- 1.12 **A**Rt not thou of old, O Lord my god mine holy one? we shall not die, O Lord, &c. 2.10.18
- 2.3 Though it tarrie, waite, for it shall surely come, and shall not flie. 3.2.42
- 4 But the iust shall liue by his faith. 3.14.11. & 3.18.5
- 18 What profiteeth the images, for the marker thereof hath made it an image? and a teacher of lies, though hee that made it, trust therein, when hee that maketh dum idols. 1.1.12. & 1.11.5
- 20 But the Lord is in his holy Temple: let all the earth keepe silence before him. 1. 5.12. & 1.10.3. & 2.8.15
- 3.2 In wrath remember mercy. 3.4.32
- 3 God commeth from *Teman*, &c. 1.13.27
- 23 Thou wentest foorth for the saluation of thy people, euen for saluation with thine anointed, &c. 2.6.3

S O P H O N I A S.

- 1.5 **A**ND them that worship the host of heauen vpon the house tops, and them that worship & sweare by the Lord, and by *Maichan*, &c. 2.8.23
- 7.13 Therefore it is come to passe, that as he cried, and they could not heare, so they cried, and I woulde not heare, saith the Lord of hostes. 3.3.24
- 9.9 Reioyce greatly, O daughter *Sion*, flourish for ioy, O daughter *Jerusalem*: beholde, thy king commeth vnto thee, hee is iust and saued, poore, &c. 2.6.3. & 2.17.6
- 11 Thou also shalt be saued, through the blood of the couenant I haue loosed thy prisonets, out of the pit wherein was no water. 2.16.9
- 12.4 In that day I will smite saith the Lord, cuerie horse with stonishment, and his rider with madnesse, &c. 4.9.5
- 13.9 They shall call on my name, and I will heare them: I wil say, it is my people, and

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and they shall say, the Lorde is my God.
3.20.13
14.9 And the Lorde shall bee king ouer all
the earth: in that day shall be one Lorde,
and his name shall be one. 1.12.3

MALACHIAS.

1.2 **W**AS not *Eſau Jacobs* brother?
ſaith the Lord,&c. 3.21.6
3 Yet I loued *Jacob*, and I hated *Eſau*,
&c. 3.21.6
6 A ſonne honoureth his Father, and a ſer-
uant his maſter. If then I bee a father,
where is mine honor, and if I be a maſter,
where is my feare,&c. 2.8.14.& 3.2.26.

11 For from the riſing of the ſunne vnto the
going downe of the ſame, my name is
great among the Gentiles. And in euerie
place incenſe ſhall bee offered vnto my
name: and a pure offering,&c. 4.18.4. &
4.18.16

2.4 And yee ſhal know, that I haue ſent this
commandement vnto you that my coue-
nant, which I made with *Leui*, might
ſtande, ſaith the Lord of hoſtes. 4.2.3. &
4.8.2

5 My couenant was with him of life and
peace, and I gaue him feare, and he feared
mee, and was aſtraide before my name.
4.2.3

6 The law of truth was in his mouth, and
there was no iniquitie ſounde in his lips.
4.2.3. & 4.8.2

7 For the Prieſtes lips ſhould keepe know-
ledge, and they ſhould ſeek the lawe at
his mouth, for he is the meſſenger of the
Lord of hoſtes. 4.8.2. & 4.8.6. & 4.9.2

5 But yee are gone out of the way: yee haue
cauſed many to fall by the law: yee haue
broken the couenant of *Leui*, &c. 4.7.30

3.1 And the Lorde whom yee ſeek, ſhall
ſpeedily come to his Temple: euen the
meſſenger of the couenant whom yee de-
ſire, &c. 1.13.10. & 1.14.9

17 I will ſpare them, as a man ſpareth his
owne ſon that ſerueth him. 3.19.15

4.1. For, behold the day commeth that ſhal
burne as an ouen: and all the proud, yea
and all that do wickedly, ſhall be as ſtub-
ble, and the day that commeth ſhal burne
them vp, &c. 3.24.1.2

2 But vnto you that feare my name, ſhall
the ſun of righteouſnes, &c. 2.6.1. & 3.
24.1.2

4 Remember the law of *Mofes* my ſeruant,
which I commanded vnto him in *Horeb*
for al *Iſrael*, &c. 4.8.6

5 Behold, I will ſend you *Eliab* the prophet
before the comming of the great and
fearefull day of the Lord. 2.9.5

6 And he ſhall turne the hart of the fathers
to their children, and the hart of the chil-
dren to their fathers, &c. 4.1.6

TOBIAS.

3.25 **A**ND *Raphael* was ſent to heale them
both, &c. 1.14.8

SAPIENTIA.

14.16 **T**HUS by proces of time this wic-
ked cuſtome preuailed, and was
kept as a law, and idols were worſhipped
by the commandments of tyrants. 1.
11.8

ECCLESIASTICVS.

15.14 **G**OD made man from the begin-
ning, and left him in the hande
of his counſell, and gaue him his com-
mandements and precepts. 2.15.18

15 If thou wilt, thou ſhalt obſerue the com-
mandements, and teſtifie thy good will.
2.25.18

16 Hee hath ſet water and fire before thee,
ſtretch out thy hande vnto which thou
wilt. 2.15.18

17 Before man is life and death: good and
cuill: what him liketh ſhall be giuen him.
2.15.8

16.14. He will giue place to al good deeds,
and euerie one ſhall finde according to
his works, and after the vnderſtanding of
his pilgrinage. 3.15.4

BARVCH.

2.18 **B**Vt the ſoule that is vexed for the
greatnes of ſinne, and he that goeth
crookedly, and weak, and the eies that
faile, and the hungrie ſoule will giue thee
praiſe and righteouſnes, &c. 3.20.8

19 For wee doe not require mercy in thy
ſight. O Lorde our God, for the righte-
ouſneſſe of our fathers, or of our kings.
3.20.8

20 But

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- 20 But because thou hast sent out thy wrath and indignation vpon vs, as thou hast spoken by thy seruants the Prophets, &c. 3.20.8
- 13 Then came Iesus from Galilee to Iordan vnto Iohn, to be baptized of him. 4.15.6. & 4.16.27
- 15 Let be now: for thus it becommeth vs to fulfill all righteousness. So he suffered him. 2.16.5

I. MACHABEES.

- 1.59 **A**ND the Bookes of the law, which they found, they burnt in the fire, and cut in peeces. 1.8.9
- 16 And Iohn sawe the spirit of God descending like a doue, and lighting vpon him. 1.11.3. & 4.17.21. & 4.19.20
- 17 And lo, a voice came from heauen saying: this is my beloued sonne, in whom I am well pleased. 2.16.11. & 3.2.32. & 3.8.1. & 3.24.5

II. MACHABEES.

- 12.43 **A**ND hauing made a gathering through the companie sent to Ierusalem about two thousand daclimes of siluer, to offer a sinne offering, &c. 3.5.8
- 15.39 If I haue done well, and as the storie required, it is the thing that I desired: but if I haue spoken slenderly and barely, it is that I could. 3.5.8
- 4.2 And when hee had fasted fortie daies and fortie nights, he was afterward hungry. 4.12.20
- 3 Then came to him the tempter, and said, if thou be the sonne of God, commaund that these stones be made bread. 3.20.46
- 4 Man shall not liue by bread onely, but by euery worde that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. 3.20.44
- 10 Then said Iesus vnto him, quoid Satan: for it is written, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onely shalt thou serue. 1.12.3
- 11 Then the diuel left him: and behold, the angels came and ministred vnto him. 1.14.6
- 17 From that time Iesus began to preach, and to saye, Amende your liues for the kingdome of heauen is at hande. 2.9.2. & 3.3.2. & 3.3.19
- 19 Follow me and I will make you fishers of men. 4.16.3. I
- 5.3 Blessed are the poore in spirit, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. 3.17.10
- 4 Blessed are they that mourne, for they shall be comforted. 3.8.9
- 8 Blessed are the pure in hart: for they shall see God. 3.25.6
- 10 Blessed are they which suffer persecuti- on for righteousness sake: for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. 3.8.7
- 12 Reioyce and bee glad, for great is your reward in heauen, &c. 3.18.1
- 13 Yee are the salt of the earth, &c. 4.3.3. & 4.5.14. & 4.8.4
- 14 Yee are the light of the world, &c. 4.3.3. & 4.5.14. & 4.8.4
- 15 Nether doe men light a candle and put it vnder a bushell, but on a candle- sticke,

MATTHEWE.

- 1.5 **A**ND Salomon begat Booz of Rachab, and Booz begat Obed of RUTH, and Obed begat Iesse. 2.13.3
- 16 And Iacob begat Ioseph the husbände of Marie, of whom was borne Iesus which is called Christ. 2.13.3
- 21 And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Iesus: for hee shall saue his people from their sins. 2.6.1
- 23 Behold, a virgine shall be with childe, & shall beare a sonne, and they shall call his name Emanuell, which is by interpretation, God with vs. 2.12.1
- 2.6 And thou Bethlem in the lande of Iuda, art not the least among the princes of Iuda: for out of thee shall come the gouernour that shall feed my people Israell. 2.14.7
- 3.2 Iohn saide, repent: for the kingdome of heauen is at hand. 3.3.2. & 3.3.5. & 3.3.19
- 6 And they were baptized of him in Iordan, confessing their sins. 3.4.6. & 4.15.6. & 4.16.24
- 11 Indeede I baptize you with water to a- mendement of life, &c. 4.11.6. & 4.15.8. & 4.16.25
- 12 Which hath his fanne in his hande, and will make cleane his floore, & gather his wheat into his garner, but will burne vp the chaffe with vnquenchable fire. 3.25. 1.2. & 4.1.13. & 4.1.19

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- sticke, and it giueth light vnto all that are in the house. 1.11.14
- 16 Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works & glorifie your father which is in heauen. 3.16.3
- 17 Thinke not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets. I am not come to destroy them, but to fulfill them. 2.7.14
- 19 Whosoever therefore shall breake one of these leaſt cōmandements, and teach men so, he shall be called the leaſt in the kingdome of heauen: but whosoever shall obserue, &c. 2.8.59
- 21 Ye haue heard, that it was saide vnto them of the olde time, thou shalt not kill: for whosoever killeth, shall be culpable of iudgement. 4.20.10
- 22 But I say vnto you, whosoever is angry with his brother vnadvisedly shall be culpable of iudgement, &c. 2.8.7. & 2.8.39
- 25 Agree with thine aduersarie quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him leaſt, &c. 3.5.7
- 26 Verily I say vnto thee, thou shalt not come out thence, till thou haſt paid the vttermoſt farthing. 3.5.7. & 3.25.6
- 28 Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adulterie with her already in his hart. 2.8.7
- 34 Swear not at all neither by heauen, &c. 2.8.26. & 4.13.12
- 39 But I say vnto you, resist not euill: but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turne to him the other also. 4.20.19. & 4.20.20
- 44 Loue your enemies: bleſſe them that curse you, &c. 2.8.57. & 3.7.6. & 4.13.12
- 45 That yee may be the children of your father which is in heauen: for he maketh his sunne to arise on the euill, and on the good, &c. 3.20.15. & 3.24.16. & 3.25.9
- 46 For if you loue them which loue you, what rewarde shall you haue? do not the pubhcans euen the same? 2.8.58
- 6.2 Therefore when thou giuest thine almes, thou shalt not make a trumpet to be blown before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues, and in the streetes, to bee praised of men. Verily I say vnto you, they haue their reward. 3.7.2
- 6 But when thou prayest, enter into thy chamber: and when thou haſt shut the doore, pray to thy father which is in secret, &c. 3.20.29
- 7 Also when you pray, vse no vaine repetitions as the heathen, for they think to be heard, for their much babbling. 3.20.29
- 9 After this maner therefore pray ye, Our father which art in heauen, halowed bee thy name, &c. 3.20.6. & 3.20.34
- 11 Giue vs this day our daily bread. 2.5.14
- 12 And forgiue vs our detts, as we also forgiue our debtors. 3.4.38. & 4.1.23
- 21 For where your treasure is, there will your hart be also. 3.2.25. & 3.18.6. & 3.25.1
- 23 But if thine eye be wicked, then all thy body shall bee daike. Wherefore if the light which is in thee be darknesse, how great is that darknesse? 3.2.25
- 7.7 Aske, and it shall be giuen you: seeke, and yee shall finde: knocke, and it shall be opened vnto you. 3.20.13
- 11 If ye then which are euill, can giue to your children good giftes, howe much more shall your father which is in heauen, giue good things to them that aske him. 3.20.36
- 12 Therefore, whatsoeuer ye woulde that men should doe vnto you, euen so doe ye to them. For this is the lawe and the prophets. 2.8.53
- 15 Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolues. 4.9.4
- 8.4 Then Iesus said vnto him, see thou tell no man: but goe, and shew thy selfe vnto the priest, & offer the gift that *Moyſes* commanded, for a witness to them. 3.4.4
- 10 And when Iesus heard this, he marvelled, & said to them which followed him: verily I say vnto you, I haue not found so great faith euen in *Israel*. 3.2.13
- 11 Many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit downe with *Abraham*, and *Isaac* and *Jacob*, in the kingdome of heauen. 2.10.23. & 4.16.13
- 12 And the children of the kingdome shall bee cast out into vtter darknesse: there shall bee weeping and gnashing of teeth. 3.25.12
- 13 Then Iesus saide vnto the Centurion goe thy waies, and as thou haſt beleued, so be it vnto thee. And his seruant was healed the samie hower. 3.10.11
- 25 Then

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- 25 Then his disciples came & awoke him, saying: maister, saue vs, we perish. 3. 2. 2 1
- 29 Iesus the sonne of God, what haue we to doe with thee? art thou come hither to torment vs before the time? 1. 14. 19
9. 2. And loe, they brought to him a man sicke of the palsie lying on a bed, and Iesus seeing their faith, saide to the sicke of the palsie, sonne, be of good comfort: thy sinnes are forguien thee. 3. 2. 13. & 3. 4. 35. & 3. 20. 9
- 3 Certaine of the Scribes saide within themselues, this man blasphemeth. 1. 13. 12
- 4 But when Iesus sawe their thoughts, &c. 1. 13. 12
- 5 For whether is it easier to say, Thy sinnes are forguien thee, or to say, Arise and walke? 4. 19. 29
- 6 And that yee may know that the sonne of man hath authoritie to forgie sinnes in earth, (then saide he to the sicke of the palsie,) arise, take vp thy bed and goe to thy house. 1. 13. 12
- 12 The whole neede not a phisicion, but they that are sicke. 2. 12 4
- 13 For I am not come to call the righteous, but the sinners to repentance. 3. 3. 20 & 3. 1 2. 7. & 3. 14 5
- 15 Can the children of the mariage chamber mourne, as long as the bridegroome, &c. 3. 3. 17. & 4. 1 2. 17
- 29 Then touched he their eies, saying according to your faith, be it vnto you. 3. 2. 43. & 3. 4. 22. & 3. 20. 11. & 4. 19. 18
- 34 But the Pharisees saide, hee casteth out diuels, through the prince of diuels. 3. 3. 22
- 35 And Iesus went about all cities, and townes, preaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospell of the kingdom, &c. 2. 9. 2
10. 1 And hee called his twelue disciples vnto him, and gaue them power against vnclene spirits, &c. 4. 3. 5
- 5 Go not into the way of the gentiles and into the cities of the Samaritans enter ye not. 2. 11. 12
- 8 Heale the sicke: clense the leapers, raise vp the dead, cast out diuels, &c. 1. 13. 13
- 18 And ye shall be brought to the gouernours and kings for my sake, in witnessifing to them and to the Gentiles. 3. 4. 4
- 20 For it is not yee that speake, but the spirit of your father that speaketh in you. 4. 19. 8
- 28 And feare yee not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soule: but rather feare him which is able to destroy both soule and body in hell. 1. 15. 2 & 3. 25. 7
- 29 Are not two sparowes solde for a farthing, and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your father? 1. 16. 1. & 1. 16. 5. & 1. 17. 1
- 30 Yea, and all the haire of your head are numbred. 1. 16. 2
- 31 Feare ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparowes. 1. 17. 6
- 33 But whosoever shall deny mee before men, him will I also deny before my father which is in heauen. 4. 1. 26
11. 10. For this is he of whom it is written: behold, I sende my messenger before my face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. 3. 3. 19
- 11 Among them which are begotten of women, arose there not a greater than *John Baptist*: notwithstanding he that is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater than he. 2. 9. 5
- 13 For all the Prophets and the law prophced vnto *John*. 2. 11. 5. 10
- 23 And thou *Capernaum*, which art lifted vp vnto heauen, shalt be brought downe to hell: for if the great works which haue been done in thee had been done among them of *Sodome* they had remained to this day. 3. 24. 15
- 25 At that time Iesus answered, and said: I giue thee thanks, O father, Lorde of heauen and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and men of vnderstanding, and hast opened them vnto babes. 3. 2. 34
- 27 Neither knoweth any man the father, but the sonne, and he to whom the sonne will reueale him. 4. 8. 5
- 28 Come vnto me all yee that be wearie and laden, and I will ease you. 3. 3. 20. & 3. 4. 3. & 3. 12. 7. & 3. 18. 9
- 29 Take my yoke on you, and learne of mee that I am meeke and lowly in hart and yee shall finde rest vnto your soules. 3. 18. 9
- 30 For

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- 30 For my yoke is easie, and my burden light. 5.19.3
- 12.24 But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, This man casteth the diuels no otherwise out, but through *Beelzebub* the prince of diuels. 3.3.22
- 31 Euery sinne and blasphemie shal be forgiven vnto men: but the blasphemie against the holy Ghost shall not be forgiven vnto men. 1.13.15. & 3.3.21. & 3.3.22
- 32 And whosoever shall speake a word against the sonne of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever shall speake against the holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. 3.5.7
- 41 The men of *Ninive* shall rise in judgement, with this generation, and shal condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of *Jonas*, &c. 3.24.15
- 43 Now when the vnclane spirit is gone out of the man, he walketh throughout drie places, seeking rest, and findeth none. 1.14.14. & 14.19
- 13.4 And as he sowed, some seedes fell by the way side, & the fowles came & deuoured them vp. 3.22.10. & 4.14.11. & 4.17.33
- 5 And some fell vpon stony ground where they had not much earth, and anon they sprong vp, because they had no depth of earth. 4.17.33
- 7 And some fell among thornes, and the thornes sprong vp, and choked them. 4.17.33
- 9 He that hath eares to heare, let him heare. 3.23.13
- 11 Because it is giuen vnto you, to know the secretes of the kingdome of heauē, but vnto them it is not giuen. 1.7.5. & 3.24.13
- 16 But blessed are your eies, for they see: and your eares, for they heare. 2.9.1
- 17 For verily I say vnto you, that many prophetes and righteous men haue desired to see those things which yee see, and haue not seene them, &c. 2.11.6
- 24 The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a man, which soweth good seede in his filde. 4.1.13
- 29 But he saide, nay: least while ye goe about to gather the tares, ye plucke vp also with them the wheate. 4.12.11
- 31 The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a graine of Mustardseed, which a man taketh and soweth in the filde 4.19.34
- 33 Another Parable spake he vnto them, saying: the kingdome of heauen is like vnto leuen, which a woman taketh and hideth in three peckes of meale, till it be all leuened. 4.19.34
- 39 And the enemy which soweth them, is the diuell, &c. 1.14.15
- 47 The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a net: that was cast into the Sea, and gathered of all kinde. 4.1.13. & 4.16.31.
- 14.25 And in the fourth watch of the night, Iesus went vnto them, walking on the Sea. 4.17.29
- 15.3 Why doe ye also transgresse the commandement of God by your tradition? 4.10.10
- 4 For God hath commanded, saying, honor thy Father and Mother, and he that curseth Father and Mother, let him die the death. 2.8.36
- 8 This people draweth neere vnto me with their mouth, and honoreth me with their lips, but their hart is farre off from me. 3.10.31
- 9 But in vaine they worship me, teaching for doctrines, mens precepts. 4.10.15. & 4.10.23
- 13 Euery plant which mine heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted vp. 2.3.9. & 3.2.12. & 3.23.1. & 3.24.6
- 14 Let them alone: they be the blind leaders of the blinde, and if the blind leade the blinde, both shall fall in the ditch. 3.19.11. & 4.9.12
- 24 I am not sent, but vnto the lost sheepe of the house of *Israel*. 2.11.12
- 16.6 Take heed and beware of the leauen of the Pharisees, and Saduces. 4.10.26
- 12 Then vnderstood they that he had not said that they should beware of the leuen of bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and Saduces. 4.10.16
- 17 Thou art Christ the Sonne of the liuing God. 4.6.6
- 17 Blessed art thou *Simon* the Sonne of *Jonas*, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it vnto thee, but my Father which is in heauen. 2.2.19. & 3.1.4. & 3.2.34
- 18 And I say also vnto thee that thou art

The Table.

- Peter*, and vpon this rocke I will build my Church. 4.6.3. & 4.6.5
- 19 And I will giue vnto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: and whatsoeuer thou shalt bind vpon earth, shall be bound in heauen: and whatsoeuer thou shalt loose, on the earth shall be loosed in heauen. 3.4.12. & 4.1.22. & 4.2.10. & 4.6.4. & 4.11.1. & 4.12.4
- 23 Get thee behinde me, Satan: thou art an offence vnto me, &c. 4.7.28
- 24 If any man will follow me, let him forsake himselfe, and take vp his crosse and follow me. 3.7.2. & 3.8.1
- 27 For the Sonne of man shall come in the glorie of his Father, with his Angels: and then shall he giue to euery man according to his deeds. 3.18.1
- 17.2 And was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the Sunne, and his clothes were as white as the light. 4.17.17
- 5 While he yet spake, beholde, a bright cloude shadowed them: and beholde, there came a voice out of the cloude, saying: this is my welbeloued Sonne in whom I am well pleased, heare him. 2.15.2. & 3.2.32. & 3.8.1. & 3.20.48. & 4.8.1. & 4.8.7
- 18.10. For I say vnto you, that in Heauen their Angels alwayes behold the face of my Father which is in heauen. 1.14.7. & 1.14.9
- 11 For the Sonne of man is come to saue that which was lost. 2.12.4
- 15 If thy brother trespass against thee, goe, and tell him his fault betwene thee and him alone: if he heare thee, thou hast wonne thy brother. 4.12.3
- 17 And if he will not vouchsafe to heare thee, tell it vnto the Church: and if he refuse to heare the Church also, let him be vnto thee as a heathen man, and as a publicane 4.8.15. & 4.11.2. & 4.12.3
- 18 Verily I say vnto you, whatsoeuer yee binde on earth, shall be bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer yee loose on earth shall be loosed in heauen. 3.4.12. & 3.4.20. & 4.1.22. & 4.2.10. & 4.8.4. & 4.12.4. & 4.12.9
- 19 Againe, verily I say vnto you, that if two of you shall agree in earth vpon any thing, whatsoeuer they shall desire, it shall be giuen them of my Father which is in heauen. 3.20.30
- 20 For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the middes among them. 4.1.9. & 4.6.4. & 4.9.2
- 22 If say not to thee, vnto seuen times: but vnto seuentie times seuen times. 4.1.23
- 29 And his fellow therefore fell downe and besought him, saying, haue patience with me, and I will pay thee all. 4.1.23
- 19.6 Wherefore they are no more twaine, but one flesh: let not man therefore put asunder that which God hath coupled together. 4.15.22
- 11 All men cannot receiue this saying, saue them to whom it is giuen. 2.8.42. & 4.13.17
- 12 For there are some chaste, which were so borne of their Mothers belly: and there be some chaste which be made chaste by men: and there be some chaste, which haue made themselues chaste for the kingdome of heauen, &c. 2.8.42
- 13 Then were brought vnto him little children, that he should put his hand vpon them, and pray: and the Disciples rebuked them. 4.16.7
- 14 Suffer little children to come vnto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdome of heauen. 4.16.7. & 4.16.17. & 4.16.26
- 15 And when hee had put his handes on them, he departed thence. 4.3.16
- 17 There is none good but one, eue God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commandements. 1.13.13, 24. & 3.18.9
- 18 Thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not commit adulterie: thou shalt not steale, &c. 2.8.3.5, 36, 37, 38, 39. &c. to the end of the Chapter
- 19 Honour thy Father and thy Mother, &c. 2.8.12, 35
- 21 If thou wilt be perfect, goe, sell that thou hast, and giue to the poore, and thou shalt haue treasure in Heauen, &c. 4.13.13
- 25 And when his Disciples heard it: they were exceedingly amazed, saying, who then can be saved? 2.7.5
- 26 And Iesus beheld them and said vnto them: with men this is vnpossible, but with God all things are possible. 2.7.5
- 28 And

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- 28 And Iesus said vnto them, verily I saye to you : that when the sonne of man shall sit in the throne of his maiestie, ye which followed me in the regeneration, shall sit also vpon twelue thrones : and iudge the twelue tribes of *Israell.* 2.16.18.&3.25.10
- 29 And whosoever shall forsake houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my names sake, hee shall receive an hundred folde more, and shall inherite life euerlasting. 3.25.10
- 20.1 For the kingdome of heauen is like vnto a certaine housholder, which went out at the dawning of the day, to hire labourers into his vineyard. 3.18.3
- 25 Ye know that the Lordes of the Gentiles haue domination ouer them, & they that are great, exercise authoritie ouer them. 4.11.8.&4.11.9
- 26 But it shall not bee so among you: but whosoever will bee great among you, let him be your seruant. 4.11.8
- 28 Euen as the sonne of man came not to be serued, but to serue, and to giue his life for the ransome of many. 2.16.5
- 21.9 Moreover, the people that went before, and they also that followed cried, saying: *Hosanna* the sonne of *Dauid*: blessed be hee that commeth in the name of the Lord, &c. 2.6.4
- 22 Whatsoever ye shall aske in praier if ye beleue, ye shall receiue it. 3.20.11
- 25 The baptisme of *Iohn* whence was it? from heauen or of men? then they reasoned among themselues saying, if we shall say from heauen, he will say vnto vs, why did ye not then beleue him. 4.19.5
- 31 Whether of them twaine did the will of the father? they saide vnto him, the first. Iesus said vnto them, verily I say vnto you, that the *Publicanes* and the *harlots* shall go before you into the kingdome of God. 2.8.14.&3.7.2
- 22.2 The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a certaine king, which married his sonne. 3.24.8
- 12 Friend how camest thou in hither, & hast not on a wedding garment? 4.17.45
- 13 Bind him hand and foote, take him away, and cast him into vtter darknesse: there shall bee weeping and gnashing of teeth. 3.25.12
- 14 For many are called, but few are chosen. 3.24.6
- 23 The same day the *Sadduces* came to him, which say that there is no resurrection 2.10.23
- 30 For in the resurrection, they neither marie wiues, nor wiues are bestowed in marriage, but are as the Angels of God in heauen. 1.14.9.&1.15.3.&2.12.6.&3.25.11.&4.1.4
- 32 I am the God of *Abraham*, the God of *Isaac*, and the God of *Jacob*: God is not the God of the dead, but of the liuing. 2.10.6.&4.16.3
- 37 Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy mind. 2.8.11.&2.8.51.&3.3.11
- 39 And the second is like vnto this, thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy self. 2.8.11
- 23.4 For they binde heauie burdens, and greuous to be borne, and lay them on mens shoulders, but they themselues will not moue them with one of their fingers 4.10.1.&4.10.16
- 8 But be not ye called *Rabbi*: for one is your doctor to wit, *Christ*, and all ye are brethren. 4.8.8
- 9 And call no man your father vpon the earth: for there is but one, your father which is in heauen 3.20.38
- 23 And ye leaue the weightier matters of the law, as iudgement, and mercie, and fidelitie, these ought ye haue done, and not to haue left the other. 2.8.52
- 25 Woe vnto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye make cleane the outer side of the cup, & of the platter, but within they are full of biberie and excess. 3.4.36
- 37 *Ierusalem*, *Ierusalem*, which killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent to thee: how often would I haue gathered thy children together, &c. 3.24.16
- 24.11 And many false prophets shall arise and shall deceiue many. 4.9.4
- 14 And this Gospell of the kingdome shall be preached through the whole world, for a witnes vnto all nations: and then shall the end come. 3.4.4
- 24 For there shall arise false Christs, and false

The Table.

- false Prophets, and shall shew great signes
 and wonders: so that if it were possible,
 they should deceiue the verie elect. 4
 9.4
- 30 And then shall appeare the signe of the
 sonne of man in heauen, and then shall all
 the kindreds of the earth mourne, & they
 shall see the son of man come in the clouds
 of heauen with power and great glorie. 2.
 16.17
- 36 But of that day and houre knoweth no
 man, no not the Angels of heauen, but
 my Father onely. 1.14.9
- 45 Who then is a faithfull seruant, and
 wife, whom his master hath made ruler
 ouer his household, to giue them meate in
 season? 4.16.3.1
- 25.3 The foolish tooke their lampes, but
 tooke no oyle with them. 3.5.7
- 21 Then his master saide vnto him, it is
 well done good seruant and faithfull: thou
 hast bene faithfull in little, I will make
 thee ruler ouer much: enter into thy ma-
 sters ioy. 2.3.11
- 23 It is well done good seruant and faith-
 full, thou hast bene faithfull in little, &c.
 2.3.11
- 29 For vnto euerie man that hath, it shall
 be giuen, and he shall haue abundance:
 and from him that hath not, euen that hee
 hath, shall be taken away. 2.3.11. and 3.
 15.4
- 31 And when the sonne of man commeth
 in his glorie, and all the holy Angels with
 him, then shall he sit vpon the throne of
 his glorie. 2.16.17
- 32 And before him shall bee gathered all
 nations, and hee shall separate one from an
 other, as a shepheard separateth the sheep
 from the goats. 2.16.17. & 3.25.9
- 34 Come ye blessed of my father, inherite
 the kingdome prepared for you from the
 foundations of the world. 3.18.1. & 3.18.
 2. & 3.18.3. & 3.24.16
- 35 For I was an hungred, and ye gaue me
 meate: I thirsted, and ye gaue mee
 drinke, &c. 3.18.1
- 40 Verily I say vnto you, in as much as ye
 haue done it vnto one of the least of these
 my brethren, ye haue done it to me. 3.
 18.6
- 41 Depart from me ye cursed, into euclat-
 sting fire, which is prepared for the deuill
 and his angels. 1.14.14. & 1.14.19. & 3.
 25.5
- 46 And these shall go into euclasting paine,
 and the righteous into life eternal. 3.
 25.5
- 26.10 Why trouble yee the woman? for
 she hath wrought a good worke vpon me
 3.25.8
- 11 For ye haue the poore alwaies with you,
 but me shall ye not haue with you alwaies
 4.3.1. & 4.17.26. & 4.17.28
- 12 For in that shee powred this ointment
 vpon my bodie, shee did it to burie me. 3.
 25.8
- 15 And he said to them, what will ye giue
 me, and I will deliuer him vnto you? and
 they appointed vnto him thirtie peeces of
 siluer. 4.18.14
- 26 And as they did eate, Iesus tooke the
 bread: and when hee had giuen thanks
 he brake it, and gaue it to the disciples,
 and said, take, eate: this is my bodie.
 4.14.20. & 4.16.30. & 4.17.1. & 4.17.20.
 & 4.19.23
- 27 Also hee took the cup, and when hee had
 giuen thanks hee gaue it to them, saying,
 drinke ye all of it. 4.9.14
- 38 Then said Iesus vnto them my soule is
 verie heauie euen to the death: soarie yee
 here, and watch with me. 2.16.12. and 3.
 8.9
- 39 So hee went a litle further, and fell on
 his face, and praied, saying: O my Father,
 if it be possible let this cup passe from me,
 neuerthelesse not as I will, but as thou
 wilt. 2.16.12
- 53 Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray
 to my father, and hee will giue me more
 than twelue legions of Angels. 1.14.8
- 74 Then began hee to curse himselfe and
 to sweare, saying, I know not the man. 4.1.
 26
- 75 Then Peter remembered the words of Ie-
 sus, which said vnto him, Before the cock
 crow thou shalt denie me thrise. So hee
 went out, and wept bitterly 3.3.4
- 27.4 I haue sinned betraying the innocent
 blood, but they saide, what is that to vs?
 see thou to it. 3.3.4
- 12 And when hee was accused of the
 chiefe Priestes and elders, he answered
 nothing

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- nothing. 2.16.5
- 14 But he answered him not to one word in so much that the gouernour marvelled greatly. 2.16.5
- 23 Then said the gouernour, but what euil hath he done? then they cried the more saying, let him be crucified. 2.16.5
- 24 When Pilate saw that he auailed nothing, but that more tumult was made, he tooke water & washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this iust man: looke you to it. 2.16.5
- 46 And about the ninth houre Iesus cried with a loud voice, saying, *Eli, Eli, Lama sabachthani*? that is, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? 2.16.11
- 50 Then Iesus cried againe with a loude voice, and yeilded vp the Ghost. 4.19.23
- 52 And the graues did open themselues, and many bodies of the saintes which slept, arose. 2.10.23. & 3.25.7
- 53 And came out of the graues after his resurrection, and went into the holy citie, and appeared to many. 2.10.23
- 66 And they went and made the sepulchre sure with the watch and sealed the stone. 3.25.3
- 28.5 But the Angel answered and saide to the women, feare ye not, &c. 1.14.6
- 6 He is not here, for he is risen, as he saide, &c. 4.17.29
- 7 Tell his disciples, that hee is risen from the dead, &c. 1.14.6
- 11 Now when they were gone, behold, some of the watch came into the citie, & shewed vnto the hie priests all the things that were done. 3.25.3
- 12 And they gathered themselues together with the elders, and tooke counsell, and gaue large money to the souldiers 3. 25.3
- 13 Saying, Say, his disciples came by night and stole him away while we slept. 3. 25.5
- 18 All power is giuen vnto me in heauen and earth. 3.15.5
- 19 Go therfore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, & the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. 1.13.16. & 4.3.6. & 4.8.4. & 4.14.20. & 4.15.6. 18.20. 22. & 4.16.27. & 4.19.28
- 20 I am with you alwaies, vntill the end of the world. 1.16.14. & 4.8.8. & 4.8.11. & 4. 17.26. & 4.17.28. & 4.17.30

M A R K E.

1. **T** He beginning of the Gospel of Iesus Christ the son of God. 2.9.2
- 4 Iohn did baptise in the wildernes, & preached the baptisme of amendment of life for remission of sinnes. 3.3.19. and 4.19. 17
- 15 And saying the time is fulfilled, and the kingdome of God is at hand, repent and beleue the Gospel. 3.3.19
- 3.15 And that they might haue power to heale sickeneses, and to cast out diuels. 1. 13.13
- 28 Verily, I say vnto you, all sins shall bee forgiven vnto the children of men, and blasphemies, wherewith they blaspheme. 3.5.7
- 29 But hee that blasphemeth against the holy Ghost, shall neuer be forgiven, but is culpable of eternall damnation. 1.13.15. & 3.3.22
- 6.7 And gaue them power ouer vncleane spirits. 1.13.13
- 13 And they cast out many diuels, & they annointed many that were sick with oyle, and healed them. 4.19.18. & 4.19.21
- 7.33 Then hee tooke him aside from the multitude, and put his fingers in his eares, and did spit, & touched his toong. 4.19.23
- 8.38 For whosoever shall bee ashamed of me and of my words among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the sonne of man be ashamed also, &c. 4.1. 26
- 9.24 Lord, I beleue: helpe my vnbeliefe. 4.14.7
43. To goe into hell, into the fire that neuer shall be quenched. 3.25.12
- 44 Where their worne dieth not, and the fire neuer goeth out. 3.25.12
- 10.9 Therefore, what God hath coupled together, let no man separate. 4.1.1
- 30 But he that receiue a hundred fold new at this present: houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, & children, & lands with persecutions: and in the world to come eternall life. 3.18.3
- 11.24 Whatsoeuer ye desire when ye pray, beleue

The Table.

- belceue that ye shall haue it and it shal be done vnto you. 3.20.11
- 12.18 Then came the Saduces vnto him (which say, that there is no resurrection) and they asked him, saying. 3.25.5
- 13.32 But of that day and houre knoweth no man, no not the Angels which are in heauen, nether the Sonne himselfe; saue onely the Father. 2.14.2
- 14.22 And as they did eate, Iesus tooke the bread, & when he had giuen thanks, he brake it and gaue it to them, and said, take, eate: this my body. 4.17.1. & 4.17.20
- 33 And he tooke with him *Peter*, & *Iames* and *Iohn*, and he began to be afraide, and in great heauines. 3.8.9
- 34 And said vnto them, my Soule is very heauy, euen vnto the death: tarie here and watch. 2.16.12
- 15.28 Thus the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith. And he was counted among the wicked. 2.16.5
- 16.9 He appeared first to *Marie Magdalene*, out of whom he had cast seuen Diuels. 14.14
- 15 Goe ye into all the world, and preach the Gospell to euery creature. 4.3.4. & 4.3.12. & 4.16.27. & 4.19.28
- 16 He that shall belceue and be baptised, shall be saued, 4.15.1. & 4.16.28
- 19 So after the Lorde had spoken vnto them, he was receiued into heauen, and sat at the right hand of God, 2.14.3. & 4.17.2.7

LVKE.

- 1.6 **B**Oth were iustified before God and walked in all the commandementes and ordinances of the Lord, without reproofe. 3.17.7
- 15 And he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, euen from his Mothers wombe. 4.16.17
- 17 For he shall goe before him in the spirite and power of *Elias*: to turne the hearts of the Fathers to their children; and the disobedient to the wisdome of the iust men, to make readie a people prepared for the Lord. 4.1.6
- 31 For loe, thou shalt conceiue in thy wombe, and beare a Sonne, and shalt call his name Iesus. 2.16.1
- 32 He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the most high, and the Lord shall giue vnto him the throne of his Father *Dauid*. 2.14.4.7
- 33 And he shall raigne ouer the house of *Iacob* for euer, and of his kingdome shall be none ende 2.14.3. & 2.15.3
- 34 Then said *Marie* vnto the Angel, how shall this be, seeing I know no man? 4.17.25
- 35 And the Angell answered, and said vnto her, the holy Ghost shall come vpon thee; and the power of the most high shall ouershadow thee: therefore also, that holy thing which shall be borne of thee, shall be called the Sonne of God. 2.14.5
- 43 And whence commeth this to me that the Mother of my Lord should come to me? 2.14.4
- 54 He hath vpholden *Israel* his seruant, being mindfull of his mercie. 2.10.4
- 72 That he would shew mercy towardes our Fathers, and remember his holy covenant. 2.10.4
- 73 And the oth which he sware to our Father *Abraham*. 2.10.4
- 74 That we being deliuered out of the handes of our enemies, should serue him without feare. 3.16.2
- 77 And to giue knowledge of saluation vnto his people by the remission of their sinnes. 3.11.22
- 79 To giue light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feete into the way of peace. 2.12.4
- 2.11 That is, that vnto you is borne this day in the City of *Dauid* a Sauour, which is Christ the Lord. 2.15.5
- 13 And straight way there was with the Angell a multitude of heauenly Soldiers, praising God, &c. 1.14.5
- 37 And she was a widow about foure, ore and foure yeeres, and went not out of the temple, and serued God with fasting, and prayers night and day. 4.12.16
- 52 And Iesus increased in wisdome, and stature, and in fauour with God and men. 2.14.2
- 33 And he came into all the coasts about *Jordan*, preaching the baptisme of repentance

The Table.

- tance for the remission of sins. 3.3.19.&
4.15.7.& 4.19.17
- 8 Bring fourth therefore fruites woorthie amendment of life, and begin not to say with your selues, we haue *Abraham* to our father: for I say vnto you, that God is able of these stones to raise vp children vnto *Abraham*. 3.3.5
- 14 The souldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, and what shall we do? and he said vnto them, doe violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages. 4.20.12
- 16 *John* answered, and said to them all, indeede I baptize you with water, but one stronger than I, commeth, whose shooes latchet I am not woorthie to vnloose: he will baptise you with the holy Ghost, and with fire. 3.1.3,4 & 4.15.6,7
- 22 And the holy Ghost came downe in a bodily shape like a Doue, vpon him, and there was a voice from heauen, saying, thou art my beloued son: in thee I am wel pleased 4.17.21
- 23 And Iesus himselve began to bee about thirtie yeeres of age, being as men supposed the sonne of *Ioseph*, which was the son of *Elie*. 4.25.27,29
- 38 Which was the sonne of *Enos*, which was the son of *Seth*, which was the sonne of *Adam*, which was the sonne of God. 2.12.7.& 2.13.3
- 4.17 And there was deliuered vnto him the booke of the prophet *Esaias*: and when he had opened the booke he found the place where it was written. 4.19.23
- 18 The spirit of the Lord is vpon mee because he hath annointed me, that I should preach the Gospell to the poore: he hath sent me, that I should heale the broken in heart. 2.15.2.& 3.3.20.& 3.4.3
- 5.13 And touched him, saying, I wil, bee thou cleane. And immediately the leprosie departed from him.
- 14 And he commanded him that he should tell it to no man: but goe, saith he, & shew thy selfe to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, as *Moses* hath commanded, for a witnes vnto them. 3.2.4
- 34 Can ye make the children of the wedding chamber fast, as long as the bridegrome is with them? 4.12.17
- 6.13 And when it was day, hee called his disciples, and of them hee chose twelue, which also hee called Apostles. 4.3.5
- 23 Reioice ye in that day, and be glad, for behold, your reward is great in heauen, &c. 3.1.8.1
- 24 But woe be to you that are rich, for you haue receiued your consolation. 3.19.9
- 32 Be ye mercifull therefore, as your father also is mercifull. 3.7.6
- 7.29 Then all the people that heard, and the publicanes iustified God, being baptized with the baptisme of *John*. 3.11.3
- 35 But wisdome is iustified of all her children. 3.11.3
- 36 And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him: and he went into the Pharisees house, and sat downe at the table. 3.4.37
- 47 Wherefore I say vnto thee, many sinnes are forgien her: for she loued much. To whom a little is forgien, hee doth loue a little. 3.4.31
- 8.2 And certaine women, which were healed of euill spirits, and infirmities, as *Marie* which was called *Magdalen*, out of whom went seuen diuels. 1.14.14
- 7 And some fell among thornes and the thornes sprang vp with it, and choaked it. 3.2.10
- 13 But they that are on the stones, are they which when they haue heard, receiue the word with ioy, but they haue no roots, which for a while beleeue, but in the time of tentation go away. 3.2.10
- 15 But that which fell on good ground, are they which with an honest, and good hart heare the word, and keepe it, and bring forth fruit with patience. 4.14.11
- 9 23 If any man will come after mee, let him denie himselfe, and take vp his crosse daily and follow me. 3.1.5.8
- 26 For whosoever shall be ashamed of me, & of my words, of him shall the son of man be ashamed when hee shall come in his glorie, and in the glorie of the father, and of the holy Angels. 1.14.9
- 55 But Iesus turned about, and rebuked them, and said, ye know not of what spirit ye are. 3.20.15
- 10.1 After these things the Lord appointed other 70. also, and sent them two and

The Table.

- two before him,&c. 4.3.4
- 6 And if the sonne of peace be there your
peace shall rest vpon him: if not, it shall
returne to you againe. 3.23.14
- 16 He that heareth you, heareth me: and
he that despiseth you despiseth me. 4.3.3.&
4.8.4
- 18 I saw Sathan, like lightning, fall downe
from heauen. 1.14.18
- 20 Neuertheless, in this reioice not, that
the spirits are subdued vnto you: but ra-
ther reioice, because your names are writ-
ten in heauen. 3.24.9
- 21 The same houre reioiced Iesus in the
spirit and said, I confesse vnto thee father,
Lord of heauen & earth, that thou hast hid
these things from the wise and learned,
and hast reuealed them to babes, euen
so, father, because it so pleased thee. 3.
2.34
- 22 All things are giuen me of my father:
and no man knoweth who the son is, but
the father: neither who the father is, saue
the son: and he to, whom the son will re-
ueale him. 3.2.1. and 4.18. 20
- 23 Blessed are the eies, which see that ye see.
2.9.1
- 24 For I tell you, that many prophets and
kings haue desired to see these things,
which ye see, & haue not seene them,&c.
2.9.1. & 2.11.6
- 25 Maister, what shall I doe, to inherite e-
nall life? 4.13.13
- 27 And he answered, and saide, thou shalt
loue thy Lord God, with al thy heart, and
with all thy soule, & with all thy strength,
and with all thy thought, and thy neigh-
bour as thy selfe. 2.8.11
- 30 And a certaine man went downe from
Ierusalem to Iericho, and fell among
theeues. 1.5.19
- 36 Which now of these three, thinkest
thou, was neighbour to him that fell a-
mong the theeues? 2.8.55
- 11.2 And he said vnto them when ye pray,
say, Our father which art in Heauen. 3.
20.6. & 3.20.34
- 3 Our daily bread giue vs for the day. 2.5.
14
- 21 When a strong man armed, keepeth his
place, the things that he possesseth are in a
peace. 1.14.13. & 1.14.18
- 22 But when a stronger than he commeth
vpon him, and ouercommeth him, he tak-
eth from him, all his armour wherewith he
trusted, and deuideth his spoiles. 1.14.
18
- 39 And the Lord said vnto him, indeed ye
Pharisees make cleane the outside of the
cup, and of the platter, but the inward part
is full of rauening and wickednes. 3.4
36.
- 12.5 Feare him which after he hath killed,
hath power to cast into hell, &c. 1.15.2
- 10 And whosoever shall speake a worde
against the sonne of man, it shall bee for-
giuen him: but vnto him that shall blasphe-
me the holy Ghost, it shall neuer bee
forgiuen. 1.13.15. & 3.3.21, 22. & 3.5.7
- 14 Man, who made me a iudge, or a diuider
ouer you? 4.11.9. & 4.11.11
- 14.21 Go out quickly into the places and
streetes of the Citie, and bring in hither
the poore and the maimed, and the halt,
and the blind. 4.16
- 15.7 I say vnto you, that like wise ioy shall
be in heauen for one sinner that conuer-
teth, more than for ninetie and nine iust
men, which need no amendment of life. 1.
14.7
- 20 And when he was yet a great way off, his
father saw him, and had compassion, and
ran and fell on his necke and kissed him.
3.20.37
- 16.2 And he called him, and said vnto him,
how is it that I heare this of thee? giue an
account of thy stewardship, for thou maist
be no longer steward. 3.10.5
- 9 And I say vnto you, make you friends
with the riches of iniquitie, that when
you shall want, they may receiue you into
 cuerlasting habitations. 3.18.6
- 15 Yee are they which iustifie your selues
before men, but God knoweth your hearts,
&c. 3.11.3. & 3.1.2.2
- 16 The law and the prophets endured vn-
till Iohn, and since that time the kingdome
of God is preached, and euery man pres-
seth into it. 2.7.16
- 22 And it was so, that the begger died, and
was carried by the Angels into Abrahams
bosome, &c. 1.14.7. & 1.15.2. & 3.25.6
- 17.3 If thy brother trespasse against thee,
rebuke him: and if hee repent, forgie
him.

The Table.

- him. 3.7.6
- 4 And the Apostles said vnto the Lord, increase our faith. 4.14.7
- 7 Who is it also of you, that hauing a seruant plowing or feeding cattle, woulde saye vnto him by and by, when hee were come from the field, &c. 3.14.15
- 10 So likewise yee, when yee haue done all these things which are commanded you, say, we are vnprofitable seruants, we haue done that which was our dutie to do. 3.14.14. & 3.15.3
- 14 And when he sawe them, he saide vnto them, go shewe your selues to the Priests. And it came to passe, that as they went, they were clenfed. 3.4.4
- 29 And when hee was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdome of God should come, he answered them and said: the kingdome of God commeth not with obseruation. 2.15.4
- 18.1 And he spake also a parable vnto them to this ende, that they ought alwaies to pray, and not to waxe faint. 3.20.7
- 13 But the Publican standing a farre off, woulde not lift vp so much as his eyes to heauen, but smote his breast, saying: O God, be mercifull to me a sinner. 3.4.18. & 3.12.7
- 14 I tel you, this man departed to his house iustified, rather than the other: for euerie man that exalreth himselfe, shall bee brought low, and he that humbleth himselfe shall be exalted. 3.4.35. and 3.11.3
- 42 And Iesus saide vnto him receive thy sight, thy faith hath saued thee. 4.19.12
- 10 17 And he said vnto him, well, good seruant because thou hast bin faithfull in a very litle thing, take thou authoritie ouer ten cities. 2.3.11. & 3.15.4
- 26 Vnto all them that haue it shall bee giuen, and from him that hath not euen that he hath shal be taken from him. 2.3.11. & 3.15.4
- 20.27. Then came to him certaine of the Sadduces, which deme that there is any resurrection, &c. 2.10.23. & 3.25.5
- 37 And that the dead shall rise againe, euen Moses shewed it besides the Bush, when he saide, the Lorde is the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. 2.10.9
- 38 For he is not the God of the dead, but of them which lue. 4.16.3
- 21.15 For I will giue you a mouth & wisdom, where against, all your aduerfaries shall not be able to speake or resist. 4.3.12
- 28 And when these things begin to come to passe, then looke vp, and lift vp your heades, for your redemption draweth nere. 3.9.5
- 22.17 And hee rooke the cup, and gaue thanks, and saide, take this, and part it among you. 4.17.20. & 4.17.43. & 4.18.8
- 19 And he tooke bread, and when he had giuen thanks, hee brake it, and gaue to them, saying, this is my body, which is giuen for you: doe this in the remembrance of me. 4.3.6. & 4.15.20 & 4.16.30 & 4.17.1, 20, 37
- 20 Likewise also after supper he tooke the cup, saying, this cup is the new Testament in my blood, which is shed for you. 2.11.4. & 2.17.4. & 4.17.6, 20
- 5 The kings of the Gentiles raigne ouer them, and they that beare rule ouer them: are called gracious lordes. 4.11.8, 9. and 4.20.7
- 26 But ye shall not be so: but let the greatest among you, bee as the least: and the chiefest, as he that serueth. 4.11.8
- 32 But I haue praied for thee, that thy faith faile not, &c. 3.24.6. & 4.7.27, 28
- 43 And there appeared an Angell vnto him from heauen, comforting him 1.14.6 & 2.16.12
- 44 And his sweate was like dropes of blood, trickling downe to the grounde. 2.16.12. & 3.8.9
- 61 Then the Lord turned backe, and looked vpon Peter: and Peter remembered the worde of the Lord, how he had saide vnto him, Before the cocke crowe, thou shalt denie me thrise. 3.4.35
- 62 And Peter went forth, and wept bitterly. 3.3.4
- 23.42 And he saide vnto Iesus Lorde remember mee, when thou comest into thy kingdome. 3.7.4.1. & 4.16.31
- 43 Then Iesus said vnto him, verily I say vnto thee, 10 day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. 3.25.6
- 46 And Iesus cried with a lowd voice, and said, Father into thy hands I commende my

The Table.

- my spirite, &c. 1.15.2. & 3.25.6
- 24.5 They said vnto them, why seeke yee him that liueth among the dead? 1.14.6
- 6 Hee is not heere, but is risen: remember how he spake vnto you when hee was yet in Galilee. 3.25.3
- 11 But their words seemed vnto them a fained thing, neither beleueed they them. 3.2.4
- 12 Then arose *Peter*, and ran vnto the sepulchre, and looked in, and saw the linnen clothes laid by themselues: and departed wondering in himself at that which was come to passe. 3.2.4
- 16 But their eies were holden, that they could not know him. 4.17.29
- 26 Ought not Christ to haue suffered these things, and to enter into his glorie? 2.17.6 & 3.18.7. & 4.17.32
- 27 And hee began at *Moses*, and at all the Prophets, and interpreted vnto them in all the scriptures the things that were written of him. 1.9.3. & 3.2.34
- 31 But hee was taken out of their sight. 4.17.29
- 39 Behold mine hands and my feete: for it is my selfe: handle me and see: for a spirite hath not flesh and bones, as yee see me haue. 2.14.2. & 3.25.3. & 4.17.29
- 44 All must bee fulfilled which are written of me in the law of *Moses*, and in the prophets, and in the Psalmes. 3.5.8
- 45 Then opened he their vnderstanding, that they might vnderstand the scriptures 3.2.34
- 46 Thus it is written, and thus it behooued Christ to suffer, and to rise againe from the dead the third day. 2.12.4. & 3.3.19
- 47 And that repentance, and remission of sins should bee preached in his name among all nations, beginning at *Ierusalem*. 2.12.4. & 3.3.1. & 3.3.19
- 49 But tarrie yee in the citie of *Ierusalem*, vntill yee be endued with power from on high. 4.3.12
- 51 And it came to passe, that as hee blessed them, hee departed from them, and was caried vp into heauen. 4.17.27
- word was God. 1.13.6. & 1.13.11. & 1.13.22
3. All things were made by it, &c. 1.13.7. & 1.13.17
- 4 In it was life, and the life was the light of of men. 1.13.13. & 1.15.4. & 2.2.19. & 2.6.1. & 4.17.8
- 5 And the light shineth in the darknes, and the darkenesse comprehended it not. 2.2.12
- 9 That was the true light which lighteneth euery man that commeth into the world. 2.12.4
- 10 He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the worlde knew him not. 2.12.4
- 12 But as many as receiue him, to them he gaue power to be the sonnes of God, euen to them that beleuee in his name. 2.6.1. & 3.1.4. & 3.20.36 & 3.22.10
- 13 Which are borne not of bloude, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the wil of man, but of God. 2.2.19. & 2.13.2 & 3.1.4
- 14 And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among vs, and we saw the glory thereof, as the glory of the onely begotten sonne of the father, full of grace and truth. 1.13.11. & 2.12.4. & 2.14.1. & 2.14.8
- 16 And of this fulnes haue all we receiued, and grace for grace. 2.13.1. & 2.15.5. & 3.11.9. & 3.20.1
- 17 For the lawe was giuen by *Moses*, but Grace and truth came by Iesus Christ. 2.7.16
- 18 No man hath seene God at any time: the onely begotten sonne, which is in the bosome of the father, hee hath declared him. 1.13.17. & 2.2.20. & 2.9.1. & 4.17.30
- 23 I am the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, make straight the way of the Lorde, as saide the Prophet *Esaias*. 2.9.5
- 29 Beholde the Lambe of God which taketh awaie the sinnes of the world. 2.14.3. & 2.16.5. & 2.17.4. & 3.4.26. & 4.15.7
- 32 So *John* bare witnes saying, I saw the spirite come down from heauen like a doue, and it abode vpon him. 2.15.5. & 4.19.20
- 33 And I knewe him not: but hee that sent me to baptize with water, he saide vnto me

I O H N.

1.1 IN the beginning was the worde, and the worde was with God, and that

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- me, vpon whome thou shalt see the spirite come downe and tarric still on him, that is hee which bapifeth with the holy Ghost. 2.15.5
- 36 Behold the Lambe of God. 2.9.5
- 40 *Andrew, Simon Peters brother*, was one of the two which had hearde it of *John*, and that followed him. 4.6.5
- 42 And he brought him to Iesus, &c. 4.6.5
- 51 Hereafter shall ye see heauen open, and the angels of God ascending and descending vpon the sonne of man. 1.14.12. and 2.9.2
- 2.2. And Iesus was called also, and his disciples vnto the marriage. 4.13.3
- 9 Now when the gouernour of the feast had tasted of the water that was made wine, &c. 4.23.3
- 15 Then he made a scourge of smal cords, and draue them all out of the temple, with the sheepe and oxen, and powred out the changes money, and ouerthrew the tables. 4.19.23
- 19 Iesus answered and said vnto them, destroy this temple, and in three daies I will raise it vp againe. 2.14.4. & 3.25.7
- 21 But he spake of the Temple of his body. 2.14.4. & 3.25.7
- 23 Now when he was at *Jerusalem*, at the Pascheouer in the feast, many beleued in his name, when they sawe his miracles which he did. 4.2.5
- 24 But Iesus did not commit himselfe vnto them, because he knew them all. 3.2.12
- 3.3 Verily, verily, I say vnto thee, except a man be borne againe, he cannot see the kingdome of God. 2.3.1. & 4.16.17
- 5 Except that a man bee borne of water and of the spirite, he cannot enter into the kingdome of God. 4.16.25
- 6 That which is borne of the flesh is flesh: and that which is borne of the spirite, is spirite. 2.1.6. & 2.3.1
- 13 For no man ascendeth vp to heauen, but he that hath descended from heauen, euen the sonne of man which is in heauen. 2.14.2. & 4.17.30
- 14 And as *Moses* lifted vp the serpent in the wilderness, so must the sonne of man be lift vp. 2.14.4. and 4.18.20
- 16 For God so loued the worlde, that hee gaue his onely begotten sonne, that whosouer beleueth in him, should not perish, but haue life euerlasting. 2.12.4. and 2.16.4. and 2.17.1. and 3.14.17. & 3.24.5 & 3.24.7
- 23 And *John* also bapufed in *Enon* besides *Salem*, &c. 4.15.6
- 27 Man can receiue nothing, except it be giuen him from heauen. 2.2.20
- 33 He that hath receiued his testimonie, hath sealed that God is true. 3.2.8
- 34 For hee whome God hath sent, speaketh the worde of God: for God giueth him not the spirite by measure. 2.15.1. and 2.15.5
- 36 Hee that beleueth in the Sonne, hath euerlasting life: and hee that obeieth not the sonne, shall nor see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him. 4.16.31
- 4.1 Now when the Lord knewe, that the Phariſees had hearde, that Iesus made and bapufed moe disciples than *John*. 4.15.6
- 14 But whosoeuer drinketh of the water that I shall giue him, shall neuer be more a thirst: but the water that I shall giue him, shall be in him a wel of water, springing out into euerlasting life. 3.1.3
- 22 Yee worship that which ye knowe not: wee worship that which wee knowe: for saluation is of the Iewes. 1.5.12. & 1.6.4. & 2.6.1
- 23 But the howe commeth, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the father in spirite and truth, &c. 3.20.30 & 4.10.14
- 24 God is a spirit, &c. 1.13.24
- 25 I knowe well that *Messias* shall come which is called *Christ*: when he is come, he will tell vs all things. 2.15.1. & 4.8.7
- 25 Behold, I say vnto you, lift vp your eyes, and looke on the regions, for they are white already vnto haruest. 4.16.31
- 42 And they saide vnto the woman, now we beleue not because of thy saying: for we haue heard him our selues, and know that this is in deede the *Christ*, that sauiour of the world. 3.2.5
- 53 Then the father knewe that it was the same howe in the which Iesus had saide vnto him, thy sonne liueth. And he beleued and all his houshold. 3.2.5
- 5.8 Iesus said vnto him, misetake vp thy bed, and

The Table.

- and walke. 4.19.29
- 17 My father worketh hitherto, & I worke. 1.13.7.& 1.13.12.& 1.16.4.& 2.14.2
- 38 Therefore the Iewes sought the more to kill him: not only because he had broken the Sabbath: but saide also that God was his father, and made himselfe equall with God. 1.13.12
- 21 For like as the father raiseth vp the dead, and quickeneth them, so the sonne quickeneth whom he will. 2.14.3
- 22 For the father iudgeth no man, but hath committed all iudgement vnto the sonne. 2.14.3.& 2.16.18
- 23 Because that all men shoulde honour the sonne, as they honour the father: he that honoureth not the sonne, the same honoureth not the father, which hath sent him. 2.6.2.& 2.14.3
- 34 He that heareth my worde, and beleueth in him that sent mee, hath euerlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but hath passed from death to life. 2.9.3.& 3.15.6.& 3.24.5.& 3.25.1.& 4.16.26
- 25 The houre shall come, and now is, when the dead shall heare the voice of the sonne of God, and they that heare it, shall liue. 2.5.19.& 2.12.4.& 3.14.5
- 26 For as the father hath life in himselfe, so likewise hath he giuen to the sonne, to haue life in himselfe. 4.17.9
- 28 Maruell not at this for the houre shall come in the which all that are in the graues, shall heare his voice. 3.25.4. and 3.25.7
- 29 And they shall come foorth, that haue done good vnto the resurrection of life: but they that haue done euill, vnto the resurrection of condemnation. 3.17.1
- 32 There is another that beareth witness of me, &c. 1.13.17
- 35 Hee was a burning, and a shining candle: and yee would for a season haue reioyced in his light. 2.9.5
- 36 For the worke which the father hath giuen me to finish, the same works that I doe, beare witness of me, that the father sent me. 1.13.13
- 44 How can you beleue, which receiue honor one of another, and seeke not the honor that commeth of God alone? 3.11.9
- 46 For had yee beleued *Moses*, ye would haue beleued me: for he wrote of mee. 2.9.1
- 6.27 Labour not for the meate which perissheth, but for the meate that endureth vnto euerlasting life, which the sonne of man shall giue vnto you, &c. 3.18.1. & 4.14.25
- 29 This is the worke of God, that yee beleue in him whom he hath sent. 3.19.10
- 35 I am the bread of life: hee that commeth to me shall not hunger, and he that beleueth in me shall neuer thirst. 3.24.5 and 4.17.4
- 37 All that the father giueth mee, shall come to me, and him that commeth to me, I cast not away. 3.22.7.& 3.24.6
- 38 For I came downe from heauen, not to doe mine owne will, but his will which sent me. 2.14.2
- 39 And this is the fathers will, which hath sent mee, that of all which he hath giuen mee, I shoulde loose nothing, but shoulde raise it vp againe at the last day. 3.22.7. and 3.22.10. & 3.24.6. and 3.24.7. and 3.25.8
- 40 And this is the will of him that sent me, that euerie man which seeth the sonne, and beleueth in him shoulde haue euerlasting life, &c. 3.22.10. & 3.24.6
- 44 No man can come vnto me, except the father which sent me drawe him, and I will raise him vp at the last day. 2.2.20. & 2.5.5. & 3.2.34. & 3.22.7. & 3.24.1
- 45 It is written in the prophets, and they shall bee all taught of God. Euerie man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the father commeth vnto mee. 1.3.10. & 2.2.20. & 2.3.7. & 2.5.5. & 3.2.34. & 3.24.1. & 3.24.14
- 46 Not that any man hath scene the father, saue hee which is of God, hee hath seen the father. 3.2.34. & 3.22.10. & 3.24.1
- 47 He that beleueth in me, hath euerlasting life. 1.13.13
- 48 I am the bread of life. 3.11.9. & 4.17.4. and 4.15.8
- 49 Your fathers did eate Manna in the wildernes, and are dead. 2.10.6
- 50 This is the bread which commeth downe from heauen, that he which eateth of it, should not die. 2.10.6. & 4.17.34

The Table.

- 51 I am the liuing bread, which came
downe from heauen: if any man eate of
this bread: he shall liue for euer: and the
bread that I will giue is my flesh, which I
will giue for the life of the world. 3. 11. 8.
& 4. 17. 5. & 4. 17. 14
- 53 Then Iesus said vnto them, verily, ve-
rily I say vnto you, except yee eate the
flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his
bloud, yee haue no life in you. 3. 11. 9. & 4.
17. 6
- 54 Whosoeuer eateth my flesh & drinketh
my bloud, hath eternall life, & I will raise
him vp at the last day. 3. 11. 9. & 4. 17. 34
- 55 For my flesh is meate in deede, and my
bloud is drinke in deede. 2. 17. 5. & 4. 17. 8
- 56 Hee that eateth my flesh, and drinketh
my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him.
4. 17. 33
- 57 As the liuing father hath sent me, so liue
I by the father, and hee that eateth mee,
euen he shall liue by me 2. 17. 5
- 65 Therefore said I vnto you, that no man
can come vnto me except it be giuen vn-
to him of my father. 3. 23. 13
- 70 Haue not I chosen you twelue, and one
of you is a diuell? 3. 22. 7. & 3. 24. 9
7. 16 My doctrine is not mine, but his that
sent me. 2. 8. 26. & 4. 8. 4
- 37 Now in the last & great day of the feast,
Iesus stood and cried saying: if any man
thirst, let him come vnto me and drinke. 2
16. 14. & 3. 1. 2 & 3. 1. 3. & 4. 19. 6
- 39 For the holy Ghost was not yet giuen,
because that Iesus was not yet glorified.
4. 17. 2
8. 12 Then spake Iesus againe vnto them,
saying, I am the light of the worlde: hee
that followeth me, shall not walke in dark-
nes but shall haue the light of life. 2. 14. 3.
& 3. 2. 1. & 3. 1. 12. & 4. 19. 23
- 16 For I am not alone, but I and the father,
&c. 1. 13. 17
- 29 But he that sent me, is true: & the things
that I haue heard of him, those speake I
to the world. 2. 8. 26
- 30 As he spake these things, many beleued
in him. 3. 2. 5
31. Then said Iesus to the Iewes which be-
leued in him: if yee continue in my
word, yee are verily my disciples. 3. 2. 12
34. Verily, verily, I say vnto you, that who-
soeuer committeth sinne, is the seruant of
sinne. 2. 2. 27
- 44 Yee are of your father the diuell, &c. 1.
14. 15. he hath bin a murderer from the
beginning, and abode not in the truth, bi-
cause there is no truth in him: when hee
speaketh a lie, then speaketh hee of his
owne: for hee is a lier, and the Father
thereof. 1. 14. 16. & 1. 14. 18. & 1. 14. 19
- 47 He that is of God, heareth Gods words,
yee therefore heare them not because yee
are not of God. 4. 2. 4
- 50 And I seeke not mine owne praise, but
there is one that seeketh it, and iudgeth. 2.
14. 2
- 56 Your father Abraham reioyced to see my
day: and he saw it, and was glad. 2. 9. 1.
& 2. 10. 4
- 58: Iesus said vnto them, verily, verily I say
vnto you, before Abraham was, I am. 2.
14. 2
9. 3 Neither hath this man sinned, nor his
parents: but that the workes of GOD
should be shewed on him. 1. 17. 1
- 5 As long as I am in the worlde, I am the
light of the world. 2. 14. 3
- 6 As soone as he had thus spoken he spat on
the ground, and made clay of the spittle,
and annointed the eies of the blind with
the claie. 4. 19. 18
- 7 And saide vnto him, go wash thee in
the poole of Siloam (which is by interpretati-
on, sent) hee went his way therefore, and
washed, and came againe seeing. 4. 19. 19
- 23 And said vnto him: giue glory vnto god,
&c. 2. 8. 24
- 31 Nowe wee know that God heareth not
sinners: but if any man be a worshipper of
God, and doth his will him heareth hee.
3. 20. 7. & 3. 20. 10.
10. 3 To him the porter openeth, and the
sheepe heare his voice, and he calleth his
owne sheepe by name, and leadeth them
out. 3. 24. 6
- 4 And when hee hath sent forth his owne
sheepe, hee goeth before them, and the
sheepe followe him: for they knowe his
voice. 3. 22. 10. and 4. 2. 4
- 5 And they will not follow a stranger, but
they flee from him: for they knowe not
the voice of strangers. 3. 22. 10
- 7 Then said Iesus vnto them againe, verily,
verily.

The Table.

- verily I say vnto you, I am the doore of
 the sheepe. 4.19.13
 9 I am the dore: by me if any man enter in,
 he shall be saved, and shall go in, and goe
 out, and finde pasture. 2.14.3
 11 I am the good shepherd, the good shep-
 herd giueth his life for his sheepe. 2.14.3.
 & 4.19.14
 14 I am the good shepherd, and know mine
 &c. 4.2.4
 15 As the father knoweth mee, so know I
 the father, and I lay down my life for my
 sheepe. 2.16.5
 16 Other sheepe I haue also, which are not
 of this folde: them also must I bring, &c.
 3.24.6
 17 Therefore doth my father loue me, be-
 cause I lay downe my life, that I might
 take it againe. 2.12.4
 18 No man taketh it from me, but I laie it
 downe of my selfe: I haue power to laie
 it downe, and I haue power to take it a-
 gaine: this commandement haue I re-
 ceiued of my father. 2.12.4. & 2.16.5
 26 But yee belecue not: for yee are not of
 my sheepe, &c. 3.22.10
 27 My sheepe heare my voice, and I knowe
 them, &c. 3.24.6
 28 And I giue vnto them eternall life and
 they shall neuer perish, neither shall anie
 plucke them out of my hande. 3.15.5. &
 3.21.1. & 3.22.7. & 3.24.6
 29 My Father which gaue them me is grea-
 ter than all, and none is able to take them
 out of my fathers hand. 3.22.10
 30 I and my father are one. 2.8.26
 34 Is it not written in your law, I saide, yee
 are Gods? 4.26.31
 35 If he called them Gods, vnto whom the
 worde of God was giuen, and the Scrip-
 ture cannot be broken. 4.20.4
 37 If I doe not the workes of my father be-
 leue me not. 1.13.13
 11.25 I am the resurrection and the life: he
 that beleueth in mee, though hee were
 dead, yett shall he liue. 1.13.13. & 2.12.4.
 & 3.25.9 & 4.16.17
 41 Father, I thanke thee, because thou hast
 heard me. 1.13.13
 43 As he had spoken these things, he cried
 with a loud voice: *Lazarus* come forth.
 4.19.29
 44 Then he that was dead, came forth
 bound hand and foote with bandes, and
 his face was bound with a napkin. Iesus
 said vnto them loose him, and let him go.
 4.19
 47 Then gathered the high priests, and the
 pharisees a councill, and said: what shall
 we do? &c. 4.9.7
 12.27. Father, saue me from this houre: but
 therefore came I vnto this houre. 2.12.4.
 & 2.16.12
 28 Father glorifie thy name, &c. 2.12.4
 31 Nowe is the iudgement of this worlde:
 now shall the prince of this worlde be cast
 out. 1.14.13
 32 And I, if I were lift vp from the earth, wil
 draw all mine vnto me. 3.25.6
 39 Therefore could they not beleue be-
 cause that *Esaias* saith againe. 3.24.13
 41 These things said *Esaias*, when hee saue
 his glory and spake of him. 1.13.11. & 1.
 13.23
 43 For they loued the praise of men, more
 than the praise of God. 3.11.9
 49 For I haue not spoken of my selfe, &c. 4.
 8.13
 13.4 He riseth from supper, and laicth aside
 his vpper garment, and tooke a towel, and
 girde himselfe. 4.19.23
 15 For I haue giuen you an example that ye
 should do, euen as I haue done to you. 3.
 16.2
 18 I speake not of you all: I knowe whom I
 haue chosn, &c. 3.22.7. & 3.24.9
 34 A new commandement giue I vnto you,
 that ye loue one another as I haue loued
 you, that euen so yee loue one another.
 3.16.2
 14.1 Yee beleue in God, beleue also in
 me. 1.13.13. & 2.6.4
 5 *Thomas* saide vnto him: Lorde we knowe
 not whither thou goest: howe can wee
 then know the way? 4.17.23
 6 I am the way, and the truth, and the life,
 &c. 1.13.17. & 2.6.1. & 3.20.21. & 4.16.17
 8 And *Philip* said vnto him: Lorde, shew vs
 the father, and it sufficeth vs. 4.17.13
 10 Beleueth thou not, that I am in the Fa-
 ther, and the Father in me? the wordes
 which I spake vnto you, I spake not of my
 selfe: but the father that dwelleth in mee,
 he doth the works. 2.14.2. & 4.8.13
 11 Beleue

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- 11 Beleeue me, that I am in the father and the father in me : at the least beleeue me, for the very works sake. 2.13.13
- 13 And whatfoeuer yee aske in my name, that will I doe, that the father may be glorified in the sonne. 3.20.17
- 16 And I will pray the father, and he shall giue you another comforter, &c. 1.13.17 & 4.8.11
- 17 Euen the spirite of truth, whome the worlde cannot receiue, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him : but yee know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. 3.1.4. & 3.2.39
- 26 But the comforter, which is the holy Ghost whom the father will sende in my name, hee shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, which I haue tolde you. 2.2.1. & 3.1.4 & 4.8.8. & 4.8.13
- 28 For my father is greater than I. 1.13.26
- 30 Hereafter will I not speake many things vnto you : for the prince of this worlde cometh, and he hath nought in me. 1. 14.18
- 15.1 I am the true vine, and my father is an huskandman : euey branch that beareth not fruite in me, he taketh away: and euerie one that beareth fruite, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more. 2.3.9. & 2.14.3. & 4.19.34
- 3 Now are yee cleane through the worde, which I haue spoken vnto you. 3.6.3
- 5 I am the vine, yee are the branches : he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruite : for without me, &c. 2.2.8. & 2.3.9. & 2.5.4. & 4.19.34
- 10 If yee shall keepe my commandements yee shall abide in my loue, euen as I haue kept my fathers commandements and abide in his loue. 1.3.16.2
- 16 But I haue chosen you, and ordeined you, that yee go and bring forth fruite, and that your fruite remaine, &c. 3.22.3. & 3.22.8. & 4.1.6
- 19 If ye were of the world, the world would loue his owne : but because yee are not of the world. but I haue chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you 3.22.7
- 26 Euen the spirite of truth, which proceedeth of the father, &c. 1.13.17
- 16.2 They shall excommunicate you, &c. 4.2.6
- 7 It is expedient for you, that I go away, &c. 1.13.26. and 2.16.14. and 3.25.3. and 4.17.26
- 11 Of iudgement, because the prince of the world is iudged. 1.14.13
- 12 I haue yet many things to say vnto you, but yee can not beare them away. 3.21.2. & 4.8.14
- 13 When he is come which is the spirite of truth, he will leade you into all truth : for he shall not speake of himselfe, but whatsoeuer he shall heare, that shall he speake, &c. 1.9.1. and 3.2.34. and 4.8.8. and 4.8.13
- 20 Verily, verily, I say vnto you, that ye shall weepe and lament, and the worlde shall reioice : and yee shall sorrowe, but your sorrowe shall be turned to ioy. 3.8.9
- 24 Hitherto haue yee asked nothing in my name : aske and yee shall receiue, that your ioy may be full. 3.20.17
- 26 In that day shall yee aske in my name, &c. 3.20.18
- 28 I am come out from my father, & came into the world : againe, I leaue the world, and go to my father. 4.17.26
- 17.3 And this is life eternal, that they know thee to be the onely very God, and whom thou hast sent Iesus Christ. 1.13.26. & 2.6.1. & 3.2.2
- 5 And nowe glorifie mee, thou father with thine owne selfe, with the glorie which I had with thee, before the world was. 1.13.8. & 1.13.22. & 2.14.2
- 6 I haue declared thy name vnto the men which thou gauest me out of the worlde : then they were, and thou gauest them me 3.24.1. & 3.24.6
- 9 I pray for them : I pray not for the world but for them which thou hast giuen me, for they are thine 3.22.7
- 12 While I was with them in the worlde, I kept them in thy name : those that thou gauest mee, I kept, and none of them is lost, but the childe of perdition, that the scripture might be fulfilled. 3.22.7. & 3.24.6,7,9
- 15 I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world : but that thou keepe them from euill. 2.5.11
- 19 And

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- 19 And for their sakes sanctifie I my selfe, that they also may be sanctified through thy truth. 2.13.14.& 2.15.6.& 2.17.6.and 3.11.12
- 21 That they all may be one, as thou father art in me, & I in thee, euen that they may be also one in vs: that the world may beleeue, that thou hast sent me. 3.2.24
- 18.4 Then Iesus knowing all things that shoulde come vnto him: went forth, and saide vnto them: whome seeke yee? 2.16.5
- 36 Iesus answered: my kingdome is not of this worlde, if my kingdome were of this worlde, my seruants woulde surely fight, that I shoulde not bee deliuered to the Iewes: but nowe is my kingdome not from hence. 2.15.3
- 37 Euerie one that is of truth, heareth my voice. 4.2.4
- 38 *Pilate* saide vnto him, what is truth? and when hee had saide that, hee went out againe vnto the Iewes, and saide vnto them, I finde in him no cause at all. 2.16.5
- 19.30 Now when Iesus had receiued of the vineger, hee saide, it is finished, &c. 4.18.3,13
- 34 But one of the souldiers, with a speare, pearfed his side, and forthwith came there out bloud and water. 4.14.22
- 36 Not a bone of him shall bee broken. 1.16.9
- 20.8 Then went in also the other disciple, which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw it and beleued. 3.2.4
- 17 Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my father, &c. 2.12.2.& 4.17.29
- 19 The same day then at night, which was the first day of the weeke, and when the doores were shut where the disciples were assembled for feare of the Iewes, came Iesus and stood in the middes, &c. 4.17.29
- 22 And when he had saide that, he breathed on them, and saide vnto them: receiue the holy Ghost. 4.19.7,29
- 23 Whosoever sinnes yee remit, they are remitted vnto them: and whosoever sinnes ye retaine, they are retained. 3.4.10.& 4.1.22.& 4.2.10.& 4.6.3.& 4.6.4.& 4.8.4.& 4.11.1.& 4.12.4
- 28 Thou art my Lorde, and my God. 1.13.11
- 31 But these things are written, that yee might beleeue, that Iesus is Christ the sonne of God, and that in beleeuing, yee might haue life, &c. 3.2.6
- 21.15 *Simon* sonne of *Joanna*, lonest thou me more than these? he saide vnto him, yea Lord, thou knowest that I loue thee: he said vnto him, feede my lambes. 4.6.3. & 4.11.1. & 4.19.28
- 8 When thou wast young, thou girdest thy selfe, & walkedst whither thou wouldest, but when thou shalt bee olde, &c. 3.8.10

A C T E S.

- 1.3 **T**O whome also he presented himselfe aliuie after that he had suffered by many infallible tokens being seen of them by the space of fortie daies, and speaking of those things which appertained to the kingdome of God. 2.16.14.& 3.25.3.& 4.17.17
- 5 For *John* in deede baptised with water, but yee shall bee baptised with the holy Ghost, within these few daies. 4.15.18
- 8 But ye shall receiue power of the holy Ghost, when he shall come on you: and yee shall be witnesses vnto me both in *Jerusalem*, and in all *Judea*, and in *Samaria*, and vnto the vttermost part of the earth. 4.3.12.& 4.19.28
- 9 And when hee had spoken these things while they beheld, he was taken vp, for a cloude tooke him out of their sight. 2.16.14.& 3.25.11.& 4.17.17.& 4.17.27
- 10 Beholde two men stood by them in white apparell. 1.14.6
- 11 This Iesus which is taken vp from you into heauen, shall so come, as yee haue seene him goe into heauen. 1.14.6.& 2.16.17.& 4.17.24,27
- 15 And in those daies *Peter* stood vp in the middes of the disciples, and saide (now the number of names that were in one place, were about an hundred and twentic) 4.3.15
- 23 And they presented two, *Joseph* called *Barsabas*, whose surname was *Iustus*, and *Matthias*. 4.3.13.& 4.3.14
- 26 Then they gaue forth their lots: and the

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- the lot fell on *Matthias*, and he was by a common consent counted with the eleven Apostles. 4.3.15
- 23 And there appeared vnto them cloven tongues, like fire, and it sate vpon each of them. 4.15.8
- 4 And they were all filled with the holy Ghost, and beganne to speake with their toooges. 4.19.8
- 21 Whoſoeuer shall call on the name of the Lord, shall be ſaued. 1.13.20
- 23 Him, I ſay, haue ye taken by the hands of the wicked, being deliuered by the determinate counsell and foreknowledge of God, and haue crucified and ſlaine. 1.18. 1.& 3.22.6
- 24 Whom God hath raised vp, and loosed the ſorrowes of death, becauſe it was vnpoſſible, that he ſhould be holden of it. 2.26.11. & 2.16.12
- 33 Since then that he by the right hand of God hath bene exalted, and hath receiued of his Father the promiſe of the holy Ghost, he hath ſhed forth this which ye now ſee and heare 2.16.15
- 37 Men and brethren, what ſhall we doe? 3.3.4. & 4.16.23
- 38 Amend your liues, and bee baptiſed every one of you in the name of Ieſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſinnes: and ye ſhall receiue the gift of the holy Ghost. 4.15.7. & 4.16.23.
- 39 For the promiſe is made vnto you, and your children, and to all that are a far off, euen as many as the Lord our God ſhall call. 4.16.15
- 41 Then they that gladly receiued his word, were baptiſed: and the ſame day, there were added to the Church about three thouſand ſoules. 4.15.7. & 4.17.6
- 42 And they continued in the Apoſtles doctrine, and fellowſhip, and breaking of bread, and prayers. 4.17.5. & 4.17.3.5. & 4.17.44
- 3.6 Then ſaide *Peter*: Siluer and Golde haue I none, but ſuch as I haue, that giue I thee: in the name of Ieſus Chriſt of *Nazareth*, riſe vp and walke. 1.13.13. & 4.19.18
- 15 And ye killed the Lord of life, whom God hath raised from the dead, whereof we are witneſſes. 2.17.1
- 18 But thoſe things which God before had ſhewed by the mouth of all his Prophets, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, &c. 1.18.1
- 19 Amend your liues therefore, & turne, that your ſinnes may be put away, &c. 3.3.20
- 21 Whom the heauen muſt containe vntill the time that all things be reſtored, which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his Prophetes, ſince the world began. 2.16.15. & 4.17.29
- 25 Ye are the children of the Prophetes, and of the couenant, which God hath made vnto our Fathers, &c. 2.10.23. & 4.16.15
- 26 Firſt, vnto you God hath raised vp his Sonne Ieſus, & him he hath ſent to bleſſe you, in turning every one of you from your iniquitie. 3.3.20
- 4.12 Neither is there ſaluation in any other: for among men there is giuen none other name vnder heauen, whereby we muſt be ſaued. 2.16.1
- 28 To doe whatſoeuer thine hand and thy counsell had determined before to bee done. 1.18.1. & 1.18.3
- 32 And the multitude of them that beleueed, were of one hart and of one ſoule: &c. 4.1.3
- 5.4 Thou haſt not lied vnto men, but vnto God. 1.13.15
- 16 There came alſo a multitude out of the Cities round about vnto *Ieruſalem*, bringing ſicke folkes, and them which were vexed with vncleane ſpirites, who were all healed. 4.19.18
- 29 We ought rather to obey God than men. 3.3.19
- 31 Him hath God liſt vp with his right hand, to be a Prince and a Sauiour, to giue repentance to *Iſrael*, and forgiuenes of ſinnes. 3.2.19
- 41 So they departed from the counsell, reioycing that they were counted worthe to ſuffer rebuke for his name. 3.8.7
- 6.1 And in thoſe daies, as the number of the Diſciples grew, there aroſe a murmuring of the Grecians towards the Hebrewes, becauſe that their widowes were neglected in the dayle miniſtring. 3.2.6
- 2 Then the twelue called the multitude

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- of the Disciples together, and said : It is not meete that we should leaue the word of God to serue the tables. 3.2.6. & 4.3.15. & 4.11.9
- 3 Wherefore brethren, looke you out among you seuen men of honest report, &c. 4.3.9
- 6 And they praied, and laid their hands on them. 4.3.16
- 7 And the word of God increased and the number of the Disciples was multiplied in *Ierusalem* greatly, &c. 3.2.6
- 10 But they were not able to resist the wisdome, and the Spirit by the which he spake. 3.3.22
- 75 And he gaue him none inheritance in it, no, not the breadth of a foote : &c. 2.10.1.3
- 28 Wilt thou kill me, as thou diddest the *Egyptian* yesterday ? 4.20.10
- 44 Our fathers had the tabernacle of witness in the wilderness, as he had appointed, speaking vnto *Moses*, that he should make it according to the falluon that he had seene. 2.7.1
- 48 The most high dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, &c. 3.20.30. & 4.15
- 53 Which haue receiued the law by the ordinance of Angels, and haue not kept it. 1.14.9
- 55 But he being full of the holy Ghost, looked stedfastly into heauen, and saw the glory of God, and Iesus standing at the right hand of God. 3.25.3. & 4.17.17. & 4.17.29
- 55 And said: behold, I see the heauens open, and the Sonne of Man standing at the right hand of God. 2.16.15. & 4.17.29
- 59 And they stoned *Steuen*, who called on God, and said, Lord Iesus receiue, &c. 1.13.1. & 1.15.2. & 3.25.6
- 8.13 Then *Simon* himselfe beleueed also, and was baptised, and continued with *Philiip*, and wondered when hee saw the signes, &c. 3.2.10
- 14 They sent vnto them *Peter* and *Iohn*. 4.6.7. & 4.15.8
- 15 Which when they were come downe praied for them, that they might receiue the holy Ghost. 4.19.6
- 16 For as yet he was come down on none of them, but they were baptised onely in the name of the Lord Iesus. 4.15.6. & 4.19.31
- 17 Then laid they their hands on them, and they receiued the holy Ghost. 4.15.8. & 4.19.31
- 18 And when *Simon* saw, that through laying on of the Apostles hands, the holy Ghost was giuen, he offered them money. 3.2.10
- 22 Repent therefore of this thy wickednesse, and pray God, that if it be possible, the thought of thine hart may be forgiven thee. 4.1.26
- 27 And he arose, and went on, and behold, a certaine Eunuch of *Ethiopia*, *Candaces* Queene of the *Ethiopians* chiefe Governour, who had the rule of al hir treasure, and came to *Ierusalem* to worship. 3.2.32
- 31 And he said how can I, except I had a guide ? &c. 3.2.32
- 37 And *Philip* said vnto him, if thou beleueest with all thy hart, thou maist, &c. 4.14.8. & 4.16.23
- 38 And they went downe both of them into the water, both *Philip* and the Eunuche, and he baptised him. 4.16.22. & 4.16.31
- 9.1 And *Saul* yet breathing out threatenings, and slaughter against the Disciples of the Lord, &c. 3.2.6
- 3 Now as he iourneyed, it came to passe, that as he was come nere to *Damascus*, suddenly there shined round about him a light from heauen. 4.17.17
- 4 And he fell to the earth, & heard a voice, saying vnto him: *Saul, Saul*, why persecutest thou me ? 3.25.3. & 4.17.29
- 6 Arise and goe into the Citie, and it shall be told thee what thou shalt doe. 4.3.3
- 10 And there was a certaine Disciple at *Damascus* named *Ananias*, and to him said the Lord in a vision, *Ananias*, and he said, behold, I am here, Lord. 3.2.6
- 13 Lord, I haue heard by many of this man, how much euill he hath done to thy Saintes at *Ierusalem*. 1.13.13
- 14 Moreouer here he hath authoritie of the high Priestes, to binde all that call vpon thy name. 1.13.13
- 15 He is a chosen vessel vnto me, &c. 4.3.5
- 17 Then *Ananias* went his way, and entered

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- red into the house, and put his hands on him, and said, brother *Saul*, the Lord hath sent me (euen *Iesus* that appeared vnto thee in the way as thou camest) that thou mightest receiue thy sight, &c. 4. 19:10
- 19 So was *Saul* certaine daies with the Disciples which were at *Damascus*. 3.2.6
- 25 Then the Disciples tooke him by night, and put him through the wall, and let him downe in a basket. 3.2.6
- 36 There was also at *Ioppa*, a certaine woman, a Disciple named *Tabitha*, which by interpretation is called *Dorcas*: she was full of good workes and almes which she did. 3.2.6
- 38 Now forasmuch as *Lidda* was neere to *Ioppa*, and the Disciples had heard that *Peter* was there, they sent vnto him two men, &c. 3.2.6
- 40 But *Peter* put them all fourth, and kneeled downe and praied, &c. 4.19.2
- 10.2 A deuout man, and one that feared God with all his household which gaue much almes to the people, &c. 3.24.10
- 3 He saw in a vision euidently (about the ninth hour of the day) an Angell of God comming in to him, &c. 4.3.3
- 15 And it came to passe as *Peter* came in, that *Cornelius* mette him, and fell downe at his feete, and worshipped him. 1.10.3
- 31 And said, *Cornelius* thy praier is heard, and thine almes are had in remembrance in the sight of God. 3.2.32
- 34 Of a truth I perceiue, that God is no Acceptor of persons. 3.17.4. & 3.23.10
- 42 And he commanded vs to preach vnto the people, and to testifie, that it is he that is ordained of God a Iudge of quick and dead. 2.16.17
- 43 To him also giue all the Prophetes witnesse, that through his name all that beleue in him shall receiue remission of sinnes. 3.4.25. & 3.5.2
- 44 While *Peter* yet spake these words, the holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word. 4.16.31
- 48 So he commanded them to be baptised in the name of the Lord, &c. 4.15.15
- 11.3 Thou wentest in to men vncircumcised, and hast eaten with them. 4.6.7
- 4 Then *Peter* began, and expounded the thing in order to them. 4.6.7
- 15 Then I remembered the worde of the Lord, how he said *John* baptised with water, but you shall be baptised with the holy Ghost. 4.15.18
- 18 When they heard these things, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying: Then hath God alio to the Gentiles, graunted repentance vnto life. 3.3.21
- 26 Infomuch, that the Disciples were first called Christians in *Antiochia*. 3.2.6. & 4.16.31
- 29 Then the Disciples euery man according to his abilitie, purposed to send succour, &c. 3.2.6
- 12.15 Then said they, it is his Angel. 1.14.7
- 13.2 Separate me *Barnabas*, & *Saul*, for the worke wherunto I haue called the. 4.3.14
- 3 Then fasted they, and praied, and laid their hands on them, and let them goe. 4.3.15. & 4.12.14. & 4.12.16
- 36 Howbeit, *David* after he had serued his time, by the counsell of God he slept, and was laid with his Father, and saw corruption. 3.20.23
- 38 Be it knowne vnto you therefore men and bretheren, that through this Man is preached vnto you the forgiuencesse of sinnes. 3.11.3. & 3.11.22
- 39 And from all things, from which yee could not be iustified by the law of *Moses*, by him euery one that beleueeth, is iustified. 2.17.5. & 3.11.3
- 43 Which spake to them, and exhorted them to continue in the grace of God. 2.5.8
- 48 And when the Gentiles heard it, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained vnto eternall life beleueed. 3.2.11. & 3. 14.2.13
- 52 And the Disciples were filled with ioy, and with the holy Ghost. 3.2.6
- 14.16 Who in times past suffered all the Gentiles to walke in their owne waies. 1. 5.13. & 2.11.11
- 20 Howbeit, as the Disciples stood round about him, he arose vp, and came into the Cittie, &c. 3.2.6
- 22 We must through many afflictions enter into the kingdome of God. 3.8.1. & 3.18.7. & 3.2.8

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- 23 And when they had ordained them elders by election in euerie Church, & praised, and fasted: they commended them to the Lord, in whom they beleueed. 4.3.7.
12.15. & 4 12.16
- 15.7 And when there had bene great disputation, *Peter* rose vp, and said vnto them: Ye men and brethren, ye know that a good while agoe, among vs, God chose out me, &c. 4.6.7
- 9 And he put no difference betweene vs and them after that by faith hee had purged, &c. 3.14.8. & 4 14 4
- 10 Now therefore why tempt ye God, and lay a yoke on the disciples necks, &c. 3. 2.6
- 11 But we beleuee, through the grace of the Lord Iesus Christ, to be saved, euen as they do. 3.5.4
- 20 But that we write vnto them, that they abstaine themselves from filthinesse of idols, and fornication, & that that is strangled, &c. 4.10.17.21
- 29 That is, that yee abstaine from things offred to idols, &c. 4.10.17
- 16.1 Then came he to *Derben* and to *Lystra*: and behold, a certaine disciple was there, named *Timotheus*, a womans sonne, which was a Jewesse & beleueed, &c. 3.2.6
- 3 Therefore *Paul* would that he should go fourth with him, and hee tooke and circumcised him, bicause of the Iewes which were in those quarters, &c. 3.19.12
- 14 And a certaine woman named *Lydia*, a seller of purple, of the cite of the *Thyatirians*, which worshipped God, &c. 3.24.13
- 15 And when shee was baptised, and her household, &c. 4.16.8
- 33 And was baptised with all that belonged vnto him straight way. 4.16.8
- 37 Then saide *Paul* vnto them, after that they haue bearen vs openly vncondemned, which are Romanes, they haue cast vs into prison: and now would they put vs out priuily? nay verily: but let them come and bring vs out. 4.20.19
- 17.27 That they should seeke the Lord, if so be they might haue groped after him, & found him, though doubtlesse hee be not far from euerie one of vs. 1.5. 3,8,13
- 28 For in him we lue, and mooue, and haue our beeing, as also certaine of your owne poets haue said, for wee are also his generation. 1.15.5. & 1.16.1,4
- 29 Forasmuch then as we are the generation of God, we ought not to thinke, that the Godhead is like vnto golde, or siluer, or stone, grauen by art and the inuention of man. 1.11.2
- 30 And the time of this ignorance God regarded not, but now hee admonisheth all men euerie where to repent. 3.3.7
- 32 Now when they heard of the resurrection from the dead, some mocked, &c. 3. 25.7
- 18.18 After that he had shorne his head in *Cenchrea*: for he had a vow. 4.19.26
- 23 Strengthening all the disciples. 3.2.6
- 19.1 And found certaine disciples, and said vnto them, &c. 3.2.6
- 3 Vnto what were yee baptised? and they said vnto Iohns baptisme. 4.15.8,18
- 4 *Iohn* verily baptised with the baptisme of repentance, saying vnto the people, that they should beleuee in him which should come after him, &c. 4.15.7
- 5 So when they heard it, they were baptised in the name of the Lord Iesus. 4.15.6, 8,18
- 6 And *Paul* laid his hands vpon them, and the holy Ghost came vpon them, and they spake with toongs, and prophesied. 4.3.15
- 12 So that from his body were brought vnto the sicke kerchifes or handkerchifes, & the diseases departed from them, and the euil spirits went out of them. 4.19.18
- 13 Then certaine of the vacabond Iewes, exorcistes, tooke in hande to name ouer them which had euil spirits, the name of the Lord Iesus, saying: wee adiuere you by Iesus, whom *Paul* preacheth. 4.19.24
- 20.1 Now after the tumult was ceased, *Paul* called the disciples vnto him, and embraced them, &c. 3.2.6
- 10 But *Paul* went down, and laid himselfe vpon him, & embraced him, saying: trouble not your selues, for his life is in him. 4. 19.19
- 17 Wherefore from *Miletum* he sent to *Ephesus*, and called the elders of the Church 4.3.8
- 18 Ye know from the first day that I came to *Asia*, after what manner I haue bene with you at all seasons. 4.3.7
- 20 And

The Table.

- 20 And how I kept backe nothing that was profitable, but haue shewed you, and taught you openly, and throughout euery house. 4. 1. 22. & 4. 3. 6. & 4. 12. 2
- 21 Witnessing both to the Iewes and to the Grecians, the Repentance towarde God, and Faith towards our Lord Iesus Christ. 3. 2. 1. & 3. 2. 5
- 26 Wherefore I take you to recorde this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. 4. 4. 3. & 4. 12. 1
- 28 Take heede therefore vnto your selues, and to all the flocke, whereof the holy Ghost hath made you ouerseers, to feede the Church of God which he hath purchased with his owne blood. 2. 14. 2. & 3. 5. 2. & 3. 11. 8. & 3. 13. 11. & 4. 3. 8. & 4. 5. 8
- 29 For I know this, that after my departing, shall greuous wolues enter in among you not sparing the flocke. 4. 9. 4
- 30 Moreouer of your owne selues shall men arise speaking peruerse things to draw Disciples after them. 4. 9. 4
- 31 Therefore watch, and remember that by the space of three yeeres I ceased not to warne euery one night and day with teares. 4. 3. 6
- 36 And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled downe, and praied with them all. 4. 19. 2
- 21.4 And when we had found Disciples, we taried there seuen daies. 3. 2. 6
- 22.1 Ye men, brethren, and Fathers, heare my defence now towards you. 3. 20. 19
- 16 Arise and be baptised, and wash away thy finnes, in calling on the name of the Lord. 4. 15. 15
- 18 And I saw him saying vnto me: make hast and get thee quickly out of *Ierusalem*, for they will not receiue thy witness concerning me. 4. 17. 17, 29
- 25 And as they bound him with thonges, *Paul* said vnto the Centurion that stood by, is it lawfull for you to scourge one that is a *Romane*, and nor condemned? 4. 20. 19
- 23.1 And *Paul* beheld earnestly the counsell, and said: Men and brethren, I haue in all good conscience serued God vntill this day. 3. 17. 14
- 8 For the Sadduces said, that there is no Resurrection, neither Angell, nor Spirit, &c. 1. 14. 9. & 1. 15. 2. & 2. 10. 23. & 3. 25. 5
- 12 And when the day was come, certaine of the Iewes made an assembly, & bound themselues with an oath, saying, that they would neither eate nor drinke, till they had killed *Paul*. 4. 13. 3
- 24.12 And they neither found me in the Temple disputing with any man neither making ynproe among the people, neither in the synagogues, nor in the city. 4. 20. 19
- 15 And haue hope towards God, that the Resurrection of the deade which they themselues looke for also, shall be both of iust and vniust. 3. 25. 9
- 16 And herein I endeour my selfe to haue alway a cleare conscience towards God, and towards men. 3. 19. 16. & 4. 10. 4
- 25.10 Then saide *Paul*: I stand at *Cesars* iudgment seate, where I ought to be iudged: To the Iewes I haue done no wrong, as thou very well knowest. 4. 20. 19
- 11 For if I haue done wrong, or committed any thing woorthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be none of these things whereof they accuse me, no man can deliuer me vnto them: I appeale vnto *Cesar*. 4. 20. 19
- 26.17 Deliuering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, vnto whom now I send thee. 3. 2. 1
- 18 To open their eies, that they may turne from darkenesse to light, and from the power of Satan vnto God that they may receiue forgiveness of finnes, and inheritance among them, which are sanctified by Faith in me. 3. 2. 1
- 20 But shewed first vnto them of *Damascus*, and at *Ierusalem*, and throughout all the coast of *Iudea*, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent, and turne to God, and doe workes worthe amendment of life. 3. 3. 5
- 28.15 And from thence when the brethren heard of vs they came to meete vs. 4. 6. 17
- 16 So when we came to *Rome*, the Centurion deliuered the prisoners to the Generall Captaine, &c. 4. 6. 15
- 25 Well spake the holy Ghost by *Isaias* the Prophet, vnto our Fathers. 1. 13. 15

The Table.

ROMANES.

- 1.1 **P**aul a seruant of Iesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, put apart to preach the Gospell of God 2.14.6. & 4.3.10
- 2 Which he had promised before by his Prophetes in the holy Scriptures. 2.10.3
- 3 Concerning his Sonne Iesus Christ our Lord which was made of the seede of *Dauid*, according to the flesh. 2.13.1.3. & 2.14.6
- 4 And declared mightily to be the sonne of God, touching the spirite of sanctification by the resurrection from the dead. 2.16.13. & 4.19.22
- 5 By whom we haue receiued grace and Apostleship, that obedience might be giuen vnto the Faith in his name among all the Gentiles. 3.2.6 & 3.2.8. & 3.2.29
- 7 Grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, & from the Lord Iesus Christ. 1.13.13
- 9 For God is my witnes, whom I serue in my Spirite in the Gospell of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you. 2.8.27
- 16 For I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, for it is the power of God vnto saluation to euery one that beleueth, to the Iewe first, and also to the Grecian. 2.9.4. & 2.10.3. & 3.2.29. & 4.1.5
- 17 For by it the righteoulnes of God is reuealed, from Faith to Faith: as it is written, the iust shall lue by Faith 3.2.29,32. & 3.11.19
- 19 Forasmuch as that, which may bee knowne of God, is manifest in them: for God hath shewed it vnto them. 1.5.1,13
- 21 Because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankfull, but became vaine in their imaginations, &c. 1.5.12
- 22 When they professed themselues to be wise, they became fooles. 1.4.1
- 28 For as they regarded not to know God, euen so God deliuered them vp vnto a reprobate miude, to do those things which are not conuenient. 1.18.2
- 2.6 Who wil reward euery man according to his workes. 3.16.3. & 3.18.1
- 11 For there is no respect of persons with God. 3.23,10
- 12 For as many as haue sinned without the law, shal perish also without the law, & as many as haue sinned in the law, shall be iudged by the law. 2.2.22
- 13 For the hearers of the law are not righteous before God: but the doers of the law shall be iustified. 3.11.15. & 3.17.13
- 14 For when the Gentiles which haue not the law, doe by nature the things contained in the law, they hauing not the law, &c. 2.2.22
- 15 Which shew the effect of the law written in their harts, their consciences also bearing them witnes, and thoughtes accusing one another, &c. 3.19.15. & 4.10.3
- 25 If thou be a transgressor of the law, thy cir cumcision is made vncircumcision. 4.14.24
- 3.4 Yea, let God be true, and euery man a lier, &c. 4.15.17
- 9 What then? are we more excellent? no, in no wise, for we haue already proued, that all, both Iewes and Gentiles are vnder sinne. 3.4.6
- 10 As it is written: there is none righteous, no not one. 2.1.9 & 2.3.2. & 2.5.3
- 12 There is none that doth good, no not one. 2.3.3
- 15 Their feete are swift to shed blood, &c. 2.3.3
- 19 Now we know, that whatsoever the law saith, it saith it to thē that be vnder the lawes, that euery mouth may be stopped, & all the world be culpable before God. 2.7.8. & 2.10.3. & 3.4.6
- 20 Therefore by the works of the law shall no flesh be iustified in his sight: For by the law commeth the knowledge of sinne. 2.5.6. & 2.7.7. & 3.11.19
- 21 But now is the righteoulnes of God made manifest without the lawe, hauing witnes of the law, and of the Prophetes. 2.9.4. & 2.10.3. & 3.11.18.19
- 24 And are iustified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Iesus. 2.5.3. & 2.16.5. & 2.17.5. & 3.4.30 & 3.11.4.19. & 3.15.6. & 3.20.45
- 25 Whom God hath set forth to be a reconciliation through Faith in his blood, to declare his righteoufnesse, by the forgiuenes of the sins that are passed through the patience of God. 4.15.3

The Table.

- 26 To shew at this time his righteousness, that he might be iust, and a iustifier of him which is of the faith of Iesus. 3.11.12.& 3.13.1.& 3.13.2.& 3.14.17
- 27 Where is then thy reioicing? It is excluded. By what law? of workes? nay: but by the law of faith. 3.11.13.& 3.13.2
- 4.2 For if *Abraham* were iustified by workes, he hath wherein to reioice, but not with God. 3.11.13.& 3.11.18
- 3 *Abraham* beleued God, & it was counted to him for righteousness. 3.17.8,10
- 4 Now to him that worketh, the wages is not counted by fauour, but by debt. 3.11.20
- 5 But to him that worketh not, but beleueueth in him that iustificeth the vngodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. 3.11.3.6
- 6 Euen as *Dauid* declareth the blessednes of the man, vnto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying: 2.17.5.& 3.11.4,20,22
- 7 Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are couered. 3.11.11
- 10 How was it then imputed? when he was circumcised, or vncircumcised? &c. 4.16.3
- 11 After he receiued the signe of circumcision, as the seale of the righteousness of the faith which he had, when hee was vncircumcised, &c. 4.14.5, 21,23, and 4.16.20
- 12 And the father of circumcision, not vnto them onely which are of the circumcision, &c. 4.16.12
- 13 For the promise that hee should be the heire of the world, was not giuen to *Abraham*, or to his seede, through the lawe, but through the righteousness of faith. 3.14.11
- 14 For if they which are of the lawe, bee heires, faith is made voide, & the promise is made of none effect. 3.11.11. and 3.13.3
- 15 For the lawe causeth wrath: for where no law is, there is no transgression. 2.7.7. and 3.11.19
- 17 As it is written: I haue made thee a father of many nations, euen before God whom he beleued, who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which bee not as though they were. 2.10.11.& 3.2.15. & 3.14.5
- 21 And being full certified that what he had promised he was able also to performe. 3.2.31
- 25 Who was deliuered to death for our sins, and is risen againe for our iustification. 2.16.5.& 2.16.13.& 2.17.5
- 5.1 Then being iustified by faith, we haue peace toward God through our Lord Iesus Christ. 3.2.16.& 3.13.5
- 3 Kowing that tribulation bringeth forth patience, &c. 3.8.3
- 5 And hope maketh not ashamed, because the loue of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghost, which is giuen vnto vs. 3.1.2.& 3.2.12
- 8 But God setteth out his loue toward vs, seeing that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for vs. 2.1.2.4.& 2.16.4.& 3.4.25
- 9 Much more then, being now iustified by his blood, wee shall bee saued from wrath through him. 2.16.5
- 10 For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his son, much more being reconciled, we shall bee saued by his life. 2.16.2,4,5.& 2.17.3,6.& 3.11.21.& 3.14.6
- 12 As by one man sin entred into the world, and death by sin, & so death went ouer all men, forasmuch as al men haue sinned. 2.1.6,8.& 2.13.4
- 15 But yet the gift is not so, as is the offence: for if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, & the gifte by grace, which by one man Iesus Christ, &c. 3.5.4
- 16 Neither is the gift so, as that which entred in by one that sinned: for the faulte came of one offence vnto condemnation, but the gift is of many offences to iustification. 2.17.3
- 19 For as by one mans disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many also be made righteous. 2.1.4.& 2.16.5.& 2.17.3.& 3.11.4,9,12.23.& 4.14.21
- 20 Moreover, the law entred therupon, that that offence should abound: neuertheles, where sin abounded, there grace abounded much more. 2.5.6.& 2.7.7

The Table.

- 6.3 Knowye not, that all we which haue been baptised into Iesus Christ haue bin baptised into his death? 4.15.5
- 4 We are buried then with him in baptisme into his death, that like as Christ was raised vp from the dead by the glorie of the father, so wee also should walke in newenes of life. 2.8.31. & 2.16.7,13. & 3.3.5. & 4.16.16,21. & 4.19.3
- 6 Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sinne might be destroyed, that hence fourth we should not serue sin. 3.3.9,11
- 12 Let not sinne therefore reigne in your mortall body, that ye should obey it in the lustes thereof. 3.3.13
- 14 For sinne shall not haue dominion ouer you: for ye are not vnder the law, but vnder grace. 3.19.6. & 4.15.12
- 18 Being then made free from sinne, yee are made the seruants of righteousnes. 3.6.3. & 3.16.2
- 19 I speak after the maner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh, for as yee haue giuen your members seruants to vncleanesse, and to iniquitie, to commit iniquitie, &c. 2.24.10. & 3.25.8
- 23 For the wages of sinne is death: but the gift of God is eternall life through Iesus Christ our Lord. 2.8.58,59. & 3.4.28. and 3.14.21.
- 7.1 Knowye not brethren, for I speake to them that know the law, that the law hath dominion ouer a man as long as hee liueth? 4.15.12
- 7 What shall we say then? is the law sin? God forbid. Nay I know not sinne by the law: &c. 2.5.6. & 2.7.6
- 12 Wherefore the lawe is holy, and the commaundement is holy, and iust and good. 2.9.4
- 14 For we know that the lawe is spirituall, &c. 2.8.6
- 15 For I allow not that which I doe: for what I would that doe I not, but what I hate, that do I. 2.2.27
- 18 For I know, that in mee, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me, &c. 2.1.9
- 19 For I do not the good thing, which I would, but the euill, which I would not, that do I. 2.2.27. & 3.3.11
- 20 Now if I doe that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but the sinne that dwelleth in me. 2.2.27
23. But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captiue into the law of sinne, which is in my members. 3.3.14
- 24 O wretched man that I am, who shall deliuer me from the body of this death? 3.9.4. & 3.11.11. & 4.15.12
- 8.1 Now then there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Iesus, which walke not after the flesh, but after the spirite. 3.4.28. & 4.15.12
- 3 For that that was impossible to the law, in as much as it was weake because of the flesh, God sending his owne sonne, in the similitude of sinfull flesh, and for sin, condemned sinne in the flesh. 2.7.5. & 2.12.4. & 2.13.1,4. & 2.16.6. & 3.23.2. & 3.4.27. & 3.11.23
- 6 For the wisdom of the flesh is death: but the wisdom of the spirit is life and peace. 2.3.1
- 7 Because the wisdom of the flesh is enemie against God: for it is not subiect to the law of God, neither in deed can be. 2.1.9. & 3.3.8. & 3.20.24
- 9 Now yee are not in the flesh but in the spirit, because the spirit of God dwelleth in you: but if any man hath not the spirit of Christ, the same is not his. 3.1.2. & 3.2.39. & 4.17.12
- 10 And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sinne: but the spirit is life for righteousnes sake. 2.1.6. & 3.1.3. & 3.2.24. & 3.25.3. & 4.17.12
- 11 But if the spirit of him that raised vp Iesus from the dead, dwell in you, hee that raised vp Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortall bodies, because that his spirit dwelleth in you. 1.13.18. & 3.1.2. & 3.2.39. & 3.25.3,8. & 4.17.12
- 14 For as many as are lead by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God. 3.2.39
- 15 For ye haue not receiued the spirit of bondage, to feare againe: but ye haue receiued the spirit of adoption, &c. 2.11.9. & 2.14.5. & 3.1.3. & 3.2.11. & 3.15.5. & 3.20.1. & 3.24.1. & 4.19.22
- 16 The same spirit beareth witness with our spirit, that wee are the children of God.

The Table.

- God. 3.2.39
- 17 If we be children, we are also heires, euen the heires of God, & heires annexed with Christ, &c. 2.12.2
- 19 For the feruent desire of the creature, waiteth when the sons of God shal be reueiled. 3.9.5 & 3.25.2
- 20 Because the creature is subiect to vanitie not of it owne will, &c. 2.1.5
- 22 For we know that euerie creature groweth with vs also, & trauelleth in paine together vnto this present. 2.1.5 & 3.25.2
- 23 And not onely the creature, but we also which haue the first frutes of the spirite, euen we do sigh in our selues, waiting for the adoption, euen the redemption of our body. 3.18.3 & 3.25.11
- 24 For we are faued by hope: but hope that is seene, is no hope, &c. 2.9.3
- 25 But if we hope for that we see not, wee do with patience abide for it. 3.2.4.1.4.2. & 3.25.1
- 26 Likewise the spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what to pray as we ought, &c. 3.20.5
- 27 But he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the meaning of the spirite, for he maketh request for the faints, &c. 3.20.5.3.4
- 29 For those which he knew before, he also predestinate to bee made like to the image of his sonne, that he might be the first borne among many brethren. 2.13.2. and 3.1.1.3. and 3.8.1. & 3.15.8. & 3.18.7. and 3.24.1
- 30 Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them also he called: And whom he called, them also he iustified: And whom he iustified, &c. 2.5.2. and 3.14.2.1. & 3.18.4. and 3.24.6
- 32 Who spared not his owne son, but gaue him for vs all to death, how shall he not with him giue vs all things also? 2.14.7. & 2.17.6. & 3.24.5
- 33 Who shall lay any thing to the charge of Gods chosen? it is God that iustificeth, 3.11.3.6.11
- 34 Who shall condemne? it is Christ that is dead, yea or rather which is risen again, who is also at the right hand of God, &c. 2.16.13. & 2.16.16. & 2.16.18. & 3.20. 20
- 35 Who shall separate vs from the loue of Christ? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakednes, or perill, or sword? 3.13.5. & 3.2.28.
- 36 For thy sake are we killed all the day long, we are counted as sheepe for the slaughter. 3.9.6. & 3.25.3. & 3.14.19
- 38 For I am perswaded, that neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to com. 3.2.16. & 3.2.40. & 3.15.8. & 3.24.6
- 39 Nor height, nor depth, nor anie other creature shall bee able to separate vs from the loue of God, which is in Christ Iesus our Lord. 3.2.16.28, 40
- 40 For I would wish my selfe to be separated from Christ, for my brethren that are my kinsmen according to the flesh. 3.20. 35
- 5 Of whom are the fathers, and of whom concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is God ouer all blessed for euer, Amen. 1.13. 11 & 2.13.1.3. & 2.14.6
- 6 For all they are not Israelites, which are of Israell 3.22.4. & 4.2.3
- 7 Neither are they all children, because they are the seed of Abraham: But in Isaac shall thy seed be called. 3.21.7. & 4. 16.14
- 8 That is, they which are the children of the flesh, are not the children of God, but the children of the promise are accounted for the seed. 3.21.7
- 11 For ere the children were borne, and when they had don neither good nor euil, that the purpose of God might remaine according to the election, not by workes, but by him that calleth. 3.22.4
- 12 It was said vnto her, the elder shall serue the yoonger. 3.2.25
- 13 As it is written, I haue loued *Iacob*, and haue hated *Esau*. 3.21.7. & 3.22.11
- 14 What shall wee say then? is there vnrighteousnes with God? God forbid. 3. 22.8
- 15 I will haue mercie on him to whom I will shew mercie: and I will haue compassion on him to whom I will haue compassion. 3.22.6
- 16 So then it is not in him that willett, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth

The Table.

- sheweth mercie. 2.5.4.17.& 3.24.1
- 17 For this same purpose haue I stirred thee vp, that I might shew my power in thee, &c. 3.24.14
- 18 Therefore he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. 1. 18.2.& 3.12.11
- 20 But, O man, who art thou that pleadest against God? &c. 3.23.14. & 3.24.16
- 21 Hath not the potter power of the clay to make of the same lump, &c. 3.17.5
- 22 What and if God would, to shew his wrath, and to make his power knowen, suffer with long patience the vessels of wrath? &c. 1.14.18.& 3.23.1
- 24 Euen vs, whom he hath called, nor of the Iewes onely, but also of the Gentiles. 3.24.16
- 32 For they haue stumbled at the stumbling stone. 1.13.23
- 33 Behold, I lay in *Sion*, a stumbling stone, and a rocke of offence. 1. 10. 11. And whosoever beleueth on him, shall not be confounded. 1.13.13
- 10.3 For they being ignorant of the righteousnesse of God, and going about to establish their owne righteousness, &c. 3. 11.13
- 4 For Christ is the ende of the lawe, for righteousness vnto euery one that beleueth. 1.6.2. & 2.6.4. & 2.7.2. & 3.2.6. & 4.8.13
- 5 That the man that doth these things shall liue thereby. 3.11.14.17.& 3.17.3
- 6 But the righteousness of Faith speaketh on this wise: Say not in thy hart, who shall ascend into heauen? &c. 1.17.2
- 7 Or, who shall descend into the deepe? that is, to bring Christ againe from the dead. 1.17.2
- 8 This is the worde of Faith which wee preach. 2.5.12. & 3.2.29,30. & 4.14.14
- 9 For if thou shalt confes with thy mouth the Lord Iesus, and shalt beleue in, &c. 3.11.14
- 10 For with the hart, man beleueth vnto righteousness, and with the mouth man confesseth to saluation. 3.2.2,8
- 11 Whosoever beleueth in him, shall not be ashamed. 1.13.13
- 14 But how shall they call on him, in whom they haue not beleued, &c. 3.20.1,11
- 17 Then Faith is by hearing, and hearing, &c. 3.20.27. & 4.1.5. & 4.6.3.1. & 4.8. 9. & 4.16.19
- 11.2 God hath not cast away his people which he knew before, &c. 3.22.6
- 4 But what faith the answer of God to him? I haue rescued vnto my selfe seuen thousand men, which haue not bowed the knee to *Baal*. 4.1.2
- 5 Euen so then at this present time, is there a remnant, through the election of grace. 3.21.1
- 6 And if it be of grace, it is no more of works: or else were grace no more grace, &c. 3.14.5
- 16 For if the first fruites be holy, so is the whole lump, and if the roote be holy, so are the branches. 4.16.15
- 17 And though some of the branches be broken off, and thou being a wilde Olive tree, wast graft in for them, and made partaker of the roote, and fatesse of the Olive tree. 3.1.1
- 20 Well, through vnbeleefe they are broken off, and thou standest by Faith, be not high minded, but feare. 2.3.22.& 3.24.6
- 26 And so all *Israel* shall be saved, as it is written: The deliuerer shall come out of *Sion*, and shall turne away the vngodlines from *Iacob*. 3.3.21
- 29 For the giftes and calling of God are without repentance. 4.16.14
- 32 For God hath shut vp all in vnbeleefe, that he might haue mercie on all. 2.7.8. & 3.23.11. & 3.24.16
- 33 O the deepnes of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God: how vnsearchable are his iudgements, & his waies past finding out? 1.17.2. & 3.23.5
- 34 For who hath knowne the mind of the Lord? or who was his counsellor? &c. 3. 2.34. & 4.18.19. & 4.19.2
- 35 Or who hath giuen vnto him first and he shall be recompenced? 3.14.5. & 3. 22.3. & 3.23.11
- 36 For of him, and through him, and for him, are all things, &c. 2.8.13
- 12.1 I beseech you therefore brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye giue vp your bodies a liuing sacrifice, holy and acceptable vnto God which is your reasonable seruing of God. 3.7.1. & 3.16.3. & 4.18.16

The Table.

- 2 And fashion nor your felues like vnto this world, but be ye chaunged by the re-
newing of your mind, that ye may prooue
what is the will of God, good, and accep-
table, and perfect. 2.1.9. & 4.16.4
- 3 As God hath dealt to euerie man the
measure of faith 4.13.3. & 4.16.4. & 4.17.32
- 4 For as wee haue many members in one
body, & all members haue not one office.
3.16.2
- Whether we haue prophecie, let vs prophe-
cie according to the proportion of
our faith. 4.16.4 & 4.17.32
- 7 Or an office, let vs waite on the office, or
he that teacheth, on teaching. 4.3.8
- 8 Or hee that exhorteth on exhortation:
hee that distributeth, let him doe it with
simplicitie: he that ruleth, with dilige-
nce: he that sheweth mercie, with cheereful-
nesse. 4.3.8, 9. and 4.11.1. and 4.20.4
- 10 Be affectioned to loue one another with
brotherly loue: in giuing honor, goe one
before another. 3.7.4
- 14 Blesse them that persecute you: blesse, I
say, and curse not. 4.20.20
- 19 Deerly beloved, auenge not your felues,
but giue place vnto wrath: for it is writ-
ten: Vengeance is mine I wil repay, saith
the Lord. 4.20.19
- 21 Be not overcome of euil, but overcome
euil with goodnes. 4.20.20
- 13.1 Let euerie soule be subiect vnto the
higher powers: for there is no power but
of God: and the powers that be, are or-
dained of God. 3.19.15. & 4.10.3, 5. & 4.
20.4, 7, 23
- 4 For hee is the minister of God for thy
wealth: but if thou do euill, feare: for he
beareth not the sword for nought, for hee
is the minister of God, to take vengeance
on him that doth euil 4.20.10. & 4.20.17.
& 4.20.19
- 5 Wherefore ye must bee subiect, nor be-
cause of wrath onely, but also for consi-
e- nce sake. 3.19.15. & 4.10.3. & 4.29.22
- 6 For, for this cause ye pay also tribute: for
they are Gods ministers, applying them-
selues for the same thing. 4.20.13
- 8 Owe nothing to any man, but to loue one
another: for he that loueth another, hath
fulfilled the law. 2.8.53
- 8 For this, thou shalt not commit adulte-
rie, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal,
thou shalt not beare false witnesse, thou
shalt not couet: and if there bee any
other commandement, it is briefly com-
prehended in this saying, namely: Thou
shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. 2.8.
57
- 14 But put ye on the Lord Iesus Christ, and
take no thought for the flesh, to fulfill the
lustes of it. 3.1.1 & 3.10.3
- 14.1 Him that is weake in the faith, receiue
vnto you, but not for controuersies of dis-
putations. 3.19.11
- 5 This man esteemeth one day above an
other day, & an other man counteth eue-
rie day alike: let euerie man be fully per-
swaded in his minde. 2.8.33
- 10 For we shal al appeare before the iudg-
ment seat of Christ. 1.13.11. & 3.5.8
- 11 For it is written I lue, saith the Lord:
And euerie knee shall bow to me, and all
toongs shall confesse vnto God. 1.13.11,
23. & 3.25.7
- 13 Let vs not therefore iudge one another
any more: but vse your iudgement rather
in this, that no man put an occasion to fal,
or a stumbling blocke his brother. 3.19.
11
- 14 I know, and am perswaded through the
Lord Iesus, that there is nothing vn-
clean of it selfe: but vnto him that iudgeth any
thing to be vn-
clean, to him it is vn-
clean. 3.19.8
- 17 For the kingdom of God is not meate
and drinke: but righteousnes and peace,
and ioy in the holy Ghost. 2.15.4
- 22 Hast thou faith? haue it with thy selfe
before God: blessed is hee that condem-
neth not himselfe in that thing which
he alloweth. 3.19.8
- 23 For he that doubteth is condemned if
he eate, because he eateth not of faith: &
whatsoeuer is not of faith is sin. 3.5.10. &
3.15.6. & 4.13.17. & 4.15.22
- 15.1 We which are strong, ought to beare
the infirmities of the weake and not to
please our selues. 3.19.11
- 5 Now the God of patience and consola-
tion, graunt that you be like minded one
towards another, according to Christ Ie-
sus. 4.2.5
- 6 That ye with one minde and with one
mouth

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- mouth may praise God, euen the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ. 3.20.29.31
- 8 Now I say, that Iesus Christ was a Minister of the circumcision, for the truth of God, to confirme the promises made vnto the Fathers. 3.2.32. & 4.16.15
- 12 There shall be a roote of Iesse, and he that shall rise to reigne ouer the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles trust. 1.13.13
- 19 So that from *Ierusalem*, and rounde about vnto *Illyricum*, I haue caused to abound the Gospell of Christ. 4.3.4
- 20 Yea, so I enforced my selfe to preach the Gospell, not where Christ was named, &c. 4.3.4
- 25 But now goe I to *Ierusalem*, to minister vnto the Saintes. 4.6.14
- 30 Also brethren, I beseech you for our Lord Iesus Christes sake, and for the loue of the Spirit that yee would striue with me by prayers to God for me. 3.20.20
- 16.3 Greete *Priscilla* and *Aquila* my fellow helpers in Christ Iesus. 4.6.14
- 7 Salute *Andronicus* and *Iunia* my Cousins and fellow prisoners which are notable among the Apostles, and were in Christ before me. 4.3.5
- 20 The God of peace shall tread Satan vnder your feete shortly. 1.14.18. & 3.15.5
- 25 By the reuelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began. 2.9.4
- 26 But now is opened, and published among all nations by the Scriptures of the Prophetes, &c. 2.9.4
- 12 Now this I say, that every one of you sayeth. I am *Paul*, &c. 4.13.14
- 13 Is Christ deuided? was *Paul* crucified for you? Either were ye baptised into the name of *Paul*? 3.5.2. & 4.15.13
- 20 Where is the wife? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? &c. 2.2.20
- 21 For seeing the worlde by wisdomed knew not God in the wisdomed of God, it pleased God by the foolishnes of preaching to saue them that beleeue. 2.6.1
- 23 But we preach Christ crucified: vnto the Iewes, euen a stumbling blocke and vnto the Grecians, foolishnes. 3.24.14
- 26 For brethren, you see your calling how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mightie, not many noble are called. 3.23.10
- 30 But ye are of him in Christ Iesus who of God is made vnto vs wisdomed and righteousnes, and sanctification, &c. 2.15.2. & 2.16.19. & 3.3.19. & 3.4.30. & 3.11.6.12. & 3.14.27. & 3.15.5. & 3.16.1
- 2.2 For I esteemed not to know any thing among you, saue Iesus Christ, and him crucified. 1.13.13. & 2.12.4.5. & 2.15.2. & 3.2.1
- 4 Neither stood my word and my preaching in the entising speech of mans wisdomed, but in plaine euident of the Spirit 1.8.1. & 4.1.6. & 4.14.11
- 5 That your Faith should not be in the wisdomed of men, but in the power of God. 3.2.35
- 8 Which none of the Princes of this world hath known, for had they known, &c. 1.5.12. & 2.14.2. & 4.17.30
- 10 But God hath reuealed them vnto vs by the Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deepe things of God. 1.13.14. & 3.2.34
- 11 For what man knoweth the thinges of a man, saue the spirit of a man which is in him, euen so the thinges of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. 3.2.34
- 12 Now we haue receiued not the Spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the thinges that are giuen to vs of God. 3.2.39. & 4.8.11

I. CORINTHIANS.

- 1.1 **P**aul called to be an Apostle of Iesus Christ, through the will of God, and our brother *Sofenes*. 4.3.10
- 3 Grace be with you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Iesus Christ. 1.13.13
- 9 God is faithfull by whom ye are called vnto the fellowship of his Sonne Iesus Christ, &c. 3.5.5
- 11 For it hath bene declared vnto me my brethren, of you by them that are of the house of *Cloe*, that there are contentions among you. 4.1.14

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- 13 Comparing things spirituall with spirituall things. 4.16.3.1
- 14 But the naturall man perceiueth not the things of the spirit of God: for they are foolishnesse vnto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. 2.2.20.& 3.2.34
- 16 For who hath knowen the minde of the Lorde, that hee might instruct him? but we haue the minde of Christ. 1.13.14. & 3.13.4
- 3.2 I giue you milke to drinke, and not meate: for yee were not able to beare it: neither yet now are ye able. 3.19.13
- 3 For whereas there is among you enuying, and strife, and diuisions, are yee not carnall, and walke as men? 2.5.4. and 4.1.14
- 4 For when one saith, I am *Paulus*, another, I am *Appollos*, are yee not carnall? 4.4.2.& 4.13.14
- 6 I haue planted, *Appollo* watered, but God gaue the increase. 4.14.11
- 7 So then neither is hee that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth but God that giueth the increase. 2.5.4.3.2.3.14.& 4.1.6
- 8 And every man shall receiue his wages according to his labour. 3.16.3 & 3.18.1
- 9 For we together are Gods labourers, ye are Gods husbandry, and Gods building. 2.5.17.& 4.1.6
- 11 For other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laide, which is Iesus Christ. 3.15.5.& 4.6.6
- 12 And if any man build on this foundation, golde, siluer, or precious stones, timber, hay, or stubble. 3.5.9
- 13 Euery mans worke shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it because it shall be reuealed by the fire, &c. 3.5.9
- 14 If any mans work that he hath built vpon, abide, he shall receiue wages. 3.5.9
- 15 If any mans worke burne, he shall lose, but he shall be safe himselfe: neuertheless as it were by the fire, 3.5.9
- 16 Knowe yee not that ye are the temple of God, and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you? 1.3.15.& 3.6.3.& 3.16.2. and 3.25.7.& 4.3.1
- 19 For the wisdom of this world is foolishnesse with God: for it is written, Hee catcheth the wise in their owne craftinesse. 2.5.7.& 2.2.20
- 21 Therefore let no man reioice in men: for all things are yours. 4.19.1
- 4.1 Let a man so thinke of vs, as of the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secrets of God, 4.3.6.& 4.8.1
- 4 For I knowe nothing by my selfe, yet am I not thereby iustificed: but he that iudgeth me, is the Lord. 3.12.2. & 3.17.14
- 5 Therefore iudge nothing before the time, vntil the Lord come, who will lighten things that are hid in darknesse, and make the counsels of the hart manifest, &c. 3.2.4
- 7 For who separateth thee? and what hast thou, that thou hast not receiued? if thou hast receiued it, why reioicest thou, as though thou hadst not receiued it? 2.5.2 & 3.7.4 & 3.24.12
- 1.5 For in Christ Iesus I haue begotten you through the Gospell. 4.1.6
- 5.1 It is heard certainly that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not once named among the Gentiles, &c. 4.1.14
- 2 And ye are puffed vp and haue not rather sorrowed, that hee which hath done this deece, might bee put from among you. 4.1.15
- 4 When yee are gathered together, and my spirit, in the name of our Lorde Iesus Christ, that, such a one I say, by the power of our Lorde Iesus Christ. 4.1.1. 5.& 4.12.4
- 7 Be deliuered vnto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Iesus. 4.12.5,6
- 6 Knowe ye not that a little leauen leaueth the whole lump? 4.1.2.5
- 7 For Christ our pascheouer is sacrificed for vs. 4.12.13.& 4.18.3
- 11 If any that is called a brother, bee a fornicator, or couetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one eate not. 4.1.15.& 4.1.2.5
- 12 For what haue I to doe, to iudge them also, which are without? doe ye not iudge them that are within? 4.1.1.5
- 6.6 Put a brother goeth to law with a brother, and that vnder the infidels. 4.20.21

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- 7 Now therefore there is vtterly a fault among you, because ye go to lawe, one with another. 4.1.14
- 9 Know yee not that the vnrighteous shal not inherite the kingdome of God? &c. 3.4. 21. & 3.24.10
- 10 Be not deceiued, neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor wantons, nor buggerers, nor theeuus, nor couetous, nor drunkards, nor railers, nor extortioners shall inherite the kingdome of God. 3.4.21
- 11 But ye are iustified in the name of the Lord Iesus, and by the spirit of our God. 1. 13. 14. & 3. 1. 1. & 3. 6. 3. & 3. 14. 6. & 3. 24. 10
- 13 Meates are ordained for the belly, and the belly for the meates: but God shall destroy both it, and them, &c. 3. 25. 8. & 4. 13. 9 & 4. 19. 7
- 15 Know ye not, that your bodies are members of Christ? &c. 3. 6. 3. & 3. 25. 8. & 4. 17. 9
- 19 Know yee not, that your bodie is the temple of the holy Ghost which is in you, whom you haue of God? &c. 1. 13. 15. & 3. 3. 9. & 3. 25. 7. & 3. 25. 8. & 4. 3. 1
- 20 For yee are bought for a price: therefore glorifie God in your body, & in your spirit: for they are Gods. 2. 17. 5. & 3. 25. 7
- 7.2 Neuerthelesse, to auoide fornication, let euerie man haue his wife, and let euerie woman haue her owne husband. 2. 8. 43
- 3 Let the husband giue vnto the wife due beneuolence, and likewise alio the wife vnto the husband. 4. 12. 16
- 5 Defraud not one another, except it bee with consent for a time, that ye may giue your selues to fasting, and prayer: and againe come together that Satan tempt you not for your incontinencie. 4. 12. 16
- 7 I would that all men were euen as I my selfe am: but euerie man hath his proper gift of God, one after this maner, and an other after that. 2. 8. 42
- 9 But if they cannot abstaine, let them marie: for it is better to marie than to burne. 2. 8. 43. & 4. 13. 17
- 14 For the vnbeleeuing husband is sanctified by the wife, and the vnbeleeuing wife is sanctified by the husbando, else were your children vnclane: but nowe are they holy. 2. 1. 7. & 4. 16. 6. & 4. 16. 15. & 4. 16. 31
- 19 Circumcision is nothing: and vncircumcision is nothing: but the keeping of the commandments of God. 4. 14. 24
- 21 Art thou called being a seruant? care not for it: but if yet thou maist be free, vse it rather. 4. 20. 1
- 23 Ye are bought with price: bee not seruants of men. 4. 20. 32
- 31 And they that vse this world, as though they vsed it not: for the fashion of this world goeth away. 3. 10. 14. & 4. 19. 7
- 34 The vnmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may bee holy both in body and in spirit, &c. 3. 10. 1. 4. & 4. 19. 7
- 35 And this I speake, for your owne commodities, not to tangle you in a snare. 4. 10. 2
- 8.1 And as touching things sacrificed vnto idols, we know, that wee haue knowledge, &c. 4. 10. 22
- 4 For though there be that are called gods, whether in heauen, or in earth, &c. 1. 11. 11
- 6 Yet vnto vs there is but one God, which is the father, of whom are all things, and we in him. and one Lorde Iesus Christ, &c. 1. 13. 11. 1. & 2. 3. 6. & 2. 14. 3. and 2. 15. 5
- 9 But take heede least by any meanes this power of yours be an occasion of falling to them that are weake. 3. 19. 11. and 4. 10. 22
- 9.1 Am I not an Apostle? am I not free? haue I not scene Iesus Christ our Lord? are yee not my worke in the Lord? 3. 14. 15. & 4. 1. 14. & 4. 17. 17. & 4. 17. 29
- 2 For ye are the seale of my Apostleship in the Lord. 4. 1. 6
- 5 Or haue wee not power to lead about a wife being a sister, as well as the rest of the Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? 4. 13. 25
- 12 Neuertheles, we haue not vsed this power but suffer all things, that wee should not hinder the gospel of Christ. 3. 4. 15
- 16 And woe is vnto me, If I preach not the gospel. 4. 5. 6
- 19 For though I bec free from all men, yet haue

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- haue I made my self seruant vnto all men,
that I might win the more. 3.19.12
- 20 And vnto the Iewes I becom as a Iew,
that I might win the Iewes,&c. 4.19.26
- 22 To the weake I become as weake,that
I may win the weak: I am made all things
to all men, that I might by al meanes saue
some. 3.19.12
- 10.1 Moreover,brethren I would not that
ye should be ignorant, that all our fathers
were vnder the cloude, and all passed
through the sea. 2.10.5
- 2 And were all baptised vnto *Moses* in the
cloud,and in the sea. 4.15.9
- 3 And did all eate the same spirituall meat
4.14.23.& 4.18.20
- 4 And did all drinke the same spirituall
drinke, for they dranke of the spirituall
rocke that followed them: and the rocke
was Christ. 1.13.10 & 2.9.1.& 4.14.26.&
17.15.21,22
- 5 But with many of them God was not
pleased: for they were ouerthrowen in the
wildernes. 4.14.24
- 11 And all these things came vnto them
for ensamples, and were written to admo-
nith vs, vpon whom the ends of the world
are come. 2.10.5.& 3.2.22
- 12 Wherefore let him that thinketh hee
standeth, take heed lest he fall. 3.2.40.&
3.24.6
- 13 There hath no tentation taken you but
such as appeareth to man,&c. 3.20.40
- 16 The cup of blessing which we blesse, is
it not the communion of the blood of
Christ? the bread which we breake, is it
not the comunon of the body of Christ?
4.17.10. & 4.17.15. & 4.17.22. & 4.17.38.
and 4.18.8
- 17 For we that are many, are one bread &
one bodie, because we all are partakers of
one bread. 4.17.14
- 23 All things are lawfull for mee, but all
things are not expedient: all things are
lawfull for me, but all things edifie not 3.
19.12
- 25 Whatsoeuer is solde in the shambles,
eate ye, and aske no question for consci-
ence sake, 3.19.11
- 28 But if any man say vnto you, this is sa-
crificed vnto idols, eate it not because of
him that shewed it, and for thy consci-
ence,&c. 3.19.6. & 4.10.4
- 29 And the conscience I say not thine but
of that other,&c. 3.19.11. & 4.10.4
- 31 Whether therefore ye eate or drinke,
or whatsoeuer yee do, do all to the glorie
of God. 3.20.44
- 32 Giue none offence, neither to the Iewes
nor to the Grecians, nor to the Church
of God, 3.19.11
- 11.4 Euerie man praying or prophecyng
hauiug any thing on his head dishonou-
reth his head. 4.19.26
- 5 But euerie woman that praieth or prophe-
cieth bareheaded, dishonoreth her head.
4.10.29
- 7 For a man ought not to couer his head:
forasmuch as he is the image and glorie
of God: but the woman is the glorie of
the man. 1.15.4
- 16 But if any man lust to be contentious,
we haue no such custome, neither the
Churches of God. 4.10.31
- 20 When ye come together therefore into
one place, this is not to eate the Lordes
supper. 4.18.12
- 22 Haue ye not houses to eate and drinke
in? despise yee the Church of God? &c.
4.10.29
- 23 For I haue receiued of the Lord that
which I also deliuered vnto you,&c. 4.17.
35,50
- 24 And when hee had giuen thanks hee
brake it, & said, take, eat, this is my body,
which is broken for you: this doe you in
remembrance of me. 4.17.1. and 4.
17.20
- 25 After the same maner also he tooke the
cup, when he had supped, saying this is the
new Testament in my blood,&c. 4.17.20
- 26 For as often as ye shall eat this bread &
drinke this cup, ye shew the Lords death
vntill he come. 4.16.30. & 4.17.37
- 28 Let a man therefore examine himselfe,
and so let him eat of this bread, and drinke
of this cup. 4.1.15. & 4.16.30. & 4.17.40
- 29 For he that eateth & drinketh vnwor-
thily, eateth and drinketh his owne dam-
nation, because hee discerneth not the lords
body. 4.1.15. & 4.16.30. & 4.17.33,34
40.
- 31 For if we would iudge our selues wee
should not be iudged. 3.3.18.
- 32 But

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- 32 But when we are iudged, we are chastened of the Lorde, because we shoulde not be condemned with the worlde. 3.4.
33.& 3.8.6
- 12.3 Wherefore, I declare vnto you, that no man speaking by the spirite of God calleth Iesus execrable,&c. 2.2.20
- 6 And there are diuersities of operations, but God is the same, which worketh all in all. 2.3.6,9
- 8 For to one is giuen by the spirit, the word of wise dome, and to another the word of knowledge, by the same spirit. 4.3.11
- 10 And to another diuersities of toongs, and to another the interpretation of toongs. 1.13.14.& 3.2.9
- 11 And all these things worketh euen the selfe same spirite, distributing to euerie man seuerally as hee will. 1.13.14.and 4.13.3
- 12 For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body which is one, though they be many yetare but one body: euen so is Christ. 1.13.16.& 3.7.5.& 3.16.2.& 4.17.2.2
- 13 For by one spirite are wee all baptized into one body, whether we are Iewes or Grecians,&c. 4.24.7.and 4.15.15.and 4.16.22
- 25 Least there should bee any diuision in the body: but that the members shoulde haue the same care one for another. 3.20.20
- 28 And God hath ordained some in the Church, as first Apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then them that do miracles: after that the giftes of healing, helpers,&c. 4.3.8.& 4.11.1.& 4.20.4
- 31 But desire you the best giftes, and I will yet shew you a more excellent way. 3.2.9
- 13.1. Though I speake with the toongs of men and Angels, and haue not loue, I am as sounding brasse, or a tinkling Cymball. 2.5.4
- 2 If I had al faith, so that I could remooue mountaines, and had not loue, I were nothing. 3.18.8
- 3 And though I feede the poore with all my goodes, and though I giue my body that I bee burned, and haue not loue, it profiteth me nothing. 4.13.13
- 4 Loue suffereth long: it is bountifull: loue enuieith not: loue doth not boast it selfe: it is not puffed vp. 3.7.5,6
- 9 For we knowe in part, and we prophetic in part. 3.2.20
- 10 But when that which is perfect, is come, then that which is in part, shall bee abolished. 3.2.13
- 12 For now we see through a glasse darkly: but then shall we see face to face, &c. 3.2.2.11.& 4.18.20
- 13 And now abideth faith, hope and loue, euen these three: but the chiefest of these is loue. 3.18.8
- 14.15 What is it then? I wil pray with the spirite, but I will pray with the vnderstanding also, &c. 3.20.5.& 3.20.32
- 16 Else, when thou blefdest with the spirite, how shall he that occupieth the roome of the vnlearned, say Amen at thy giuing of thanks, &c. 3.20.33
- 29 Let the Prophets speake two or three, and let the other iudge. 4.8.9.& 4.9.13
- 30 And if any thing be reuealed to another that sitteth by, let the first holde his peace. 4.1.12
- 34 Let your women keepe silence in the Churches, for it is not permitted vnto them to speake, &c. 4.10.29
- 40 Let all things bee done honestly and by order. 2.8.3.2.& 3.20.29.& 4.3.10.and 4.10.27,30
- 15.6 After that he was seene of moe than siue hundred brethren at once, &c. 2.25.3
- 10 But I laboured more abundantly than they all, yet not I, but the grace of God which is in me. 2.3.11.& 4.1.6
- 12 Nowif it be preached, that Christ is risen from the dead, how say some among you, that there is no resurrection of the dead? 3.25.7.& 4.1.14
- 13 For if there bee no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen. 3.25.3
- 14 And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching in vaine, and your faith is also in vaine. 3.25.3
- 16 For if the dead bee not raised, then is Christ not raised. 2.13.2
- 17 And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vaine, &c. 2.13.2.& 2.16.13
- 19 If in this life onely wee haue hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable,

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- rable. 3.9.6.&3.18.4
 20 But now is Christ risen from the dead, and was made the first fruites of them that slepe. 2.16.13
 21 For sith by man came death, by man came also the Resurrection of the dead. 2.1.6
 22 For, as in *Adam* all men die, euen so in Christ shall all be made aliuē. 4.16.17
 25 For he must reigne till he hath put all his enemies vnder his feete. 2.16.16
 28 And when all things shall be subdued vnto him, then shall the Sonne also himselfe be subiect vnto him, &c. 1.13.26.& 2.8.30. & 2.14.3. & 2.15.5. & 3.20.42. & 3.25.12
 36 Thou foole, that which thou lowest is not quickned, except it die. 3.25.4
 39 All flesh, is not the same flesh, but there is one flesh of men, &c. 3.25.8
 41 There is another glorie of the Sunne, an other glory of the Moone, an other glory of the Starres: for one Starre differeth from an other star in glory. 4.19.34
 45 The first Man *Adam* was made a liuing Soule: and the last *Adam* was made a quickning Spirit. 1.15.4. & 3.1.2
 46 Howbeit that was not first made which is spiritual, but that which is naturall, and afterward that which is spirituall. 4.16.31
 47 The first man is of the earth, earthly: the second man is the Lord from heauen. 2.12.7. & 2.13.2. & 2.13.4. & 4.17.25
 50 Flesh and blood cannot inherite the kingdome of God, &c. 4.16.17
 51 Beholde I shew you a secrete thing, we shall not all sleepe, but we shall all be chaunged. 2.16.17. & 3.25.8
 52 In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet: for the trumpeter shall blow, and the dead shall be raised vp incorruptible, and we shall be chaunged. 2.16.17
 53 For this corruption must put on incorruption, &c. 3.25.7
 54 So when this corruptible hath put on incorruptible, and this mortall hath put on immortallitie, &c. 3.25.10
 16.2 Euery first day of the weeke, let euery one of you put a side by himselfe, and lay vp as God hath prospered him, &c. 2. 8.33
- 7 For I wil not see you now in my passage: but I trust to abide a while with you, if the Lord permit. 1.17.11
- ## 2. CORINTHIANS.
- 1.2 **G** Race be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Iesus Christ. 1.13.13
 3 The Father of mercy, and the God of all comfort. 3.20.37
 6 And whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation and saluation which is wrought in the induring of the same sufferings, which we also utter: or whether we be comforted, it is your consolation and saluation. 3.5.4
 12 For our reioicing in this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicitie and godly purenesse, and not in fleshlie wisdom, &c. 3.2.41. & 3.17.14
 19 For the Son of God Iesus Christ who was preached among you by vs, &c. 4. 17.50
 20 For all the promises of God in him are yea, and are in him Amen, &c. 2.9.2. & 3.2.32. & 3.20.17. & 4.14.20
 22 Who hath also sealed vs, and hath giuen the earnest of the spirit in our hearts. 1.7.4. & 3.1.3. & 3.2.36. & 3.24.1
 23 Now, I call God for a record vnto my Soule, that to spare you, I came not as yet to *Corinthus*. 2.8.24. & 2.8.27
 24 Not that we haue dominion ouer your Faith, but that we are helpers of your ioy, &c. 4.8.9
 2.6 It is sufficient vnto the same man that he was rebuked of many. 3.4.13
 7 So that now contrariwise, yee ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him, least the same should be swallowed vp with ouermuch heauines. 4.1.29. & 4.12.8
 8 Wherefore, I pray you, that you would confirme your loue towards him. 4.12.9
 16 To the one we are the fauour of death, vnto death: and to the other the fauour of life, vnto life, &c. 2.5.5
 3.3 In that ye are manifest, to be the Epistle of Christ, ministred by vs, and written not with ynke, &c. 2.8.57
 5 Not that we are sufficient of our selues, to thinke any thing, as of our selues, &c. 2.2.15.27. & 2.3.6

The Table.

- 6 Who also hath made vs able Ministers of the new Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit: for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giueth life. 1.9.3. & 2.7.2. & 3.1.4. & 4.1.6. & 4.14.11
- 7 If then the ministration of death written with letters and engrauen in stones was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not behold the face, &c. 2.7.7
- 8 How shall not the ministration of the spirit be more glorious? 1.9.3
- 9 For if the ministerie of condemnation was glorious, much more doth the ministration of righteousnesse exceede in glorie. 4.3.3
- 14 Therefore their mindes are hardened: for vntil this day remaineth the same couering vntaken away in the reading of the olde Testament, which vaile in Christ is put away. 2.10.23
- 15 But euen vnto this day when *Moses* is read, the vaile is laid ouer their harts. 2. 10.23
- 17 Now the Lord is the Spirit, & where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is libertie. 2.2.8
- 18 But we all behold as in a mirror, the glorie of the Lord, with open face, and are changed into the same Image, &c. 1. 15.4. & 1.15.5. & 3.2.20. & 3.3.9
- 4.4 In whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds, that is, of the Infidels, that the light of the glorious Gospell of Christ, which is the image of God, &c. 1.14.13. & 1.14.18. & 1.18.2. & 2.4.1
- 6 For God that commanded the light to shine out of the darknes, is he which hath shined in our harts, &c. 2.9.1. & 3.2.1. & 4.1.5. & 4.3.3
- 7 But we haue this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellencie of that power might be of God, & not of vs. 4.1.5. & 4.3.1
- 8 We are afflicted on euery side, yet are we not in distresse: in pouertie, but not ouercome of pouertie. 3.8.9. & 3.15.8
- 9 We are persecuted, but not forsaken: cast downe, but we perish not. 3.15.8
- 10 Euery where we beare about in our body, the dying of the Lord Iesus, that the life of Iesus also might be made manifest in our mortall flesh. 3.15.5. & 3.15.8. & 3.18.7. & 3.25.3. & 3.25.7
- 13 And because we haue the same spirit of Faith, according as it is written, I beleueed, and therefore haue I spoken, &c. 3.2.3.5
- 5.1 For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, we haue a building giuen of God, &c. 3.25.6
- 2 For therefore we sigh, desiring to be clothed with our house, which is from heauen. 3.9.5
- 4 Because we would not be vnclouthed, but would be clothed vpon, that immortallitie might be swallowed vp of life. 1.15. 2. & 3.9.5.
- 5 Who also hath giuen vnto vs the earnest of the spirit. 2.9.3. & 3.2.36
- 6 Therefore we are alwaies bold, though we know that whiles we are at home in this bodie, we are absent from the Lord. 1. 15. 2. & 3.2.14. & 3.9. 4. and 3.25.1. & 3.25.6
- 7 For we walke by Faith and not by sight. 3.2.14
- 8 Neuerthelesse, we are bold, and loue rather to remooue out of the body, and to dwell with the Lord. 1.15.2
- 10 For we must all appeare before the iudgement seate of Christ, &c. 1.13.11. & 1.15.2 & 3.18.1. & 3.25.7
- 18 And all things are of God, which hath reconciled vs vnto himselfe by Iesus Christ, &c. 3.2.29 & 3.5.5. & 3.11.4 & 4.6.3
- 19 For God was in Christ, and reconciled the world to himselfe, not imputing their sinnes vnto them, &c. 2.12.4. and 2.17.2. and 3.2.32. and 3.4.25. and 3.11. 22. & 3.14.11. & 4.1.22
- 20 Now then are we Ambassadors for Christ: as though God did beseech you through vs, &c. 3.4.27. & 4.1.22. & 4.3.1
- 21 For he hath made him to be sinne for vs, which knew no sinne, that we should be made the righteousnes of God in him. 2.16.5. & 2.16.6. & 2.17.2. & 3.5.2. & 3.11. 11. & 3.11.22. & 3.11.23
- 68 By honor and dishonor, by euil report and good report, &c. 3.8.3
- 16 For yce are the Temple of the liuing God, &c. 1.13.15. & 3.6.3. & 3.16.2
- 7.1 Seeing then that we haue these promises, dearly beloued, let vs cleanse our selues from all filthines of the flesh and

The Table.

- 2.1 Then fourteene yeeres after, I went vp againe to *Ierusalem* with *Barnabas*, and rooke with me *Titus* also. 4.6.14
- 3 But neither yet *Titus* which was with me, though he were a Grecian, was compelled to be circumcised. 3.19.12
- 6 God accepteth no mans person, &c. 3. 23.10
- 7 When they saw the Gospell of the vncircumcision was committed vnto me, as the Gospell of the circumcision was vnto *Peter*. 4.6.7
- 8 For he that was mightie by *Peter* in the Apostleship ouer the circumcision, was also mightie by me towards the Gentiles. 4.1.6. & 4.6.7
- 9 And when *Iames*, and *Cephas*, and *Iohn* knew of the grace that was guen vnto me, &c. 4.6.13
- 14 But when I saw, that they went not the right way to the truth of the Gospell, I said vnto *Peter* before all men, if thou, &c. 4.12.3
- 16 Know that a man is not iustified by the workes of the law, but by the Faith of Iesus Christ, &c. 3.17.2
- 19 For I through the Law am dead to the Law, and that I might liue vnto God, &c. 2.16.7
- 20 Thus I liue yet, not I now, but Christ liueth in me, &c. 4.19.35
- 3.1 O foolish! Galathians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth, &c. 1.11.7. & 4.1.27. & 4.18.11
- 2 Receiued yee the Spirit by the workes of the law, or by the hearing of the Faith preached? 3.2.33. & 4.1.6
- 6 Yea rather as *Abraham* beleeued God, and it was imputed to him for righteousnesse. 3.17.8
- 8 For the Scriptures foreseeing, that God would iustifie the Gentiles through faith, preached before the Gospell vnto *Abraham*, &c. 3.11.3
- 10 For as many as are of the workes of the Law, are vnder the curse: for it is written, cursed is euery man that continueth not in all thinges, &c. 2.7.5. & 2.7.17. & 2.16 2. & 3.11.19
- 12 And the Law is not of Faith: but the Man that shall doe those things shall liue in them, 3.11.18. & 3.11.19
- 13 Christ hath redeemed vs from the curse for vs, &c. 2.7.15. & 2.8.57. & 2.16.2. & 2.16.6. & 2.16.19. & 2.17.4. & 3.4.27. & 3.11.12. & 3.19.3. & 4.13.21
- 16 Now to *Abraham* and to his seed were the promises made, &c. 2.6.2. & 2.13.3. & 4.14.21
- 17 And this I say, that the Law which was foure hundredth and thirtie yeeres after, cannot disanull the covenant that was confirmed afore of God in respect of Christ, that it should make the promises of no effect. 3.11.20
- 18 For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more by the promise, but God gaue it vnto *Abraham* by promise. 3.11.17
- 19 Wherefore then serueth the Law? it was added because of the transgression, &c. 1.14.9. & 2.5.6. & 2.7.2
- 21 Is the Law than against the promises of God? God forbid, &c. 3.11.19. & 3.4.6
- 22 But the Scripture hath concluded all vnder sinne, that the promise by the Faith of Iesus Christ should be giuen to them that beleue. 3.4.6
- 24 Wherefore the Law was a Schoole master to bring vs to Christ, that we might be made righteous by Faith. 2.7.2. & 2.7. 11. & 2.11.5
- 27 For all ye that are baptised into Christ, haue put on Christ. 2.1.3. & 3.1.3. & 4.14 7. & 4.15.6. & 4.16.21. & 4.19.8
- 28 There is neither Iewe nor Grecian: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male nor female: for yee are all one in Christ Iesus. 2.11.11. & 4.20.1
- 4.1 Then this I say, that the heire as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a seruant, though he be Lord of all. 2.11.2. & 2.11.5. & 2.11.13
2. But is vnder Tutors and Governours, vntill the time appointed of the Father. 4. 10.14
- 3 Euen so we, when we were children, were in bondage vnder the rudiments of the world, 4.10.14
- 4 But when the fulnes of time was come, God sent forth his son, borne of a woman, &c. 2.16.5. & 2.7.15. & 2.11.11. & 2.12. 7. & 2.13.1. & 2.13.3. & 2.17.5 & 4.20.15
- 5 That hee might redeeme them which were vnder the Law, that we might receiue

The Table.

- receive the adoption, &c. 2.7.15. & 3.19.2
 6 And because yee are the Sonnes, God
 hath sent forth the Spirit of his Sonne
 into your hearts, which crieth, *Abba*, that
 is, Father. 2.14.5. and 3.1.3. and 3.2.11
 and 3.13.5. and 3.20.37
 7 But euen then, when ye knew not God,
 ye did seruite vnto them which by nature
 are not Gods. 1.4.3. and 1.12.3
 8 But now, seeing ye know God, yea are
 rather knowne of God, &c. 4.1.27. and 4.
 10.10. and 4.19.7
 10 Ye obserue daies, and monethes, and
 times, and yeeres. 2.8.33
 11 I am in feare of you, lest I haue be-
 stowed on you labor in vaine. 2.8.33
 12 For it is written that *Abraham* had two
 Sonnes, one by a seruant, another by a
 free woman. 2.11.9. & 4.2.3
 24 By the which thinges, another thing
 is meant: for these Mothers, are the two
 Testamentes, &c. 2.11.9
 25 For *Agar* or *Sima* is a Mountaine in
Arabia, and it answereth to *Ierusalem*
 that now is, &c. 3.2.6
 26 But *Ierusalem*, which is aboue, is free:
 and is the Mother of vs all. 4.1.1
 28 We are after the manner of *Isaac*, chil-
 dren of the promise. 4.16.12
 30 Put out the seruant and her sonne, &c.
 3.18.2
 5.1 Stand fast in the libertie therfore wher-
 with Christ hath made vs free, &c. 3.19.2
 & 3.19.14. & 4.10.8. & 4.10.9. and 4.20.1
 4 Who so euer are iustified by the Law, ye
 are fallen from grace. 3.19.14
 5 For we through the spirite, waite for the
 hope of righteousnesse through faith. 3.
 2.43
 6 In Christ Iesus neither circumcision au-
 uaieth any thing, nor vncircumcision,
 &c. 3.11.20
 13 For brethren, ye haue beene called vn-
 to libertie: onely vse not your libertie,
 &c. 3.19.11
 14 For all the law is fulfilled in one word,
 which is, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour
 as thy selfe, 2.8.53
 17 For the flesh lusteth against the spirite,
 and the spirite against the flesh, &c. 2.7.5
 and 2.2.27
 19 Moreover the workes of the flesh are

- manifest, which are adulterie, fornicati-
 on, vncleannesse, wantonnesse. 2.1.8. &
 3.14.1. and 4.15.10
 6.10 While we haue therefore time, let vs
 do good vnto al men, &c. 3.7.6. & 3.20.38
 14 But God forbid that I should reioyce,
 but in the crosse of our Lord Iesus Christ,
 whereby the world is crucified vnto me;
 and I vnto the world. 2.16.7
 15 For in Christ Iesus, neither circumci-
 sion auaieth any thing, nor vncircumci-
 sion, &c. 4.14.24
 17 From hence forth let no man put me
 to businesse, for I beare in my body the
 markes, &c. 3.18.7. and 3.25.8

EPHESIANS.

- 1.2 **G** Race be with you, & peace from
 God our Father, and from the
 Lord Iesus Christ. 1.13.13
 3 Which hath blessed vs with all spirituall
 blessing in heauenlie thinges in Christ. 3.
 2.2.10
 4 As he hath chosen vs in him before the
 foundation of the world, that we should
 be holy, &c. 2.3.8. and 2.8.53. and 2.12
 5. and 2.16.4. and 3.15.5. and 3.17.15.
 and 3.19.2. and 3.22.1. and 3.23.12. and
 3.24.3. and 3.24.5
 5 Who hath predestinate vs to be adop-
 ted through Iesus Christ vnto himselfe,
 2.12.5. and 3.11.4. and 3.18.2
 6 To the praise of the glory of his grace,
 wherewith he hath made vs accepted in
 his beloued. 2.17.2. & 3.2.32. & 3.11.4
 7 By whom we haue redemption through
 his blood, &c. 3.4.30
 9 And hath opened vnto vs the myserie
 of his will, according to his good plea-
 sure, &c. 4.14.2. and 4.19.36
 10 That in the dispensation of the fulnes
 of the times, he might gather together in
 one all thinges, both which are in heauen,
 and which are in earth, euen in Christ. 2.
 12.5. and 3.20.21
 13 In whom also yee haue trusted, after
 that ye heard the word of truth, euen the
 Gospell of our saluation, &c. 1.7.4. and
 2.9.3. and 2.10.3. and 3.14. and 3.2.36.
 and 3.24.1. and 3.24.8
 14 Which is the earnest of our inheri-
 tance, vntill the redemption, &c. 3.24.8

The Table.

- 17 That the God of our Lord Iesus Christ, the Father of glory, might giue vnto you the Spirit of wisdom, &c. 2.2.21
- 18 That ye may know, what the hope of his calling, and what the riches of his glorious inheritance is in the Saintes. 3. 2.16. & 4.8.11
- 20 Which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, &c. 2.16.15
- 21 Farre above all principallitie and power, and might, and domination, and euerie name that is named, &c. 1.14.5. & 2. 15.5. & 2.16.15
- 22 And he hath appointed him ouer all things to be the head of the Church. 2. 15.5. & 4.6.9
- 23 Which is his body, euen the fulnesse of him that filleth all in all things. 2.15.5. & 3.20.38. & 4.1.10. & 4.17.9
- 2.1 That were dead in trespasses, and sins, &c. 3.24.10
- 2 Wherein in time past yee walked, according to the course of this world, and after the Prince that ruleth in the ayre, &c. 1.14.13. & 1.14.18. & 2.4.1. & 3. 24.10
- 3 Among whom we also had our conuersation in time past, in the lustes of our flesh, in fulfilling the will of the flesh, and of the minde, &c. 2.1.6. & 2.1.11. & 4.16.17
- 4 But God which is rich in loue, through his great loue wherewith hee loued vs. 3.14.5
- 5 Euen when we were dead by sinnes he quickned vs, &c. 3.5.19
- 6 And hath raised vs vp together, and made vs to sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Iesus. 2.16.16. & 3.15.6. & 3.25.1
- 8 For by grace are ye sau'd through faith, and that not of your selues: it is the gift of God. 3.13.2. & 3.14.11
- 9 Not of woikes, least any man should boast himselfe. 3.13.2
- 10 For we are his workmanship created in Christ Iesus vnto good woikes, &c. 2.3. 6 & 3.3.21. & 3.14.5. & 3.15.7. & 3.23.13
- 11 Wherefore remember that yee being in time past Gentiles in the flesh, and called vncircumcision, &c. 4.14.12. & 4.16.15
- 12 That ye were, I say, at that time without Christ, and were alienates from the common wealth of Israel, &c. 1.4.3. & 1.5. 12. & 2.6.1. & 3.24.10. & 4.14.12. & 4.16. 3. & 4.16.24
- 14 For he is our peace, which hath made of both one, &c. 2.7.17. & 2.11.11. & 3. 2.28. & 3.2.3.2. & 3.13.4 & 4.16.13
- 16 And that he might reconcile both vnto God in one body by the Crosse, &c. 3.17.2
- 19 Now therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreiners: but Citizens, &c. 3.25.1
- 20 And are built vpon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophetes, &c. 1.7.2 & 4.2.1. & 4.2.4. & 4.6.5
- 21 In whom all the building coupled together, groweth vnto an holy Temple in the Lord. 3.15.5. & 3.16.2
- 3.2 If ye haue heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is giuen me to youward. 4.14.2
- 7 Whereof I am made a minister by the gift of the grace of God, &c. 3.22.7
- 10 To the intent, that now vnto principalities, and powers in heauenlie places, &c. 1.18.3. & 2.11.12. & 3.24.16
- 12 By whom we haue boldnesse and entrance by confidence, &c. 3. 2.15. & 3. 13.5. & 3.20.12
- 14 For this cause, I bowe my knees vnto the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ. 3. 2.15
- 1; Of whom is named the whole family in heauen and in earth. 2.14.7
- 16 That he might graunt you according to the riches of his glory, that ye may be strengthened, &c. 2.12.5
- 17 That Christ may dwell in your hartes by Faith, &c. 2.9.3. & 2.12.5. & 4.17.5
- 18 That ye being rooted and grounded in loue, may be able to comprehend with all Saintes, &c. 2.12.5. & 3.2.14. & 3. 14.19
- 19 And to know the loue of Christ, which passeth knowledge, &c. 2.12.5
- 4.2 With long suffering supporting one another through loue. 4.12.11. & 4.12.13
- 3 Induoring to keepe the vnitie of the Spirit in the bond of peace. 4.12.11. & 4.12.13
- 4 There is one body, and one Spirit, &c. 4.1.3.

The Table.

- 5 There is one Lord, one Faith, and one
 baptisme. 4.1.3.& 4.3.1.& 4.6.10
 7 But vnto euery one of vs is giuen grace,
 &c. 1.13.16.& 4.2.5
 8 When he ascended vp on high, he led
 captiuitie captiue, &c. 1.13.11.& 2.16.16
 10 He that descended, is euen the same
 that ascended far above all heauens, &c.
 2.16.14.& 4.3.2.& 4.6.10
 12 He therefore gaue some to be Apostles,
 and some to be Prophetes, &c. 4.1.1.5. &
 4.3.4.& 4.6.10.& 4.8.12
 12 For the gathering together of the
 Saintes, that for the workes of the mini-
 sterie, &c. 4.1.5
 13 Till we all meete together, in the vni-
 tie of Faith, &c. 4.14.8
 14 That we be no more henceforth chil-
 dren, wauering and carried away with
 euery winde of doctrine, &c. 4.3.1
 15 But let vs follow the truth in loue, and
 in all things grow vp into him, &c. 2.16.
 15. & 3.1.1. & 3.1.3. & 4.3.2. & 4.6.9. &
 4.17.9
 16 By whom all the body being coupled
 and knit together by euery ioynt, &c. 2.
 13.1. & 4.6.9
 17 This I say therefore, and testifie in the
 Lord, that ye hencefoorth walke not, &c.
 2.3.1
 18 Hauing their cogitation darkened, and
 being strangers, &c. 2.3.1
 20 But you haue not so learned Christ.
 3.2.6. & 3.6.4
 22 That is, that yee cast off, concerning
 the conuersation in time past, the olde
 man, &c. 3.3.8. & 3.6.4
 23 And be renewed in the Spirit of your
 minde. 2.1.9 & 2.3.1. & 3.3.8. & 3.7.1
 24 And put on the new man, which after
 God is created, &c. 1.15.4
 23 Neither giue place to the diuel. 1.14.18
 28 Let him that stole, steale no more, but
 let him rather labor, &c. 3.24.10
 30 And grieue not the holy spirit of God,
 by whom, &c. 2.5.8
 5.1 Be ye therefore followers of God as
 deare children. 3.6.3
 2 And walke in loue, euen as Christ hath
 loued vs, and hath giuen himselfe, &c. 2.
 17.5. & 4.19.23
 6 Let no man deceiue you with vaine
 wordes, for such things, &c. 3.2.27
 8 For yee were once darkenestie, but are
 now light in the Lord, &c. 3.16.2. & 3.
 24.10
 14 Awake thou that sleepest, and stand vp
 from the dead, and Christ shall giue thee
 light. 2.5.19
 23 For the husband is the wiuies head,
 euen as Christ is the head of the Church,
 &c. 3.6.9. & 4.6.9
 25 And gaue himselfe for it. 4.1.17. &
 4.8.12
 26 That he might sanctifie it, and cleanse,
 &c. 3.3.11. & 3.6.3. & 4.1.13. & 4.1.5.2.
 & 4.16.22
 27 That he might make it vnto himselfe a
 glorious Church, not hauing, &c. 3.3.11.
 & 4.1.10
 28 So ought men to loue their wiuies as
 their owne bodies, &c. 4.19.35.
 29 For no man euer yet hated his owne
 flesh, but nourisheth, and cherisheth it,
 euen as the Lord doth the Church. 4.
 19.35
 30 For we are members of his bodie, of
 his flesh, &c. 2.12.2. & 2.12.7. & 3.1.3.
 & 4.17.9
 32 This is a great mysterie, but I speake
 concerning Christ, and concerning the
 Church. 4.12.24
 6.1 Children obey your Parentes in the
 Lord: &c. 2.8.36. & 2.8.38. & 4.20.29
 4 And ye Fathers, prouoke not your chil-
 dren to wrath, &c. 4.20.29
 9 Neither is there respect of persons with
 him. 3.23.10
 10 Finally my brethren be strong in the
 Lord, &c. 2.5.8
 12 For we wrestle not against flesh and
 blood, &c. 1.14.13. & 1.17.8
 13 For this cause, take vnto you the whole
 armour of God, &c. 1.14.13. & 2.5.11
 16 About all take the shilde of Faith,
 wherewith ye may quench all, &c. 3.2.
 21. & 3.20.21
 18 And pray alway with all manner of
 prayer and supplication in the Spirite, &c.
 3.20.5. & 3.20.7. & 3.20.12
 19 And for me, that vtterance may be gi-
 uen vnto me: that I may open my mouth
 boldly, &c. 3.20.20
 3.20.20

The Table.

PHILIPPIANS.

- 1.1 **P**aul and *Timothie* the seruants of Iesus Christ, &c. 4.3.7.& 4.3.8
- 4 Alwaies in al my prayers for all you, &c. 2.2.25
- 6 I am perfwaded of this same thing, that he that hath begun this same good worke in you, &c. 2.3.6.& 3.18.1.& 3.24.6
- 20 As I hartly looke for, and hope that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all confidence, &c. 3.2.43
- 23 For I am greatly in doubt on both sides, desiring to be looked & to be with Christ, &c. 3.9.4
- 29 For vnto you it is giuen for Christ, that not onely ye should belecue in him, &c. 2.17.5.
- 2.1 Fulfill my ioy, that ye be like minded, hauing the same loue, &c. 4.2.5
- 3 That nothing be done through contention, or vaine glory: but that in meeknes, &c. 3.7.4
- 5 Let the same minde be in you, that was euen in Christ Iesus. 4.2.5
- 6 Who being in the forme of God, thought it no robbie, &c. 1.13.11. and 1.13.24
- 7 But he made himselfe of no reputation, and tooke on him the forme of a seruant, and was made like vnto men, &c. 1.13.24 and 2.13.2. and 2.16.5. and 4.17.25
- 8 He humbled himselfe, and became obedient vnto the death, &c. 2.13.2. and 2.14.3. and 3.15.8. and 4.14.12
- 9 Wherefore God hath also highly exalted him, and giuen him a name, &c. 2.11.12. and 2.13.2. and 2.15.5. and 2.16.15. and 2.17.6
- 10 That at the name of Iesus should euerie knee bow, &c. 1.13.24. and 2.11.12. and 2.14.3. and 3.5.8
- 12 Wherefore my beloved, as you haue alwaies obeyed, not as in my presence, &c. 2.5.11. and 3.2.23. and 3.18.1
- 13 For it is God that worketh in you both the will, and the deede, &c. 2.2.27. and 2.3.6. and 2.3.11. and 2.5.11. and 3.2.23. and 3.11.12
- 15 That ye may be blameles, and pure, and the sonnes of God without rebuke, &c. 3.17.15

- 17 Yea and though I be offered vp vpon the sacrifice, & seruiue of your faith, I am glad and reioice with you all. 3.2.6
- 20 For I haue no man like minded, who will faithfully care for your matters. 4.6.15
- 21 For all seeke their owne, and not that which is Iesus Christs 4.6.15
- 3.5 An Ebrew of the Ebrewes, by the law a Pharisee. 3.24.10
- 6 Concerning zeale, I persecuted the Church, &c. 3.24.10
- 8 Yea doubtles I thinke al things but losse, for the excellent knowledge sake of christ Iesus my Lord, &c. 3.11.15. and 3.25.2
- 10 That I may know him, and the vertue of his resurrection, &c. 2.16.13. and 3.8.2 and 3.15.8. and 3.25.2.
- 12 Not as though I had already attained to it, either were already perfect, but, &c. 4.8.11
- 13 But one thing I do: I forget that which is behind, &c. 3.14.13. and 3.3.25.1
- 15 Let vs therefore as many as be perfect, be thus minded: and if yee be otherwise minded, &c. 3.2.4. and 4.1.12
- 20 But our conuersation is in heauen, from whence also we looke for the sauiour, &c. 3.25.2. and 4.17.27. and 4.17.29
- 21 Who shall change our vile body, &c. 3.25.4. and 3.25.8. and 4.17.29
- 4.3 Yea, and I beseech thee, faithful yokefellow, helpe those women that laboured with me in the Gospell, &c. 3.24.9
- 6 Be nothing carefull, but in all things let your requests be shewed to God in prayer and supplication, &c. 3.20.28. & 3.20.40
- 12 And I can be abased: and I can abound euerie where in all things I am instructed, &c. 3.10.5. and 3.19.9
- 18 I was euen filled, after that I had receued of *Epiphroditus*, &c. 4.18.16

COLOSSIANS.

- 1.4 **S**ince we heard of your faith in christ Iesus, and of your loue toward al saints. 2.10.3. and 3.18.3
- 5 For the hopes sake, which is laide vp for you in heauen, &c. 3.18.3. and 3.25.1
- 9 For this cause we also, since the day we heard

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- heard of it, cease not to pray for you, &c. 2.2.25
- 10 And increasing in the knowledge of God. 2.2.25
- 12 Giving thanks vnto the father which hath made vs,&c. 3.22.1
- 13 Who hath deliuered vs from the power of darkenes,&c. 3.15.6
- 14 In whom we haue redemption through his blood,&c. 2.17.5.& 3.4.30.& 3.15.5
- 15 Who is the image of the inuisible God, the first borne of euerie creature. 2.2.20. and 2.6.4. and 2.12.4.and 2.12.7. and 2.14.2.and 2.14.5
- 16 For by him were al things created, which are in heauen, and which are in earth, things visible and inuisible, &c. 1.14.10. and 2.12.7
- 18 And he is the head of the bodie of the Church,&c. 2.12.7.and 4.6.9
- 20 And by him to reconcile al things vnto himselfe,&c. 1.14.10.and 2.17.2.and 3.4.27.and 3.15.5
- 21 And you which were in times past strangers and enemies, because your mindes, &c. 2.16.2.and 3.14.6
- 22 Hath hee now also reconciled, in the body of his flesh,&c. 2.16.2
- 24 Now reioyce I in my sufferings for you, &c. 3.5.2.and 3.5.4.and 4.12.5
- 26 Which is the mysterie hid since the world began : and from al ages, but now is made manifest vnto his saints. 2.7.17. and 2.11.12.& 3.2.14.& 4.14.2
- 2.2 That their hearts might bee comforted, and they knit together in loue, &c. 3.2.14
- 3 In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. 2.12.4.& 2.15.2.& 3.2.13.& 2.11.5. & 3.11.12 & 4.8.7. & 4.10.8.& 4.18.20
- 8 Beware least there be any man that spoile you through philosophy,&c. 14.10.8 & 4.10.24
- 9 For in him dwelleth all the fulnes of the Godhead bodily. 1.13.13.& 3.11.5
- 10 And ye are complete in him, which is the head of all principallitie, and power. 1.14.5. and 4.6.9
- 11 In whom also ye are circumcised with circumcision made without hands,&c. 4.14.24. and 4.16.11
- 12 In that ye are buried with him in baptism,&c. 3.25.8.& 4.15.5.& 4.16.21
- 13 And ye which were dead in sinnes, and in the vncircumcision of your flesh, &c. 2.7.17
- 14 And putting out the hand writing of ordinances that was against vs,&c. 2.7.17. and 2.17.5. and 3.4.25
- 15 And hath spoiled the principalities and powers, and hath made a shew of them openly,&c. 2.16.6
- 16 Let no man therefore condemne you of meate and drinke or in respect of an holy day,&c. 2.8.33
- 17 Which are but a shadowe of things to come: but the body is in Christ. 2.7.16. and 2.8.31. and 4.14.22. and 4.14.25
- 19 And holdeth not the head, whereof all the body is furnished, and knit together by ioints,&c. 2.15.11
- 20 Wherefore if you be dead with Christ from the ordinances of the world,&c. 4.10.9. and 4.10.13. and 4.19.7
- 21 Touch not, nor taste not,&c. 4.10.13
- 23 Which things haue in deed a shewe of wisdome, in voluntarie religion,&c. 4.10.9. and 4.10.24. and 4.13.2
- 3.1 If then yee bee risen with Christ, seeke those things which are aboue,&c. 3.6.3. and 4.17.36
- 2 Set your afflictions on things which are aboue & not on things which are on the earth. 4.17.36
- 3 For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. 2.16.7.& 2.16.13.& 3.25.1
- 5 Mortifie therefore your members which are on the earth, fornication, vncircumcision,&c. 2.16.13,36
- 6 For the which things sake the wrath of God commeth on the children of disobedience. 3.2.27
- 9 Lie not one to another seeing that yee haue put off the old man,&c. 3.3.8
- 10 And haue put on the new, which is renewed,&c. 1.15.4.& 2.12.9 & 3.3.9
- 11 Where is neither Grecian nor Iew, circumcision nor vncircumcision, Barbarian,&c. 4.20.1
- 14 And aboue all these things, put on loue &c. 2.8.53. and 3.18.8 and 4.13.13
- 16 Teaching, and admonishing your own selues, in psalms, and hymnes, &c. 3.20.32
- 20 Children

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- 20 Children, obey your parents, &c. 2.8.36
 24 Knowing that of the Lord, ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance, &c. 3.18.2
 25 Neither is there respect of persons. 3.23.10
 4.3 Praying also for vs, that God may open vnto vs the doore of vtterance, &c. 3.20.20
 17 And say to *Archippus*, take heed to the ministerie, that thou hast receued, &c. 4.3.7

- 17 Pray continually. 3.20.7. & 3.20.28
 18 In all things, give thanks, for this is the will of God in Christ Iesus toward you, &c. 3.20.28
 19 Quench not the spirit. 1.9.3. & 2.5.11
 20 Despise not prophcing. 1.9.3
 23 Now the verie God of peace sanctifie you throughout: & I pray God that your whole spirit and soule and body, may be kept blameles vnto the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ. 3.6.3. & 3.17.15. & 3.25.7

I. THESSALONIANS.

- 2.18. **T** Herefore wee would haue come vnto you (*I Paul*) &c. 1.17.11
 19 For what is our hope, or ioy, or crowne of reioicing? 3.25.10
 3.5 Euen for this cause, when I could no longer forbear, I sent him that I might know of your faith, &c. 3.20.46. & 4.1.6
 12 And the Lord increaseth you, and make you abound in loue one toward another, &c. 2.5.6
 13 To make your hearts stable, and vnb-lamable in holines before god, &c. 3.17.15
 4.3 For this is the will of God, euen your sanctification, &c. 3.16.2
 7 For God hath not called vs vnto vncleannes, but vnto holines. 3.16.2 & 3.19.2. & 3.23.13
 15 For this say we vnto you by the worde of the Lord, that we which liue, and are remaining in the comming of the Lorde, shall not preuent those which sleepe. 3.25.8.
 16 For the Lord himselte shall descende from heauen with a shout, and with the voice of the Archangell, and with the trumpet of God: and the dead in Christ shall first rise. 1.14.8. & 2.16.17
 17 Then shall we which liue and remaine, be caught vp with them also in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the aire: and so shall we be euer with the Lord. 2.16.17
 5.2 For you your selues knowe perfectly, that the day of the Lord shall come, euen as a theefe in the night. 4.19.34
 9 For God hath not appointed vs vnto wrath, but to obtaine saluation by the means of our Lord Iesus Christ. 3.16.2

II THESSALONIANS.

- 1.4 **S** O that we our selues reioice of you in the Churches of God, because of your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye suffer. 3.2.11
 5 Which is a token of the righteous iudgment of God, that ye may bee counted worthy of the kingdome of God, for the which ye also suffer. 3.2.11. & 3.18.7
 6 For it is a righteous thing with God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you. 3.9.6. & 3.18.7. & 3.25.4
 7 And to you which are troubled, rest with vs when the Lord Iesus shall shew himself from heauen with his mightie Angels. 3.18.7
 9 Which shall bee punished with euerlasting perdition, from the presence of the Lord, and from the glorie of his power. 3.25.12
 10 When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to bee made maruellous in all them that beleue (because our testimonie toward you was beleued) in that day. 3.25.10
 11 Wherefore, wee also pray alwaies for you, that our God may make you worthy of his calling, and fulfill al the good pleasure of his goodnes, and the worke of faith with power. 2.5.8 & 3.2.35
 2.3 Let no man deceiue you by any means, for that day shall not come except there come a departing first, and that that man of sinne be disclosed, euen the son of perdition. 4.9.7
 4 And exalteth himselte against all that is called God, or that is worshipped, 10

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- so that he doth sit as God in the temple of
 God, &c. 4.2.12. & 4.7.25. & 4.7.29. & 4.
 9.4
- 9 Euen him whose coming is by the
 working of Satan with all power & signes,
 and lying wonders. 1.14.17
- 11 And therefore God shall sende them
 strong delusion, that they should beleue
 lies. 1.14.17. & 1.18.2. & 2.4.5
- 12 That all they might be damned, which
 beleue not the truth, but had pleasure in
 vnrighteousnes. 1.18.2. & 2.4.5
- 13 But we ought alwaies to giue thanks
 to God for you, brethren beloued of the
 Lord, because hee hath chosen you from
 the beginning to saluation, through sanc-
 tification of the spirit, and beleefe of the
 truth. 3.1.2
- 14 Whereunto he called you by our gos-
 pell, to the obtaining of the glorie of our
 Lord Iesu Christ. 2.10.3
- 3.6 We do command you brethren, in the
 name of our Lorde Iesus Christ that yee
 withdraw your selues from euery brother
 that walketh inordinately, &c. 4.1.
 26
- 10 For euen when we were with you this
 we warned you of, that if there were any
 that would not worke, that he should not
 cate. 4.16.29
- 12 Those that be such manner of persons,
 we command, and beseech for our Lord
 Iesus Christ, that they worke with quiet-
 nes, and cate their owne bread. 3.1.
 26
- 14 And if there be any that follow not our
 counsell, note by a letter, and haue no
 company with him, that he may be asha-
 med. 4.12.5
- 15 Yet count him not as an enemy, but ad-
 monish him as a brother. 4.12.10
- 13 I, I say which was first a blasphemers
 and a persecuter, and a doer of wrong:
 but he had mercy of me, for I did it igno-
 rantly, not beleeuing. 3.3.12
- 15 Christ Iesus came into the world to saue
 sinners, of the which I am chiefest. 2.
 12.5
- 17 To the king eternall, immortall, inuisi-
 ble, the onely wise God, hee honour and
 glorie, &c. 1.13.11, 24
- 19 Hauing faith and a good conscience
 the which beeing put away, some haue
 made shipwrack of faith. 3.2.12
- 2.1 I exhort therefore, that first of all prai-
 er, supplications, intercessions, and giuing
 of thanks be made for all men. 3.20.19.
 and 4.20.23
- 2 For kings and for al that are in authority,
 that we may lead a quiet and peaceable
 life in all holinesse and honestie. 4.20.5,
 27
- 4 Who would haue all men to bee saued,
 and come to the knowledge of the truth.
 3.24.15
- 5 One God and one Mediator betweene
 God and man, the man Christ Iesus. 2.12.
 1. & 2.17.5. & 3.20.17, 20. & 4.12.25
- 6 Who gaue himself a ransom for al men,
 I say Christ that testimonie ordained in
 due time. 2.17.5. & 3.4.30
- 8 I will therefore that the men pray euery
 where lifting vp pure hands without
 wrath or doubting. 3.20.29. & 3.25.7. & 4.
 19.2
- 3.2 A Bishop ought to bee vnblameable,
 the husband of one wife, watchful, sober,
 settled, harborous, apt to teach. 4.3.12. &
 4.4.7, 10. & 4.5.2 & 4.2.23, 24
- 9 Holding the mysterie of the faith with a
 pure conscience. 3.2.13. & 4.19.36
- 15 Which is the church of the liuing God,
 the pillar and ground of all truth. 4.1.10.
 & 4.2.1, 10. & 4.8.21

I. TIMOTHIE.

- 1.5 **T**He end of the law, is loue out of a
 pure heart, & good conscience,
 and of faith vnfaigned. 2.5.6. & 2.8.5.1. and
 3.2.12. and 3.19.16. and 4.10.4
- 9 Knowing that the law is not put for iust
 men, but for the lawles and disobedient, &
 for those that wil not be ruled, for the wic-
 ked, &c. 2.7.10
- 16 And without controuersie great is the
 mysterie of godlines, God was made ma-
 nifest in flesh. 1.13.11. & 4.14.2.
- 4.1 The spirite speaketh evidently, that in
 the latter times some shal depart from the
 faith, and shall giue heede to spirites of
 errour, and to doctrine of diuels. 4.
 19.4
- 2 Teaching lies through hypocrisie, whose
 conscience

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- conscience is marked with a hote iron. 4.9.14
- 3 Forbidding marriage, and commanding to abstaine from meate, which God hath created to be receiued with thanks giuing of the faithfull and of them that haue knowen the truth. 4.9.14. & 4.12.23
- 4 For whatsoever God hath created is good, nor nothing is to be refused if it be taken with thanksgiuing. 3.19.8
- 5 For it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer. 3.19.8. and 3.20.28
- 6 Being nourished vp in the wordes of Faith, and in good doctrine, which thou hast continually followed. 3.2.13
- 8 But godlinesse is profitable which hath promise of this life, and of the life to come. 2.9.3. 3.2.28. & 3.20.44
- 10 Therefore we labor and are reproched, bicause we hope in the liuing God, which is the Sauour of all men, but most chiefly of the Faithfull. 3.8.8
- 13 Attend vnto reading, exhortation and doctrine vntill I come. 1.9.1
- 14 Neglect not the gifte that is in thee which was giuen thee to propheticie with laying on of the handes of the Elders. 4.3.16. and 4.19.28
- 5.9 Let not a widow be taken into the number that is younger than 60. yeers olde, that hath bene the wife of one husband. 4.3.9
- 12 Therefore to be condemned, because they haue forsaken their first faith. 4.13.18
- 17 The Elders that rule well, are woorthy double honor, but most chiefly those that doe labor in the wordes and doctrine. 2.8.35. and 4.11.1
- 20 Those that offend, reprocue openly, that the rest may feare. 4.12.3
- 21 I charge thee before God & our Lord Iesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou keepe these things without preferring one before another, and do nothing partiallie. 1.14.9,16. and 3.23.4
- 22 Lay hands sodenly vpon no man, neither be partaker of other mens sinnes. 4.3.12,15
- 6.4 He is puffed vp and knoweth nothing, but doteth about questions and strife of words, of which there riseth enuie, strife, railings, and euill surmising. 1.13.3
- 10 For the roote of all euill is the loue of money, the which whilst some lusted after, they haue erred from the Faith, and pearced themselues through with many sorrowes. 3.2.13
- 16 Who only hath immortalitie, dwelling in the light that none can attaine vnto, whom neuer man saw, neither yet can see, vnto whom be honor and power euerlasting. Amen. 1.6.3. & 1.18.3. & 3.2.1
- 17 Charge those that be rich in this world, that they be not high minded, and that they put not trust in vncertaine riches, but in the liuing God, who giueth all things abundantly to enioy. 3.18.6
- 20 *O Timothy*, keepe that that is committed vnto thee, and auoide prophane and vaine babblings, and oppositions of science falsly so called. 1.16.8

II. TIMOTHIE.

- 1.1 **P***Aul* the Apostle of Iesus Christ, by the will of God, according to the promise of life which is in Christ Iesus. 2.9.3
- 6 I do put thee in remembrance that thou stir vp the gift of God which is in thee, by the laying on of my hands. 4.3.16
- 9 Who hath saued you and hath called you with an holy calling, not according to our workes, but according to his owne purpose and grace, &c. 2.12.5. and 3.14.5. and 3.22.3. and 4.1.26
- 10 But now is made manifest by the appearing of our Lord Iesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortalitie to light through the Gospell. 2.9.2. and 3.25.1
- 12 For the which cause also I suffer these things, neither am I ashamed: I know whom I haue beleued, and I am perswaded, he is able to keepe that I haue committed vnto him against that day. 3.2.3.1. and 3.25.4
- 14 That woorthy thing that was committed vnto thee, keepe through the holie Ghost which is in vs. 3.2.33
- 18 The Lord grant him that he may finde mercie with the Lord in that day. 3.25.10
- 2.10 Therefore I suffer all things for the elect sake, that they might also obtaine the

The Table.

- the saluation that is in Christ Iesu, with eternall glorie. 3.5.4
- 12 If we bee dead with him, we shall also liue with him: and if we suffer, we shall also reigne with him. 3.15.8
- 13 If we belecue not, yet abideth he faithfull, he cannot denie himselfe. 1.4.2.& 3.20.36
- 16 Stay prophane babling about vaine things, for they will proceed to more vngodlines. 3.2.13
- 19 The foundation of God standeth sure, hauing this seale, The Lorde knoweth who be his, &c. 3.22.6 & 4.1.2.8
- 20 In a great house there be not only golden & siluer vessels, but also of wood and of earth, and some of them be to honour, and some to dishonor. 3.15.8
- 25 Instruct them with meekenes that are contrarie minded, if that God will giue them at any time repentance that they may know the truth. 1.14.18. & 3.3.21. & 3.24.15
- 26 And that they which bee taken in the snare of the diuell, in the which they be held captiue, may, &c. 1.14.18. & 3.3.21
- 3.6 Euer learning, but they can neuer come to the knowledge of the truth. 3.2.5
- 8 And as Iannes and Iambres withstoode Moses, so they withstand the truth, men corrupt in minde, and reprobate touching the faith. 3.2.13
- 16 The whole Scripture is giuen by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to reprove, & to correct, &c. 1.9.1. & 2.7.14
- 17 That the man of God may be perfect, being perfectly instructed to euery good worke. 1.9.1
- 4.1 I charge thee therefore before God, and before the Lorde Iesus Christ, who shall iudge the quicke and the dead at his glorious coming in his kingdome. 2.16.17
- 8 It remaineth, that there is a crowne laid vp for me, which the Lord that righteous iudge shall giue vnto me in that day. 3.18. 5. & 3.25.4
- 16 At my first answering no man assisted me, but all forsooke me. 4.6.15
- the faith of the elect of God, and knowledge of the truth, which is according to holines. 3.2.12. & 3.22.10
- 6 For this cause I left thee in *Creta*, that thou shouldst goe forwardes to amende those things that remaine, and that thou shouldst appoint euery where Elders, as I haue commaunded thee. 4.3.7.8,15
- 6 If any be blamelesse, let it be the husband one wife, hauing children that be faithfull, &c. 4.3.1.2. & 4.12.23
- 7 A bishop must be blamelesse, as the steward of God, &c. not greedie of filthy lucre. 4.5.19
- 9 A holder of that faithfull worde which serueth to teach, that hee may exhort by sound doctrine, and confute them that speake there against. 4.3.6
- 13 This witness is true: wherefore reprove them earnestly, that they may be found in faith. 3.2.13
- 15 All things is pure to the pure: but to the defiled and faithles, nothing is pure, &c. 3.19.9. & 4.13.9. & 4.17.40
- 2.2 That old men be sober, shewing themselves worthy to be reuerenced, and temperate, found in faith, loue, and patience. 3.2.13
- 11 For the grace of God that bringeth saluation to all men hath appeared. 2.12.4. & 3.7.3. & 3.16.2. & 4.1.26
- 12 Teaching vs, that wickednes being forsaken and worldly lustes, wee should liue soberly, righteously, and holily, in this present life. 3.16.2. & 3.25.1
- 13 Looking for that blessed hope, and for that glorious comming of the glorie of that great God and sauiour euen Christ Iesus. 3.9.5. & 3.26.2
- 3.2 Put them in mind that they be subiect to principalities, and obey powers, that they be prepared to euery good worke. 4.20.23
- 4 But when the benightfulnes and loue of God our Saviour towards man appeared. 2.5.17. & 3.14.5. & 4.1.26
- 5 Not by the works of righteousness that we had done, but according to his mercy he saued vs, by the washing of regeneration, &c. 1.13.14 & 2.5.17. & 3.4.25. & 4.15.2,5. & 4.16.20. & 4.17.22.
- 7 That being iustified by his grace, wee should.

TITVS.

- 1.1 **P**aul a seruant of God, and an Apostle of Iesus Christ according to

The Table.

should be made heires according to the hope of eternall life. 3.15.6

- 9 But stay foolish questions and genealogies, and contentions, and brawlings about the law, for they are vnprofitable and vaine. 2.12.5

HEBREWES.

1.1 **G**od many times and diuersly spake to the fathers by the prophets. 2.

9.1.& 2.15.1.& 4.8.7

2 In these latter daies he spake to vs by his sonne. 1.13.7.& 4.8.7.& 4.18.20

3 Who being the brightnes of his glorie, and the engraued forme of his person, and beareth vp all things by his mightie word, hath by himselfe purged our sinnes, &c. 1.13.2,12. & 1.16.4. & 2.2.20.& 2.14.3

4 Beeing made so much more excellent than Angels, by how much hee hath obtained a more excellent name. 1.14.9

6 Let the Angels of God worship him. 1.13,11,23

10 And thou O Lorde, in the beginning hast laid the foundations of the earth: and the heauens be the works of thy hands. 1.1.13.11,23,26

14 Be they not all ministring spirites sent forth to minister for their sakes that shall be heires of saluation. 1.14.9.and 3.20.23

2.5 He hath not put in subiection to the Angels, the world to come, of which wee speake. 1.14.9

9 But wee see Iesus crowned with glorie and honor, which was made a little while inferiour to Angels, by reason of suffering death, that by Gods grace he might taste of death for all men. 1.13.26. and 2.16.7

11 For he that sanctifieth, and those that are sanctified, are all of one: wherefore he is not ashamed to call them brethren. 2.13.2

14 That he might destroy through death, him that had the empire and power of death, that is the deuill, &c. 1.14.18.& 2.13.1,2.& 3.11.12

15 And that hee might deliuer all them, which for feare of death were at their life

time subiect to bondage. 2.16.7

16 For in no wise he tooke the Angels, but he tooke the seed of *Abraham*. 1.14.9. and 2.13.1,2

17 In all things it became him to be made like to his brethren, that he might be mercifull, and a faithfull high priest in things concerning God. 2.13.1.& 2.16.2,19

3.14 We bee made partakers of Christ, if we keep sure vnto the end that beginning wherewith we are vpholden. 3.2.16

4.9 There remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God. 2.8.29

14 Hauing therefore a great high priest, that hath entred into heaven, euen Iesus the sonne of God, let vs hold this profession. 2.7.2.& 4.4.2.1

15 We haue not a high priest that cannot be touched with the infirmitie of our flesh, but was in all things tempted in like sort, yet without sin. 2.12.1,7.& 2.13.1. and 2.16.12. and 4.17.24

16 Let vs approach therefore with boldnes vnto the throne of grace, that we may receiue mercie, and finde grace to helpe at time of need. 3.20.12,17

5.1 Every high priest is taken from amongst men, and is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifice for sinnes. 2.12.4

4 Neither doth any man take this honour to himselfe, but he that is called of God, as was *Aaron*. 4.3.10. and 4.15.22. and 4.18.9,14.

5 And so Christ tooke not to himselfe this honor, to be made high priest, &c. 4.14.2.1. and 4.18.2

6 Thou art a priest for euer, after the order of *Melchisedec*. 4.19.28

7 Which in the daies of his flesh did offer vp praiers and supplications with strong crying and teares vnto him, that was able to saue him from death, & was also heard in that which he feared. 2.16.11

8 Although he were the son, notwithstanding he learned obedience by those things that he suffered. 3.8.1

10 And called of God an high priest, after the order of *Melchisedec*. 4.18.2

6.4 For it cannot be that those which were once lightened, and haue tasted of the heauenly gifts, and were made partakers

The Table.

- of the holy Ghost. 3.2.11.and 3.3.21,23
- 6 If they fall, that they should bee renewed againe by repentance,&c. 3.3.21
- 10 For God is not vniust, that he should forget your workes and labour of loue, which ye shewed toward his name,&c.3. 18.7
- 13 For when God made the promise to *Abraham*, when as he could sweare by none greater, hee swore by himselfe. 2.8. 25
- 16 For men verily sweare by him that is greater than themselves, and an oath for confirmation is an ende of strife amongst them. 2.8.27
- 7,3 Without father, without mother, without kindred, and hauing neither beginning of his daies, nor end of his life, but is likened to the sonne of God, and continueth a priest for euer. 4.19.28
- 7 But without all controuersie, that which is the least is blessed of him that is greater 4.18.2
- 11 If there had bene a full perfection by the Leviticall priesthood,&c. 2.11.4
- 12 The priesthood therfore being changed, it must needs bee, that there bee a change of the law. 3.4.4 & 4.6.2
- 17 Thou art a priest for euer after the order of Melchisedec. 4.18.2
- 19 The lawe sanctified nothing, but the bringing in of a better hope did it by the which we come neere to God. 2.7.17. and 2.11.4
- 21 But this, he is made with an oath by him that said vnto him, The Lord hath sworne and wil not repent, thou art a priest for for euer,&c. 4.18.2
- 22 Iesus is made so much greater surtie of a better testament 4.18.2
- 24 And he, because he abideth for euer, hath an euerlasting priesthood. 2.15.6
- 25 Whereby he is able to saue those which come vnto God by him. 2.16.16
- 8.1 But this is the summe of that which we haue spoken: that we haue such an high priest, that sitteth on the right hand of the throne of maiestie in heauen. 2.16. 15
- 5 See, quoth he that thou make all things according to the paterne that was shewed thee in the mountaine. 2.7.1
- 6 But now our high priest hath obtained a more excellent office, in as much as he is the Mediator of a better testament,&c. 2. 16.12
- 9.1 The first Testament had also ordinances of religion, and a worldly sanctuarie. 4.14.21
- 7 But into the second went the high priest alone once euey yere, nor without blood which he offered for himselfe and for the people. 2.7.17.and 2.15.6
- 8 Whereby the holy Ghost this signified, that the way into the holiest of al, was not yet opened, whilest as yet the first tabernacle was standing. 2.7.17.and 2.15.6
- 9 Wherein were offered gifts and sacrifices that could not make holy, concerning the conscience of him that did seruice. 2. 7.17.& 2.11.14.& 4.14.25
- 11 But Christ being come a hie priest of good things to come. 2.16.16.& 4.14.21. and 4.18.2
- 12 Neither by the blood of goats & calves, but by his owne blood entred he once into the holy place. 2.17.4.and 4.18.3
- 13 For if the blood of buls & goats, & the ashes of an heifer sprinkling them that are vncleane, sanctifieth as touching the purification of the flesh. 2.17.4
- 14 How much more shall the blood of Christ, which through the eternall spirite offered himselfe without spot to God,&c. 2.16.6.& 3.16.2.& 4.14.11
- 15 And for this cause he is the Mediator of a new Testament, that through death, &c.2. 7.17.& 4.17.4
- 16 For where a testament is, there must be the death of him that made the testament 4.18.5
- 22 And al things almost according to the law, was purified by blood, and without shedding of blood there was no remission 2.15.6.& 2.17.4
- 26 But now once in the ende of the world hath he appeared to put away sinne by the sacrifice of himselfe. 4.18.3
- 27 And as it is ordained for men that they shall once die, and after that cometh the iudgement. 2.16.17.& 3.25.8
- 28 So Christ was once offered to take away the finnes of many, and vnto them that looke for him, shall he appeare the second

The Table.

- second time without sin vnto saluation. 3. 25.2
- 10.1 For the law hauing the shadowe of good things to come, and not the verie image of the things, can neuer with those sacrifices which they offer yeerely, sanctifie the commers thereto. 2.7.16, 17. & 2. 11.4.& 4.14.23
- 2 For would they not then haue ceased to haue bene offered because that the offerers once purged, should haue had no more conscience of sinne. 3.19.15.& 4. 10.3.& 4.14.25
- 4 For the blood of buls and goats cannot take away sin. 4.14.25
- 7 Then I said, lo, I come (in the beginning of the booke it is written of mee) that I should do, O God, thy will. 2.16.5
- 8 Aboue, when he said, sacrifice, and offerings, and burnt offerings, and sinne offerings, thou wouldest not haue, neither hast thou pleasure therein which are offered by the law, &c. 2.16.5
- 10 By the which will we are sanctified, euen by the offering of the bodie of christ once made. 3.6.3.& 4.18.3
- 14 For with once offering hee hath consecrated for euer, those that are sanctified. 3. 5.2.& 4.18.3
- 19 Wherefore brethren, seeing wee haue libertie to enter the holy place through the blood of Iesus. 3.20.20
- 20 By the new and liuing way which hee hath prepared for vs through the vaile, that is, his flesh. 3.20.18
- 26 If we sinne willingly after that we haue receiued the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin. 3.3.21, 23.& 4.18.3
- 27 But a feareful looking for of iudgment, and violent fire which shall deuoure the aduersaries. 3.25.12
- 29 Of how much more sorer punishment thinke ye, shall he ye worthy, which treadeth vnder foote the son of God, & counteth the blood of the testament as an vn-holy thing, wherewith he was sanctified, and doth despise the spirit of grace. 3.3. 21
- 36 Ye haue need of patience, that after ye haue done the will of God, yee might receive the promises. 3.2.37
- 11.1 Now faith is the grounde of things that are hoped for, and the euidence of things that are not seene. 3.2.41.& 3. 25.1
- 3 By faith we vnderstand, that the worlde was made by the worde of God, in such sort, that the things that we see, were not made of things that did appeare. 1.5.13. & 1.6.1.& 1.16.1
- 6 Without faith it is vnpossible to please him, for hee that commeth to God must beleue that God is, and that he doth reward them that seeke him. 3.11.15.& 3. 14.4 & 3.20.40
- 7 By faith we being warned of God of the things which were as yet not seene, &c. 3. 2.30.
- 9 By faith he abode in the land of promise as a stranger, &c. 2.10.13
- 17 By faith Abraham offered vp Isaac when he was tried, and he that had receiued the promises, offered his only begotten son. 3.19.6
- 21 He worshipped God leaning vpon his staffe. 1.11.15
- 12.3 Consider him therefore that indured such speaking against of sinners least yee should be wearied & faint in your minds. 3.3.15
- 5 And you haue forgotten the exhortation, which speaketh vnto you as vnto children: My sonne, despise not the challe-ning of the Lord, neither faint in thy mind when thou art reprooued of him. 3.4. 32
- 8 For if you be without correction, wherof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons. 3.8.6
- 9 Moreover, wee haue had the fathers of our bodies, which corrected vs, and we gaue them reuerence, should we not much rather be in subiection vnto the father of spirits, that we might liue? 1.15.2
- 17 For ye know how that after ward when he would haue inherited the blessing, hee was reiected, for he found no place to repent, although he sought the blessing with tears. 3.3.24
- 18 For yee came not to the mount that might be touched, nor vnto burning fire, nor to blacknesse, and darknesse, &c. 2. 11.9

The Table.

- 22 But yee came to the mount Sion, and to the Citie of the liuing God, the celestiall Ierusalem, and to the companie of innumerable angels. 1.14.9
- 23 To the congregation of the first borne which are written in heauen, and to God the iudge of all. 3.25.6
- 13.4 Marriage is honourable amongst all men, and the bed vndefiled: but whore-mongers and adulterers God will iudge. 4.9.14.&4.12.25.&4.13.3
- 8 Iesus Christ the same yesterday, and to day, and also for euer. 2.10.4
- 15 By him therefore let vs daily offer vp to God the sacrifice of praise, that is, the fruite of the lips, which confesse his name 3.20.28.&4.18.16,17
- 16 To doe good, and to distribute forget not: for with such sacrifices God is pleased. 3.4.36. and 3.7.5. and 3.15.4. and 4.18.17
- 17 Obey your guides and be ruled by them, for they watch for the health of your soules, as such that shall giue account therefore. 1.15.2

I A M E S.

- 1.2 **M**Y brethren, count it for an exceeding ioy, so often as you fall into diuers temptations. 3.20.46
- 12 Blessed is the man that suffereth temptation, for when he shall be tried, he shall receiue the crowne of life. 3.17.10
- 13 Let no man when hee is tempted say, that he is tempted of God, for God cannot bee tempted with euils, neither doth hee tempt any man. 3.20.46
- 14 But ech one is tempted when he is drawn away by his owne concupiscence, and is entised. 3.20.46
- 15 Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth foorth sinne, and sinne when it is finished, bringeth foorth death. 3.3.13
- 17 Euery good gift and euery perfect gift commeth from aboue from the father of lights, with whō there is no variableness, neither shadow by turning. 1.13.8. &2.2.21. &4.14.10
- 21 Wherefore lay apart all malicioussnesse and superfluitie of malicioussnesse, and receiue with meekeness the worde that is ingrafted in you, which is able to saue your soules. 4.17.25
- 2.5 Hath not God chosen the poore of this worlde, that they should be rich in faith, and heeres of the kingdome which hee promised to those of whome hee is beloved 3.23.10
- 10 For whosoever shall keepe the whole lawe, and yet faileth in one point, hee is guiltie of all. 3.14.10.&3.18.10
- 14 What auayleth it him my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, when hee hath no workes, can the faith saue him? 3.2.9,12
- 19 Thou beleueest there is one God, thou dost well, and the diuels beleuee & tremble. 3.2.10
- 21 Was not Abraham our father iustified thorow workes, when he offered vp Isaac his sonne vpon the altar? 3.17.11
- 4.3 You aske and you receiue not, because you aske amisse that yee might consume it on your lustes. 3.20.7
- 6 But the Scripture offereth more grace, and therefore saith, God resisteth the proud, and giueth grace to the humble. 2.2.10.&3.12.5
- 8 Drawe nigh to God, and hee will drawe nie to you: cleanse your handes yee sinners, and purge yours harts yee wauering minded. 3.3.16
- 11 Hee that speaketh euill of his brother, speaketh against the lawe, and condemneth it, but if thou condemne the lawe, &c. 4.10.7
- 12 There is one lawe giuer that is able to saue and to destroy. 4.10.7
- 14 Who can not tell what shal be the next day, for what is your life? it is euen a vapour, &c. 3.20.28
- 15 For that yee ought to saie, if the Lorde will, and if we liue, we will do this or that. 3.20.28
- 5.12 Before all things, my brethren sweare not, neither by heauen, neither by earth, neither any other oath, but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, &c. 2.8.26
- 13 Is any man afflicted amongst you? let him pray: is any man merie? let him sing Psalmes. 3.20.7
- 14 Is any sicke amongst you? let him sende for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray for him, &c. 4.19.18,21

The Table.

- 15 And the prayer for faith shall saue the sicke, and the Lord shall raise him vp, and if he haue committed sinne, it shall be forgiven him. 3.20.11
- 16 Acknowledge your faultes one to another, and pray one for another, that yee may be healed: for the praier of a righteous man availeth much if it bee feruent. 3.4.6,12.&3.20.27
- 17 Elias was a man subiect to those things that we be, and he prayed earnestly that it might not raine, and it rained not on the earth for the space of three yeeres and sixe monethes. 3.20.26

I. P E T E R.

- 1.2 **T**O the elect according to the foreknowledge of God the father vnto sanctification of the spirit through obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Iesus Christ, grace and peace bee multiplied vnto you. 3.1.1.&3.14.6.&3.22.6.&4.15.2
- 3 Blessed bee God the father of our Lorde Iesu Christ, who of his great mercie hath begot vs againe into a liuely hope, by the resurrection of Christ Iesu from death. 2.16.13
- 5 Who are kept by the power of God through faith to saluation, which is prepared to be declared in the last day. 3.2.42.&3.18.3
- 7 That the triall of your faith, being much more faithfuller then the triall of golde which perisheth although it bee tried by fire. 3.8.4
- 9 Recciuing the ende of your faith, euen the saluation of your soules. 1.15.2.&3.18.3.&3.25.1
- 11 Searching when or what time the spirit which testified before of Christ which was in them, should declare the suffering that should come vnto Christ, &c. 1.13.18.&2.9.1
- 12 Vnto whom it was reueiled, that they should not minister vnto themselves, but vnto vs the things which are now shewed vnto you by them. 2.9.1.&2.11.6
- 15 But as he which hath called you is holy, so be you holy in all manner of conuersation 3.6.3
- 16 Be you holy, for I am holy. 3.6.2
- 18 Knowing that yee were not redeemed with corruptible things, as siluer and golde from your vaine conuersation, received by the traditions of the fathers. 2.17.5
- 19 But with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lambe vndefiled and without spot. 2.17.5.&3.6.3
- 20 Which was ordeined before the foundation of the worlde, but was declared in the last times for your sakes. 3.22.6.&4.18.20
- 21 Which by his meanes do beleue in god that raised him vp from the dead & gaue him glory, that your faith & hope might be in God. 2.16.13.&3.2.1,43
- 22 Seeing your soules are purified by obeying the truth through the spirit with brotherly loue without faining. 1.15.2.&2.5.11
- 23 Being borne againe, not of mortall seed, but of immortal, by the word of the liuing God, who liueth and endureth for euer. 2.10.7.&4.16.&4.16.18,31
- 2.5 And yee as liuely stones, be made a spirituall house, &c. 4.6.5.&4.18.16
- 9 But yee are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a people that God hath chalenged to himselfe, that you shoulde shewe forth the vertues of him which hath called you from darkenes into his woonderfull light. 2.7.1.&3.13.2.&4.18.17.&4.19.25
- 11 Beholde, I pray you as pilgrimes and strangers, that you abstaine from the lusts of the flesh, which striue against the soule. 1.15.2
- 13 Bee you subiect vnto euery ordinance of man for the Lordes sake, whether it beeto the King, as to the superiour. 4.20.23
- 17 Honor all men, loue brotherlines, feare God, honor the king. 4.20.7
- 21 Christ hath suffred for vs, leauing vs an example that we should follow his steps. 3.16.2
- 24 Who bore our sinnes vpon his bodie on the crosse, that wee being dead to sinne, might liue to righteousnesse: by whose stripes yee are healed. 2.16.6.&2.17.1.&3.4.26.&3.4.27.&3.4.30.&4.14.21
- 25 You

